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SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPETENCY OF CANADIAN INDIAN AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS

by

Nancy Eileen Maloney

B.A., George Mason College of the University of Virginia, 1970

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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Socio-Political Competency of Canadian Indian and White Adolescents

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August 25, 1966

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Abstract

Differential Indian/White perception of socio-political competency was investigated through a survey questionnaire administered to 37 native Indian and 333 White adolescents attending an integrated junior secondary school on Vancouver Island. The Indian youths' personal and school experiences were thought likely to have significant implications for their avowed relations with the wider social system. It was expected that relative to White peers the Indian students would perceive themselves less personally efficacious, reflecting native people's heritage of social/political impoverishment.

Measures assessing the following dimensions were incorporated in the questionnaire: self esteem, interpersonal trust, perception of school power structure, political efficacy, political trust, political change, political involvement, perceived life chance, and ideals. Personal data obtained included age, sex, socio-economic status, Scholastic Aptitude Test score, and cumulative grade point average.

Initial analysis considered the appropriateness of scales selected from previous research for the study population. Based upon item statistics and factor analytic results, questions not contributing to internal consistency were excluded to improve the quality of the measures. These resultant components were verified by a factor pattern which maximized scale distinctiveness.

Although both groups of students expressed equivalent support for the political norms of trust and efficacy, the Indian students denied the worth of their personal political participation. Compared to White respondents, the Indian students were more likely to express an egalitarian school decision-making perspective, assigning significantly less influence to

the school board and principal, greater to themselves. Paralleling the extreme differences in the two groups' social (SES) and school (SCAT, GPA) standings, the Indian youth expressed significantly lower self-esteem scores and lower class occupational aspirations.

Discriminant analysis indicated grade point average, political participation, SCAT score, political trust, social status, personal trust, friend as best source of political advice, and demonstrations as best method of political change to be optimal variables in differentiating group membership. The salience of these constructs was further validated by multiple regression analysis.

Political socialization research has traditionally emphasized the process of positive adjustment and incorporation into the existing social system, neglecting differences resulting from subculture membership. The project represents a first attempt at investigating socio-political orientations of some native Indian adolescents. The findings identify critical areas for further investigation in fostering an understanding of the Canadian Indian experience.

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A poem written by a young Navajo high school student.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Socialization, "the whole process by which an individual develops... specific patterns of socially relevant behavior and experience" (Zigler & Child, 1969, p. 474), has been a persistent concern of persons trying to understand human functioning. Its successful conveyance is thought critical to the maintenance and perpetuation of a stable social order. The adoption of culturally prescribed social roles facilitates the individual's integration within the existing community structure. One dimension of the socialization process concerns the child's introduction to the nation state, the intergenerational transmission of politically relevant knowledge, attitudes, and values.

Evolution of political socialization inquiry

The historical foundations of interest in civic education reside within the discipline of political philosophy. Both Plato and Aristotle recognized the importance of effective citizenship training in promoting system stability (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969). Rousseau's concern for civic education led to his examination of the role of sensory, intellectual, and moral components of the developmental process in fostering political participation (Andrain, 1971). Practical concerns of immigrant assimilation in 20th century North America precipitated a rekindling of interest in citizenship education. Published in 1931, Charles E. Merriam's The Making of Citizens: a Comparative Study of Methods in Civic Training is considered the earliest systematic investigation of political learning. The relationship of personality variables to politicalization evolved from post World War II interest in distinctive national character types and their developmental origins. Yet, not until the late 1950's was political socialization

recognized as a distinct area of inquiry (Greenstein, 1968).

> It is ironical that while studies of socialization and learning are exceedingly prominent in social psychology, attention given to politics as a consequence of socialization is almost completely lacking.... One searches therefore for psychological studies which will establish the beginning of political behavior in pre-adult life, the process by which it emerges, and the subsequent change in the course of further experimentation. (Hyman, 1959, pp. 25-26).

Hyman (1959) proposed the term political socialization to describe "the individual's learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal position as mediated through various agencies of society" (p. 25) emphasizing the importance of attitude development and consequent political implications, i.e. system maintenance. Early empirical investigation beginning with Greenstein's New Haven Study (1965) followed by the "Chicago" studies of Hess and Torney (1967) and Easton and Dennis (1969) employed survey research strategies in describing children's political attitudes and developmental patterns of acquisition. Subsequent research has expanded populations and variables of concern, while maintaining allegiance to early established assumptions.

Political socialization inquiry is intrinsically attached to the psychoanalytic tenet that "the child is father of the man"[2] (Riccards, 1973). As youthful learning is thought to be extremely resistant to later experiential sources of extinction, civic attachment founded in childhood is believed likely to persevere in later years, influencing subsequent attitudes and behaviour. The effectiveness of the political socialization process in establishing basic shared orientations is thought critical to system support and consequent regime maintenance. Establishment interests are thus promoted by the active inculcation of appropriate orientations in a

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2. This quote is more properly attributed to William Wordsworth, "My heart leaps up when I behold."

polity's youthful members. This is accomplished both through manifest and latent political indoctrination (Greenberg, 1970a).

Research strategies

It is believed that the systematic study of childhood politicalization both furthers a general understanding of the dynamics of attitude acquisition and provides specific insight into the formation of adult political orientations and their behavioural consequences (Greenberg, 1970b). The execution of this inquiry requires defining the limits of concern. One's research objectives are intrinsically tied to the specific conceptualization of the discipline.

Early research definitions emphasized the cognitive content of acquired orientations and conformity to the established political culture. Almond (1960) specified political socialization to be "the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions, value standards and feelings toward the political system, its various roles and role incumbents" (pp. 27-28). Research generated from this perspective emphasized a systems-oriented analysis of political socialization. Such definitions, however, were found inappropriate for focusing on the individual dynamics of the political socialzation process. Expansion of concerns of inquiry required redefining the bounds of the discipline. Greenstein (1968) proposed that political socialization be considered "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics," (p. 551). The proliferation of definitions, however, prompted Greenstein (1970) to comment, "there is little to be said for attempting to establish an

orthodox usage of the term [political socialization]; the main thing is to be clear about one's meaning in particular contexts and to get on with the task of enunciating theoretically interesting hypotheses and testing them." (p. 976).

The present investigation will consider political socialization to be "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour" (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p. 7). Such a perspective neither stresses conformity to an established political culture nor implies a static unitary process of socialization. Knutson (1974) has suggested that developmentally this process requires both the individual's accommodation to and assimilation of politically relevant cultural themes. A preexisting Weltanschauung requires the maturing citizen's active participation in processing socially transmitted political information. An appreciation of the dynamics of the political socialization process thus demands a multidimensional conceptualization. One such model has been proposed by Knutson (see Figure 1). Such an interactionist strategy emphasizing individual interdynamics has not, however, permeated traditional political socialization research orientations.

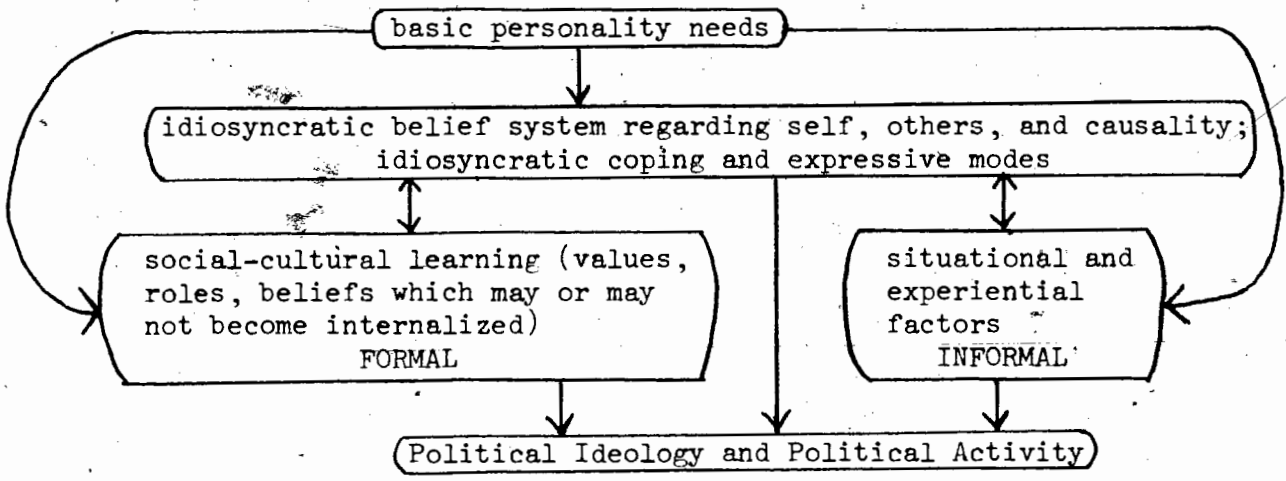


Figure 1. A multidimensional model of political socialization (Knutson, 1974).

Review of past research

While noting that although no one methodological stance can characterize the study of political socialization, Greenstein (1968) maintained that most research has been directed towards the investigation of one or more dimensions of Lasswell's communication paradigm: (a) Who (b) learns what (c) from whom (d) under what circumstances (e) with what effects? Each of these will be discussed in turn to provide an organizational framework for examining past research findings.

Who. The investigation of the personal characteristics of the individuals studied has emphasized the importance of demographic variables in affecting the socialization experience. Variables of past consideration include age, sex, socio-economic status, IQ, education, religion, and geographical location. Of relevance to the present investigation are studies documenting the differential effects of sex and social class.

Campbell's (1960) findings that, compared to men, women were less disposed toward political involvement, felt less politically efficacious, expressed little concern for issues, were less tolerant of nonconformity, and more interested in local than national concerns led him to conclude that the socialization of appropriate sex role behaviour required female children's adoption of a passive political orientation.

Political socialization theories have emphasized the importance of role modeling and culturally prescribed behaviour expectations in influencing the process of political learning. The effects of such learning include boys' expressing greater interest in political news and "men" in public office (Hyman, 1959), boys' being more knowledgeable, interested and active in politics (Greenstein, 1961, 1965), and girls' greater agreement with parents and friends, reflecting their supposed lesser sense of autonomy and reduced

inclinations toward synthesizing and reprocessing political information (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). Other researches, however, report no consistently significant patterns of difference between boys and girls (Easton & Dennis, 1967; Merelman, 1971; Orum, Cohen, Grasmuck, & Orum, 1974). Subcultural variations to the traditional theme of male superiority in political orientation have also been reported (Hirsch, 1971).

Such findings require the consideration of situational factors in understanding women's exclusion from the political arena. Although male and female children may be exposed to equivalent sources of politicalization, the impetus for involvement and opportunities for political expression are likely diminished by the circumstances of women's socially prescribed role. The process of cultural change necessitates longitudinal investigation in understanding the respective contributions of early learning and participatory induction in the social milieu (Orum et al., 1974).

Much of adult political and social behaviour is thought to be related to social class through its influence upon individual motives, goals, and needs. Higher class adults are more disposed toward active participation in politics. Lower class persons have been found to be less interested in news and international affairs, less politically informed, more reticent to criticize public policy, generally indifferent to voting, but more dissatisfied with their lives and inclined to support "socially radical" legislation (Knupfer, 1947).

Precursors of adult behavioural effects are class related differences in the political orientations of young children. Higher class children express greater interest in politics and are concurrently more politically knowledgeable and active (Greenstein, 1965; Hirsch, 1971). Although perceiving themselves to be less personally and politically efficacious, lower

class children are more apt to idealize political authorities (Easton & Dennis, 1967; Greenstein, 1965; Stevens, 1970). Additionally, the established superiority in verbal and scholastic ability of upper status children (Greenstein, 1970) likely provides confidence for their significantly higher occupational aspirations (Knupfer, 1947).

Child rearing practices are thought to establish psychological dispositions toward participatory citizenship. Exploration, scholastic achievement, and emotional and intellectual expression are encouraged less in lower class families (Stevens, 1970). The middle class family's tolerance for divergent opinions and preference for democratic decision making initially structures the child's perception of authority and power relationships in a way conducive to participatory involvement (Riccards, 1973).

Learns what. The content of political socialization includes the acquisition of both politically relevant personality characteristics and politically specific attitudes and orientations. Froman (1961) proposed that psychological dispositions, beliefs and attitudes need be considered as intervening variables in conceptualizing political socialization. As evidenced by Dawson's (1966) review of the discipline, this position received equivocal reception.

> There is now extensive writing about personality and political behaviour that reveals disagreement on the utility of personality explanations of political phenomena. The evidence that personality is a key variable in explaining political behaviour or in analyzing the development of political orientations is still not very convincing. Particularly little evidence supports the use of personality as a major independent variable as Froman proposes. Consequently, we do not use it as a major variable in our conceptualization of political socialization. (p. 21)

Recently, however, Renshon (1975) has proposed that personality be reconsidered as "the crucial link" between the individual and the political

socialization process. He suggested that within the child's social context a fundamental world view is established. The child's early environmental interactions are thought to structure subsequent perceptions of physical reality, beliefs about the possibilities for controlling one's fate, evaluations concerning the nature of the world and its people, and a concept of self worth. The content of such belief structures rather than rudimentary political attitudes is designated the principal childhood determinant of adult political behaviour.

Some empirical evidence supports this position. In addition to being linked to socio-economic status indicators (Campbell, 1972), personal competence is related to a belief in personal political influence and a controllable external reality (Rotter, 1962). Functioning additively with a belief in political competence, a sense of personal efficacy predicts the likelihood of subjectively projected political participation (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). A complementary concept, self esteem, is related to interest in civic affairs (Rosenberg, 1965) and personal belief in political potency (Kvaraceus, 1965). Persons with high self esteem are more tolerant and less threatened by nonconformity (Knutson, 1974). Low self esteem persons are more likely alienated, personally dissatisfied, and lacking in feelings of personal control (McClosky & Schaar, 1965). Riccards (1973) maintained that personal efficacy, self esteem, and environmental trust operate interactively in fostering a psychological disposition conducive to political participation. Dennis (1973) cautioned that although the existence of specified psychological variables may be necessary concomitants of the performance of political behaviours, independently they are not sufficient as causes. Situational constraints serve to modify the attitude-behaviour relationship.

Through specific political learning, the child formulates cognitive and affective conceptions of civic authority, national symbols, public officials, government structure, and citizenship responsibility (Greenstein, 1968). The induction of citizens into a participatory political culture demands both acceptance of "the rules of the game," i.e. the conventions established for orderly political activity (Easton, 1964), and incorporation of orientations conducive to political involvement, e.g. an interest in politics, a sense of political responsibility, a belief in the utility of political participation, an inherent trust in the system and its executors, and a feeling of social inclusion (Milbrath, 1965). Such constructs have been operationalized to facilitate the empirical investigation of the process of politicalization.

From whom. Within the child's environment, persons and institutions transmit overt and implicit political messages. In North America the principal agents of socialization are generally conceded to be the family, educational system, peer group, and mass media.

"The family incubates political man" (Lane, 1959, p. 204). The family has been thought preeminent in influencing the political development of the child (Greenstein, 1965; Hyman, 1959; Langton, 1969). As a role model, the family establishes acceptable behavioural alternatives and transmits politically relevant cultural values. The home environment differentially provides a range of political stimulation both through the availability of overtly political materials and the latent political content of family structure and interaction patterns (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). Functioning essentially as a conservative force, the bias of family originated socialization is toward system perpetuation through its promotion of early attachment to the polity (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969).

Empirical validation for the impact of the family has been principally

found in documenting child/parent agreement in political attitudes and values. Consistently, children have been found to adopt the political party identification of their parents (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Converse & Dupeux, 1962; Hess & Torney, 1967; Jennings & Niemi, 1968b). While the mother's potentially unique attributes in transmitting political orientations have been continually neglected (Jennings & Niemi, 1974), several studies have noted idiosyncratic effects related to father absence. Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleron (1968) found this family structure related to a marked non-relationship between family and child political values. Other studies have reported father-absent boys expressing less interest in politics and depressed levels of political efficacy (Langton & Karns, 1967; Hess & Torney, 1967), perhaps reflecting an increased maternal influence. Hirsch (1971) proposed that father absence inflates the role of other agents of socialization.

Aside from party identification, however, support for direct parent/child transmission of political attitudes is equivocal. Finding a consistent pattern of low within family similarity but high between generation correspondence in a review of studies comparing political and social opinions of parents and children from 1930 to 1965, Connell (1972) concluded that,

> It appears from a substantial body of evidence that processes within the family have been largely irrelevant to the formation of specific opinions. It appears that older and younger generations have developed their opinions in parallel rather than in series, by similar experiences in a common way of life. (p. 330)

This position receives support from Martinussen (1972) who found little agreement between parents and children for indicators of civic competence, political knowledge, ideology, interest, and efficacy. He perceived an individual's daily life experiences to be more influential in determining political orientations than explicit parental instruction.

Such evidence does not, however, necessitate abandonment of familial socialization's importance. Although the family's relevance to specific political questions may be negligible, it has been proposed that its structuring of the child's social and psychological environment may have profound consequences for the occurrence and interpretation of later socialization experiences (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Riccards, 1973).

The educational system is thought to be the major formal institution of American political socialization (Almond & Verba, 1965; Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Easton & Hess, 1962; Greenstein, 1965; Hess & Torney, 1967). Emphasizing its closer proximity in time and structure to actual political experience, Martinussen (1972) proposed that the school may exert a greater effect on civic development than less salient primary groups such as the family. The exposure to overtly political curricula, classroom ritual, and the role of teacher serve to provide a formal induction to the operations of the political system (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969). The conscious indoctrination of system support is evidenced by Riccard's (1971) content analysis of major U.S. textbooks.

> It was found that children were taught that they should be guided by the public interest, obey the rules of the political game, and accept the majoritarian principle. Children must respect the government for what it does for them in the way of providing schools, parks and police and fire protection. (p. 230)

Classroom life is thought to convey "the lessons of obedience" through its emphasis on compliance to rules and authority figures (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969). This passive orientation toward citizenship may be somewhat countered by opportunity to participate in school discussion and decision making, thought to promote civic competence in adult life (Dawson, 1966). Expectations of the classroom reinforce the community climate of opinion by

entrenching cultural values such as competiveness and success. As a community representative, the teacher functions primarily as a "conveyor of consensus values" (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969).

Although the importance of the school as an agent of socialization is primarily speculative, a few studies provide documentation for its supposed effect. Favourable daily contact with teachers and administrators has been found to promote trust of national political figures (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). Involvement in school activities and clubs is related to interpersonal competence (Knutson, 1974), a belief in personal political efficacy, interest in political affairs, and position support for issues of national concern (Hess & Torney, 1967). Fowlkes (1974) found social institutions such as the school more influential than the family in the acquisition of political awareness, trust, and future activism. Working class students in a heterogeneous school environment have evidenced a tendency to move toward the norms of their higher class peers becoming more "politicized", democratic in orientation, supportive of civil liberties, disposed toward voting, and economically conservative (Langton & Karns, 1967). Civics class attendance for poverty subculture children in Appalachia resulted in a significant increase in their political knowledge and interest (Hirsch, 1971). For adults, level of education is related to a sense of civic duty, belief in political efficacy, active involvement and interest in politics (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969).

There is, however, little conclusive evidence linking adult political attitudes and behaviours directly to the school experience. Noting that "students are remarkably resilient [sic] to conventional modes of teaching," Jennings and Niemi (1974) maintained that civic education would only become effective with substantial modifications in "goals, course content,

pedagogical methods, timing of exposure, teacher training, and school environmental factors" (p. 206). Massialas (1972) proposed that a politically relevant education program requires the opportunity for critical examination of social issues and active participation in school governance. The most pervasive lessons taught by the school are perhaps those which are least overtly political. The structure of the school community is thought potentially more influential than formal instruction (Merelman, 1971) in assigning and validating one's social position.

> One of the principal roles of school in relation to society is to serve as an agency of allocation of people among the various positions in the social system .... The fact that the role is performed primarily through the stratification system that develops within the school itself has less frequently been recognized. To a certain extent it is by finding their position in the school stratification that adolescents find their position in the socio-economic system of the society. .... The sources of stratification in a school are social, cultural, and academic. (Breton, 1970, p. 18)

By adolescence, peer groups are thought to be the principal influence in structuring the child's political socialization experience (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Harvey, 1972; Hirsch, 1971). As a focal point of social life, the adolescent's network of friends actively transmits prescribed cultural expectations and values (Langton & Karns, 1967; Riccards, 1973). There is, however, little systematic investigation directed toward understanding the relationship between the adolescent's social and civic culture.

Although friendship and group membership appear less related to political considerations than to social values (Harvey, 1972; Sebert, 1974), the political orientations of adolescents reporting friendship are remarkably similar (Jennings & Niemi, 1974). Except for partisan issues, students have been found more similar to friends than to parents in their political attitudes and opinions (Sebert, 1974). Males and lower intelligent students

appear most susceptible to the effects of peer group influence (Harvey, 1972). Intensity of peer group involvement has been found to correlate positively with political knowledge, belief in the government's relevance, commitment to civic duty, a sense of political efficacy, likelihood of political participation, and reduced expression of political conservatism (Harvey, 1972).

Espousing ideals of citizenship, formal youth organizations e.g. Scouts and YMCA, are thought to promote both system supportive attitudes (Hirsch, 1971) and interest in political participation (Hess & Torney, 1967). Supporting empirical evidence, however, is not conclusive. Although Lewis (1962) reported participation in high school extracurricular activities to be related to a belief in personal political efficacy, assent to the legitimacy of the government, and projected political participation, Jennings and Niemi (1974) found group involvement a poor predictor of student's political views. Further investigation is clearly required to delineate the relevant dimensions of peer group political influence.

Until the 1970's little consideration was given to mass communication as an agent of political socialization. Social learning theorists (Bandura & Walters, 1963) have proposed that the symbolic models presented in media may "play a major part in shaping behavior and in modifying social norms and thus exert a strong influence on the behavior of children and adolescents" (p. 49). Ample opportunity for this occurrence is provided by the North American child's exposure to television. Children between 6 and 17 watch television approximately 4½ hours per day, accounting for as much or more time than their total school experience (Kraus, 1973). The average child has watched between 12,000 and 15,000 hours of television by age 16 (Bronfenbrenner, 1970).

The few studies considering mass communication as a variable lend

credence to the importance of its further investigation. Finding media, particularly television, to be the dominant source of learning about war, Hollander (1971) concluded "the new 'parent' is mass media" (p. 479). Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton (1970), Dominick (1972), Hirsch (1971), and Johnson (1970) all found media to be the dominant source of children's political information. Total hours of exposure rather than any manifest political content incorporated in programming appeared most salient to the impact of mass communication.

Issues of agency interaction remain unanswered. Contradictions of successive socializing agents are particularly problematic. Orientations based on highly congruent messages of socialization are proposed to be more stable than belief structures differentially influenced (Dawson, 1966). The socializing influences most often investigated by no means exhaust the range of relevant variables. Of considerable importance is the relationship between the agent and the environmental context, requiring the consideration of situational factors (Gustafsson, 1974; Jaros et al., 1968). In addition, the inclusion of individual personality characteristics in mediating agency influence on particular orientations significantly increases output possibilities (Hirsch, 1971; Jennings & Niemi, 1974; Riccards, 1973). The unsystematic nature of socializing agents' intrusion permits considerable opportunity for the individual's experience of reality to significantly modify engendered orientations. Additional longitudinal, observational, and experimental studies are required to understand the dynamics of agency influence (Jennings & Niemi, 1974).

Under what circumstances. An understanding of the circumstances of political socialization requires consideration of both the individual's cognitive development and the environment's situational determinants.

Within the political maturation process, the individual's simultaneous engagement in self-structured/other-initiated socialization experiences involves dual adoption of recipient/agent roles (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969).

Belief in the pervasive influence of youthful learning in structuring possibilities for adult behaviours and attitudes has led to an emphasis on the importance of early experience in political socialization:

> Political orientations learned during the initial school years or the late preschool years often have a greater impact on the individual's adult political behaviour than do orientations that are learned later in life... The concepts, information, and feelings that are first acquired serve as "filters" through which later perceptions must pass.... Adult orientations that have their roots in early learning and have, therefore, been adopted without conscious consideration of alternatives, are likely to have unquestioned character that makes them both influential for behaviour and resistant to change. (Greenstein, 1968, pp. 554-555)

The extent of the child's awareness and conceptualization of the political realm, however, is dependent upon the development of age appropriate cognitive capacities. From a Piagetian perspective, political learning is promoted by the child's experientially based involvement in assimilating political phenomena while accommodating previously formulated cognitive structures to new realities (Rosenau, 1975).

Reflecting Piaget's stages of cognitive development, the child between 7 and 11 years expresses a concrete, egocentric orientation towards politics, unable to transcend personal experience and overtly perceived governmental functions. The cognitive task of the adolescent, occurring approximately between ages 11 and 15, requires the mastery of formal operations expressed through the ability to think abstractly, reason hypothetically, adopt a socio-centric perspective, and establish principles based upon a sense of past and future historical developments (Adelson & O'Neil, 1966). Atiitudinal correlates of adolescent intellectual growth

include the development of a sense of community, a decline in authoritarianism, an appreciation for the social consequences of government activity (Adelson & O'Neil, 1966), an increase in political knowledge and interest, a greater disposition to adopt a political party distinct from parental affiliation (Jennings & Niemi, 1968b), expanded utilization of media for political information (Jennings & Niemi, 1968a), and more frequent political discussions with friends (Hyman, 1959). The traditional political socialization perspective proposes that the major components of the political self are consolidated by early adolescence.

> By the time youths enter 9th grade, most of them can respond meaningfully to a variety of political questions, have an intuitive grasp of what is political and nonpolitical, have engaged in some low-level political activity, express preference for political parties and candidates, and have established what are presumably stable opinions about the nation and political system in which they live. (Jennings & Niemi, 1974, p. 251)

Investigation of post-adolescent politicalization, however, suggests the need for the socialization experience to be viewed as a cumulative rather than finalized process, recognizing the existence of growth potential throughout the life span. Results from a survey of 2,296 Puerto Rican elementary, secondary, and college students led Miranda-Miranda (1974) to conclude "rapid developments and change do occur during adolescence and early adulthood in five basic orientations- knowledge about the party system, political interest, political participation, political mass media, and conceptions of political authority.

Jennings and Niemi (1974) have documented the non-conformance of several orientations to the expected pattern of stable formation during the elementary years. Adults, like young children, related citizenship to personal qualities while older elementary and high school children assigned the good citizen distinctively political characteristics. Political

cyncism was found to be progressive, occuring least in young children and greatest in adults with the most marked change in the post-adolescent period. Although rapidly increasing during elementary school years, political efficacy decreased from the temporarily stabilized high school level during adult middle years.

The eventual outcome of cognitive growth is pervasively influenced by situational constraints. Jahoda (1962) found the prevading political climate instrumental in structuring the development of concepts of nationality. Isolating the effect of historical context by a grade across time design, Sigel and Brooks (1974) found civic interest and confidence in the government to be affected by political events. Pammett (1971) proposed that Canadian/United States political structures should be considered in explaining the differences observed in children's response patterns, i.e. Canadian's slower acquisition of political knowledge, reduced personalization of government, lower levels of political information and interest, lessened understanding of party differences, and reduced tendency to party commitment.

With what effect. The effects of political socialization are ultimately expressed through citizen behaviours and resultant systemic consequences (Greenstein, 1968). The character of a specific political culture is determined by the collective expression of individually ascribed psychological orientations defining the citizen/government relationship, i.e. the proportional representation of parochial (absence of a political role), subject (passive political relationship), and participant (explicit involvement) civic cultures within a prescribed polity (Almond & Verba, 1965). Transcending distinctively individual socialization patterns is believed a pervasive orientation toward political compliance. Such an early estab-

lished diffuse support fosters adult system allegiance despite exposure to potentially disillusioning political experiences (Sigel & Brooks, 1974). The extensive longitudinal investigations required to verify such contentions are, however, non-existent.

Ethnicity and political socialization

The exclusion of ethnicity in the previously cited studies reflects an early established direction of political socialization research.

> To date, the major research thrust in the study of political socialization has been focused on identifying the political information and orientations among elementary and, to a lesser degree, high school children, especially those who are white, American, middle and working class, and reside in urban areas. (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1975, p. 3)

Landmark studies documenting the existence of a "homogenous, consenual, supportive socialization process in the United States" are characterized by consistent neglect of the social reality of potential within nation cultural variability (Greenberg, 1970b). Although noting the past absence of minority group consideration, Hyman (1959) defended his similar omission by the limits of his alleged concern, "a general formulation of political socialization and the supporting evidence." Similarly, Hess and Torney (1967), proposing to establish a "base line of socialization" postponed consideration of subcultural group membership. The limited representation of minority group persons in early study populations precluded their independent attention in data analysis (Greenberg, 1969). Within Greenstein's (1965) sample of 659 respondents, only 33 black children were represented. The state of the discipline prompted Jaros (1966) to lament that "political studies which differentiate their findings by race are rare. Political socialization studies which do so are non-existent" (p. 98).

Such inattention to cultural diversity is inherently problematic. Exclusion of sub- and cross-cultural populations requires questioning the generalizability of established research findings; the "overwhelming positive disposition" of children toward the government may in actuality be a culture-bound phenomenon. Theoretically, viewing the conveyance of the "social category system" as one dimension of socialization requires consideration of the child's subgroup identity as an essential component of the political self. An understanding of political socialization must therefore include the impact of a cultural group's potential for selective value transmission (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969).

Recent interest, however, in the minority person's socialization experience has been generated less by theoretical concern than by the social reality of overtly expressed dissatisfaction with system functioning by adult Black Americans. Such activity, if founded in substantive disagreement with basic consensual beliefs, is perceived as potentially threatening to the stability of the established political order.

> A polity that finds major segments of its population in disagreement over the very nature of the political order will be more unstable than a polity where no such cleavages exist. Only by sharing certain minimal but nonetheless basic orientations can a political system maintain itself without excessive reliance on other devices such as coercion and intimidation. (Greenberg, 1969, p. 13)

Socially and economically excluded from full participation in the dominant culture, minority persons are provided limited accessibility to system rewards and consequently reduced inducement for system attachment. As a result of emergent ethnic and political consciousness, minority groups have experienced a "revolution of rising expectations" questioning support for a social order that requires their deprivation (Greenberg, 1969). In such a

context of personal experience of social inequities and likely early exposure to divergent political perspectives, the socialization process of the minority child may likely provide early foundation for system non-support. Validation for such differential expression of political orientations by minority group children has been empirically documented in recent research.

Including educational and occupational considerations for a U.S. nationwide sample of 1669 high school seniors and their parents, Martinussen (1972) found race to exert the most pronounced effects of status indicators in depressing self perceived civic competence, assessed by measures of political knowledge, ideological sophistication, political efficacy, and political interest. Numerous studies have demonstrated black children's reduced expressions of political effectiveness and heightened levels of political cynicism compared to their white counterparts (Dennis, 1969; Greenberg, 1969; Laurence, 1970; Lyons, 1970).

Such results, however, vary considerably with the political milieu. Although both the findings of Langton and Jennings' (1968) national sample of high school seniors and Kenyon's (1970) 878 grade 8, 10, and 12 students in Brooklyn showed significantly lower political efficacy scores for black respondents, neither demonstrated any corresponding effect in political trust measures. Rogers and Taylor's (1971) Charleston, South Carolina, 12th grade sample also showed no significant racial difference in expressed feelings of cynicism. Responding similarly to Northern inner city blacks, both black and white school children in economically depressed North Carolina evidenced low efficacy high cynicism scores when compared to a Toledo, Ohio, sample (Rogers, 1974). Jones (1966) found black grade 8-12 students perceiving themselves somewhat more politically efficacious in predominantly black Lake County, Indiana, than did their white peers.

It is frequently proposed that black children evidence a "subject" as opposed to a "participant" orientation toward government (Greenberg, 1970b), perpetuating the adult black American's reduced sense of civic duty and concomitant lessened political involvement (Campbell, Converse, Miller & Stokes, 1960). Indicating a passive political stance is black children's emphasizing loyalty in conceptualizing a good citizen (Jennings & Niemi, 1974) and choosing fear of authority as the principal impetus toward political compliance (Clarke, 1973). Based on evidence accrued, Stevens (1970) concluded that black children "do not accept the principle of participatory democracy."

The population specificity of these findings, however, is suggested by studies reporting anomalous results. Although black children consistently expressed pervasive system estrangement in Orum and Cohen's (1973) sample of 2,365 grade 4-12 children from Illinois, they were simultaneously more disposed than white children to be politically involved as indicated by measures of political knowledge, discussion, expected participation, and party preference. Similar findings were noted by Ehman (1969) and Rogers (1974). Laurence (1970) proposed that black and white children may be equally politicized but to quite divergent orientations relevant to their respective realities. Finding that older black children within the Sacramento City Unified School District increasingly rejected traditional modes of political participation in favor of the more radical alternatives of Black Power, bloc voting, violence, separatism, and war resistance, she concluded that black children's attitudes reflect a potentially adaptive stance for their given social circumstances.

Cross sectional data indicate a pattern of progressive deterioration in the formation of black children's political orientations. Within Greenberg's (1969, 1970a, 1970b) population of grade 3-9 schoolchildren, the highly posi-

tive diffuse support of the young black children suffered a gradual but persistent decline with increasing grade level. The greatest reduction was evidenced by children most cognizant of race relation issues. Similarly, Laurence (1970) and Jennings and Niemi (1974) found attitudinal differences between black and white children increasing with age. Lyons (1970) identified the high school years, marked by rapid erosion of positive political affect, as crucial for minority children.

The school experience itself has been proposed as particularly critical in structuring black youths' political dispositions. Exposure to civics course curriculum content was found to exert a racially specific effect, increasing black students' feelings of efficacy, political knowledge, civic tolerance, and system loyalty (Langton & Jennings, 1968). Rogers (1974) found significant positive correlations between black students' participation in civics courses in both integrated and segregated schools and expressions of political interest and knowledge. However, while the cynicism scores of both groups of black students correspondingly increased, the deleterious effect of the civics curriculum on political efficacy and participation was observed only in integrated schools.

In investigating the relationship between exposure to controversial issues, classroom climate, and political attitudes in an urban integrated Detroit high school, Ehman (1969) found increased political cynicism, reduced civic duty, efficacy, and expected participation for both racial groups when controversial issues were presented in a closed classroom environment. A racially distinct pattern emerged with issue exposure in an open classroom with political trust and efficacy simultaneously increasing for white students while decreasing for blacks.

Although involvement in Project Beacon, a Rochester, New York, grade 2-8

program structured to improve black children's self concepts, resulted in increased feelings of political efficacy and reduced idealism toward political leaders, the effects quickly diminished with students' withdrawl from the program (Liebschutz & Niemi, 1974). School-engendered consequences may be as varied as the institutions themselves. Schools have been both praised for promoting black students' political involvement (Huff, 1975) and indicted for entrenching the prevailing norm of non-participation for minority persons (Kvaraceus, 1965; Rogers, 1974).

Although such studies have led to a consensus that the political socialization experience of black children is distinct from that of the majority culture, considerable variability characterizes proposed explanatory theories. Psycho-dynamic approaches principally investigate the relationship between self and world perceptions.

> In short, America has traditionally been a hostile maturation environment for blacks, an environment within which black people have been forced into socially stigmatized roles, an environment so profoundly racist that it has led to the internalization of black inferiority formulated and promulgated by whites. The environment of blacks in the U.S. can be seen as a gigantic and perverse mechanism to teach black people to despise and disparage themselves and their fellows. (Greenberg, 1972, p. 229)

Numerous studies have documented the prevalence of low self esteem and feelings of powerlessness in both black adults and children (Ausubel, 1958; Clark & Clark, 1947; Coleman, 1966; Davis & Dollard, 1940; Goodman, 1952; Gurin, Gurin, Lao, & Beattie, 1969; Pettigrew, 1964; Proshansky & Newton, 1968; Rosenberg, 1965; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Williams & Byars, 1968). Providing additional support for the relationship between black self evaluation and the political climate, Greenberg (1972) suggested the black liberation movement as responsible for engendering the positive self images and feelings of environmental control recently evidenced by black children in

Philadelphia and Pittsburg. The context of a "black revolution" provides opportunity for outward expressions of rage thought previously to be internalized in psychological self destruction. Similarly, Baughman (1971) has argued the potential of the black pride movement for enhancing Negro self image.

Intrinsically related to the development of black children's conceptions of self and their consequent political implications is the color-caste nature of the American social structure. Isolated by caste membership, black Americans are both removed from the norms of the white core culture society and denied the rewards inherent in their compliance.

> If a caste situation may be defined as that set of social relations in which a culturally or racially defined, self-conscious group is subjected to severe deprivation relative to other members of society; where membership in the stigmatized group is gained by ascriptive criteria; and by the existence of severely sanctioned marriage endogamy, then America is indeed a caste society since it is clearly characterized by such arrangements. (Greenberg, 1972, p. 294)

The distinctive influence of ethnic membership overrides socio-economic considerations in affecting political attitudes of black Americans. While opinions of white Americans are consistently found to be distinguishable by social class, the dominant variable for all strata of blacks remains race (Stevens, 1970). Racial differences have been found to remain constant despite the introduction of controls for social class (Dreger & Miller, 1960).

Both social-psychological and political dimensions of oppression are considered in Abramson's (1972) summation of alternative explanations for racial differences in political attitudes: social deprivation, i.e."structural conditions that contribute to low feelings of self competence," vs. political reality, i.e. reduced system responsiveness resulting from

diminished personal resources. Citing numerous studies supporting both theoretical perspectives, Abramson conceded the possibility of an eventual higher order position, acknowledging the mutual contributions of social, psychological, and political variables.

The evidence chronicling the political socialization experience of black Americans demands the recognition of subcultural variations in patterns of political learning. It is apparent that ethnic group membership operates as a significant influence in shaping political orientations. This effect is not likely specific to black Americans. Other non-white minority groups are subjected to similar social and political ostracism.

> Insofar as Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and American Indians, to cite some dramatic examples, also occupy unique positions within this society, it is predicted that each of these groups is also undergoing selective political socialization. (Laurence, 1970, pp. 191-192)

Recent investigation of Mexican-American youths supports this belief. In comparing Chicano and Anglo grade 3, 5, 7, and 9 California public school children, Garcia (1973) found both racial groups of younger children sharing positive orientations towards government. With age and hypothesized accumulated negative experience, however, the Chicano children evidenced increasingly negative political disposition. Highlighting the dramatic deterioration of system allegiance was the comparison to the most positive grade 3 group, lower class Chicanos, with their grade 9 counterparts, found to be least supportive. While overall, both Chicano and Anglo students were equally trusting and accepting of democratic values, the overall response pattern of the Chicano children was thought to express a more passive political stance: a reduced sense of political efficacy and civic obligation with a significantly lessened inclination to view voting as important, to participate actively, or

to perceive the U.S. as a democratic reality.

Relevance of the Canadian Indian experience

To date, no equivalent studies exist for native North American Indians. This omission is considered serious in view of related research findings. Native people hold the dubious but well documented distinction of being the most economically disadvantaged minority group in North America. Representing 2% of the Canadian population, approximately 224,000 registered Indians are ascribed membership in 561 federally recognized bands; 85% of these persons reside on the 2,241 Canadian reserves. Additionally, the Indian off-reserve population is augmented by 200,000 non-registered persons of Indian descent, i.e. non-status Indians. If measured in numbers, the "Indian problem" is growing. The Indian population is increasing at a rate of 4%, 1% above the general population, potentially doubling Indians in number within 25 years (Hawthorn, 1967; Lazure, 1973).

Thought to include within its boundaries 40% of all native people of Canada previous to European settlement (before 1800), British Columbia continues to reflect in population statistics a concentration of Indian people. To date, the 51,805 registered B.C. Indians represent 2.5% of the provincial population. In addition to the estimated 50,000-60,000 non-status Indians already living in B.C. communities, a steadily increasing number of registered Indians (from 15% in the mid 60's to 35% in the mid 70's) reside off-reserve.

The current population represents a slow recovery from an historical decline. Diminished by the "benefits" of European civilization (smallpox, measles, influenza, tuberculosis, veneral disease, and alcohol related deaths), the B.C. Indian population decreased from approximatley 80,000 in 1800 to a recorded low of 22,604 in 1929. The growing population of B.C.

Indians continues a trend begun in 1939. Currently, the birth rate for Indian people is 2½ times B.C.'s non-Indian population; 8.0 children are born to the average Indian woman compared to 3.9 as a provincial norm (Duff, 1965; Wee, 1975).

Despite increasing numbers, the native Indian's economic resources remain depressed. In actuality, a growing and consequently youthful and unemployable population contributes to poverty. While overall less than 50% of Canadians are under 25, within the Indian population 57% are under 21 (Hawthorn, 1967). More recent B.C. demography parallels national trends; 42% of B.C. Indians are under 15 compared to 28% in the general population. For every 100 working age B.C. Indian persons between 15 and 64 there are 78 children and 7 aged persons compared to 45 children and 15 aged for non-Indians (Wee, 1975).

Relative to provincial norms the average B.C. Indian family is both larger (5.1 vs. 2.7 family members) and less endowed ($5,750 vs. $11,200 annual income) than its non-Indian counterpart. By federally established standards the average B.C. Indian is in fact impoverished. In 1970, 32% of B.C. reserve Indian families had annual incomes less than $3,000, while only 14% had incomes exceeding $10,000. Welfare dependency is in fact increasing; from 1967 to 1975 welfare recepients rose from 28% to 35% of the B.C. reserve population (Wee, 1975). For both on- and off-reserve Indians public assistance is approximately 8 times the provincial average (Stanbury, 1974).

The Indian people's culture of poverty is evidenced both in their reduced likelihood to share in the symbols of Canadian affluence such as medical and life insurance, credit cards, bank accounts, telephone rental, possession of driver's licence, car and television ownership (Stanbury, 1974) and their increased disposition to suffer medical problems. A native Indian

person is twice as likely to require hospitalization than other Canadians. Additionally, the mortality rate although decreasing since 1960 (Wee, 1975) has long been substantially higher for all groups of Indians- 8 times the national average for preschool children, 3 times the average for school age children, 2½ times the average for teenagers, and 3½ times for adults (Lazure, 1973). The social risk of poverty is further indicated in the over representation of persons of native ancestry in the Canadian penitentiary system, 5 times more per capita than non-Indians (Hawthorn, 1967).

Consideration of Indian people's unique political position is critical to an understanding of their economic plight.

> The essence of the Indian's problem is that they lack the power to act in their own behalf. Their powerlessness derives in part from lack of numbers and in part from their unique legal status.... While Indians are citizens, they are also dealt with, insofar as tribal lands and tribal rights are concerned, as members of a conquered nation, whose rights can be expanded, contracted, or otherwise modified as the conqueror sees fit. (Howard, 1970, pp. 14-15)

Although this statement was made in reference to the U.S. situation, the Canadian context is markedly similar. Native Indians remain legally distinct from other Canadian citizens in several significant areas- their jurisdiction under special legislation, the Indian Act; the resulting transaction of their official business by the government's Indian Affairs Branch; the possession (but not control) of reserve lands; and the federal rather rather than provincial provision of social services (Duff, 1965).

The historical antecedents of this condition are exceedingly complex. Before European settlement, an absence of formal political institutions characterized native North American culture. Instead, social control and decision making were accomplished through an elaborate system of conventions established by kinship and rank. Effective management of native people,

however, required the European's imposition of an organized structure, i.e. the artifactual creation of bands and agencies. In addition to the Indians' unfamiliar confinement within predetermined boundaries, rigid rules were established to restrict band membership and reserve usage. Although lacking any real power, band councils, modelled after European village governments, were organized to teach principles of democratic governance. The founding conditions of restricted mobility and unadaptability have continued to characterize the reserve system (Duff, 1965; Hawthorn, 1967).

Treaty conventions initially established the government's paternalistic orientation toward native people. Similar to colonial relationships, Indian tribes received use of reserve land and "additional benefits" in return for their surrender of aboriginal interests. Perpetuating dependency, reserves have functioned principally through government subsidy with little regard given economic development (Duff, 1965; Hawthorn, 1967).

The Indian people's eventual incorporation into Canadian society was espoused as government policy as early as 1847. While Indian status initially excluded native persons from rights and services accorded other citizens, through "enfranchisement," the relinquishing of status and treaty rights, Indians could become legally "white" and eligible to vote as Canadians. Few native persons considered this an advantage. The franchise prohibition perhaps best illustrates native people's institutionalized inferior status and consequent exclusion from the Canadian community. Previous to 1960, 60,000 Indians were prohibited from voting in federal elections by previous legislation requiring either abdication of treaty privileges or special government dispensation (Duff, 1965; Hawthorn, 1967).

A gradual shift in government policy in recent years proposes Indian status as conferring supplementary privileges without any concomitant loss of

rights and responsibilities ordinarily accrued through Canadian citizenship. The government's long term integration objective foresees the simultaneous perpetuation of native culture and the full participation of Indian people in Canadian society through the increasing development of reserve resources and eventual Indian control of band management (Hawthorn, 1967). The White Paper (Chretien, 1972), advocating the gradual removal of special considerations afforded native persons, reflects the continuing controversy concerning the optimal strategy for the incorporation of Indian people into Canadian society.

The implementation of the government's espoused Indian policy is best evidenced through an evolutionary perspective of its orientation toward Indian education, traditionally the principal vehicle for transmitting to native people their position in Canadian society. Assuming responsibility for the education of registered Indians under terms of the British North America Act of 1867, the federal government initially funded and consequently fostered denominational residential schools which served to segregate and protect native children from the "corruptions" of both their own and European cultures.

The 1950's heralded the government's realization of the political implications of the unexpected expansion of the Indian population and resulting establishment of a school program designed to promote the social integration of Indians within mainstream Canadian culture. The successfully educated Indian was to become "independent, self sufficient, and able to function without conflict in both Anglo and Indian cultures" (MacLean, 1973), i.e. to maintain an Indian ethnic identity while adapting his/her behaviours to conform with values of white society. The changing government policy is

reflected in the increasing numbers of Indian children attending integrated schools through federal cost sharing arrangements with provincial governments and local school boards. In 1945 less than 100 Indian children attended integrated schools; in 1964 40% of the Indian school population was represented; in 1967 50% of native children attended joint schools; and in 1972 60% of Indian children were enrolled in provincial schools (Hawthorn, 1967; MacLean, 1973).

Unfortunately for the majority of Indian children education has not proven to be the expected "key to the full realization of self determination ... and mutual self respect for the heritage and culture of Indian and non-Indian" (Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 1961, as cited by Hawthorn, 1967). Nor has the educational system ostensibly met its more prosaic objective "to assist the Indian people in bridging the socio-economic gap between Indian and non-Indian in Canada and to provide each child with the education and training necessary for economic competence" (The Administration of Indian Affairs as quoted by Hawthorn, 1967). In fact, by any number of available criteria, the education of the Indian child is generally conceded to be an unmitigated failure. A pattern of underenrollment, underachievement, and high dropout incidence characterizes the Indian child's educational profile.

The 12,893 Indian students enrolled in B.C. elementary and secondary schools in 1970 are thought to represent only 2/3 of potential school aged children between 6 and 16 (Sawadsky & Landon, 1970). Historically, however, this represents a significant improvement in school attendance, as indicated by earlier Canadian statistics which report 15.4% enrollment of Indian children in 1939-40, increasing to 27.1% in 1963-64 (Lazure, 1973). Success, however, is not guaranteed for school attenders; of these children

approximately 80% nationwide repeat first grade. By 8th grade the average Indian student is 2.5 years behind the national average (Hawthorn, 1967). Nor does initial enrollment ensure eventual school completion; more typically the Indian student responds to academic defeat by dropping out. Of 8,782 Canadian Indian children who entered grade 1 in 1951, only 341 reached grade 12; of these students 141 completed high school (Hawthorn, 1967). Within British Columbia, it is estimated that less than 10% of Indian children beginning grade one achieve high school graduation compared to the province's 80% non-Indian completion rate (Sawadsky & Landon, 1970). As would be expected, the net result is an extremely low incidence of formally educated native people. In 1961, 15.4% of B.C. reserve Indians 15 and over had no schooling; 66% of this population had only an elementary education; and only .06%, 12 B.C. native persons, possessed a university degree (Stanbury, 1973).

It is frequently hypothesized that the failure of native Indian education is principally attributable to cultural and social factors. The Indian child's initial induction to the school culture is characterized by a marked discontinuity of expectations established in the home environment.

> For very many Indian children there are similarities of orientation and knowledge, ones which are different from what the school expects and requires.... the qualities of independence, self reliance, and non-competiveness which he commonly brings to school... do not fit well in a contemporary Canadian school and the child's lack of many items of knowledge possessed by the ordinary white child is very unfitting in that context. (Hawthorn, 1967, pp. 6-7)

In addition to the lack of childhood experiences conducive to later academic achievement, the Indian child may be further handicapped by language disabilities ranging from differential manipulation of verbal symbols (Philion & Galloway, 1972) to total unfamiliarity with both spoken and written English.

Although it is superficially laudable that facilities, curricula, and quality of instruction for Indian students are basically equivalent to those provided white children, such similarity in itself denies both the recognition of and responsiveness to the distinct educational requirements of native people.

> In teachers and in schools, a continuing and serious problem is prejudice against difference, the doctrine of equality through conformity. This accounts for persistence in efforts to control and mould to standards set by the larger society which are incompatible to segments thereof. (Lane, 1972, p. 359).

Fisher (1972) has proposed that the school functions as a rite of passage for middle class Canadian society. The school's emphasis on rules, property rights, schedules, deferred gratification, and the promise of future success socializes its charges to assume their assigned roles in urban, industrialized Canada. While for the white child this represents only a formal induction to a pre-established belief structure, for the Indian child it often constitutes a major conflict with community values and previous learning. Additionally, the Indian child perceives native people relegated to low status marginal positions within the social order proposed and perpetuated by the school; academic and subsequent occupational success requires the adoption of white role models and the denial of one's Indianness. Likely reinforced by the frustrations of a cumulative learning deficit, this persistent assault on the native child's self perception creates a double bind dilemma, requiring psychological and ultimately physical withdrawal.

Evidence supporting and expanding these contentions can be found in the myriad empirical investigations focusing on the native Indian student. Relevant areas of study include cognitive capacities, values, attitudes, and personality characteristics distinguishing North American Indians.

Historically, major research consideration has been given to assessing the innate intellectual capacities of native people. Previous to 1935, it was generally concluded from results of paper/pencil IQ tests that Indian children were inherently less intelligent than their white counterparts. However, later investigation employing "culture-free" measures with greatly reduced verbal emphasis, e.g. Progressive Matrices and the Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test, indicated an equivlent range of intellectual abilities among both groups of children (Havighurst, 1957). This pattern has been substantiated to the present with recent representative studies including the Canadian Mackenzie District Norming Project (MacArthur, 1968) and the U.S. Office of Education National Study of American Indian Education (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972).

Such findings have supported the cultural factors theory in explaining the native child's academic deficits. Similarly, Coleman's Equality of Educational Opportunity study (1966) highlighted the home environment's importance in determining future academic success; "one implication stands out above all--that schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context" (p. 325). Poor, illiterate, and culturally distinct, the Indian family is not prepared to provide sensory-motor learning experiences which have proven conducive to the growth of those cognitive capacities valued by the school.

> The non-Indian child who has blocks to play with learns to discriminate spacially, and to distinguish colours and size.... Tactile discrimination is also learned through familiarity with a number of toys, and direct teaching of the parents.... Such skills help immeasurably when the child learns to read and write. And such skills are assumed by the schools as being possessed by all children on entry. (Hawthorn, 1967, p. 114)

The intellectual demands of initial school attendance are frequently

compounded by inadequate food, clothing, supplies, access to resource materials, and study space, further contributing to the observed pattern of progressive deterioration of academic achievement. Additionally, it is frequently asserted that the cultural context of the Indian child's home environment traditionally promotes an informal orientation towards education, thus failing to provide psychological support for academic accomplishment.

Zentner (1962), however, found grade 9-12 Indian students in Alberta and Oregon expressing positive dispositions toward high school graduation. As expected, samples of U.S. and Canadian white students and their parents comparatively expressed somewhat greater scholastic concern, more frequently reporting themselves "very disappointed" and "very upset," when hypothetically confronted by the prospect of failure to graduate. Fuchs and Havig-Havighurst (1972) characterized Indian students' attitudes toward school as an institution to be "mildly favourable" but accompanied by academic apathy. This seeming contradiction they explained as reflecting the school's social benefits but educational irrelevance as perceived by native students. The greater the concentration of Indian pupils within a school, the more positive were their expressed attitudes. The least critical views were expressed by parents and students attending isolated non-integrated schools; the greatest criticism was correspondingly directed at predominantly white schools in urban settings. Ironically, while increased core culture contact was once thought to facilitate school performance (Havighurst, 1957), Dankworth (1970) more recently found Indian student's academic retardation directly related to the extent of exposure to the dominant culture.

Closely related to interest in school achievement is the relationship of education to native students' future employment expectations. In interviewing Indian youth, Hawthorn (1967) found a large discrepancy, progressively

increasing with age, between ideal and expected vocational aspirations, e.g. doctor vs. logger. The students' occupational realities reflected an acceptance of "typically Indian" areas of employment.

> Their stated verbal aspirations reflect internalized middle-class goals but immediate and more realistic choices are made on the basis of personal experience and perceived opportunity. The array of occupational roles within the Indian community is limited and the perception of possibilities for success in the White community is low. Therefore, occupational choices remain restricted to non-skilled and semi-skilled categories of work. (Hawthorn, 1967, p. 143).

Abu-Laban (1966) proposed that Indian students' enrollment in integrated schools promotes their adoption of majority values. Within a desegregated Canadian high school, he found both Indian and white male children of manual workers likely to select similarly categorized occupations; both Indian and white female children of manual workers clustered with children of non-manual workers in selecting non-physical future occupations. Academic difficulty functioned as an intervening variable differentially depressing the aspirations of males more than females, children of manual workers more than non-manual, and Indians more than whites. Although restricted by a relatively unrefined classification system (manual vs. non-manual) and a limited Indian sample (1 non-manual father), Abu-Laban's findings lend some support to Bean's (1966) contention that Indian students' occupational goals are not unique but in fact typical of low socio-economic groups in general. That the Indian situation is not strictly analogous to that of other depressed Canadians however, is indicated by Fisher's (1972) evidence that for native people the educational achievement/occupational attainment relationship, a Canadian truism, is normatively not applicable.

The Indian student's reduced educational aspirations and subsequent depressed occupational attainment has been linked to the psychological

construct "need achievement" as an explanatory concept. As expected, Cameron and Storm (1965) found British Columbia Indian and working class white children evidencing less achievement motivation than middle class white children. Similarly, Kerckhoff (1959) found fewer instances of need acheivement in stories of grade 5-8 Chippewa Indians in Wisconsin compared to white pupils. Within this Indian sample, the greatest incidence of need achievement was expressed by children characterized by their predominant white identification, a medium amount was expressed by Indian orientated children, and the least achievement motive was expressed by children defined as having mixed or ambivalent identities. Kerckhoff concluded that social disorganization reduces the likelihood of early independance training and consequently the development of need to achieve.

Having predicted that Navajo high school and junior college students would be less achievement oriented than neighbouring white college students, Reboussin and Goldstein (1972) initially explained their contrary results by the selectivity of the Indian sample. Upon further investigation, they rejected their anthropologically based previously held belief in low Indian achievement motivation, instead professing their findings to reflect a Navajo cultural value historically stifled by lack of opportunity for expression. The inherent ethnocentric bias of achievement motivation research demands caution in extrapolating these findings.

> I do not want to be an Indian because when we play games I always have to be killed - Indian child. (Robertson, 1972, p. 411)

Both contributing to and reflecting the Indian child's social reality, self image is inextricably linked to academic achievement and occupational goals. Identity and related personality variables have received considerable attention in psychological studies of native Indian youth. Abu-Laban (1965)

hypothesized that the 7% Indian population of a suburban Edmonton, Alberta, high school would both maintain their ethnic identity and in-group interpersonal orientation. Within their 10 statement responses to the question "Who Am I?", 60% of Indian students referred to social group membership compared to 7% of non-Indians. Interestingly, 25% of Indian students included mention of aspirational upward mobility (e.g. college), while only one of the non-Indian respondents replied similarly. When asked to identify an admired person, Indian students tended to choose friends and professional persons (e.g. teachers and clergy); non-Indian students were more disposed to select family members or military and political figures. In a measure of selective association, both liked and disliked choices of white students were ingroup directed; Indian students, however, selected ingroup members as liked persons, outgroup members as disliked.

Fuchs and Havighurst (1972) found Indian adolescents generally perceiving themselves to be competent persons. When matched by socio-economic status, Indian boys were equivalent to Anglo-American boys in self esteem scores; self evaluations of Anglo girls, however, were statistically higher than ratings of Indian girls. Within the Indian sample, students attending predominantly white schools reported lower self esteem than students enrolled in Indian schools. A related pattern of correlations was found between self esteem and attitudes toward white and Indian cultures: for isolated Indian students a positive relationship was consistently found between self esteem and attitudes toward both white and Indian cultures; for urban Indians, the relationship was maintained for Indian culture but not for white, paradoxically indicating greater white cultural isolation with increased geographic proximity.

Wintrob and Sindell (1972) proposed dual socialization to be

potentially destructive to identity development based on results of their Adolescent Adjustment Interview administered during the Cree Developmental Change Project. Of 109 residential elementary and secondary students from the Mistassini and Waswanipi bands, 42% evidenced identity conflict and 14% identity confusion. Direction of resolution was found related to personal commitment to white educational pursuits.

Numerous other examples of psychological dysfunctioning are found in the literature. Frequently cited is the supposedly inflated suicide rate for persons of Indian descent. U.S. figures indicate that although the total difference between Indians and other Americans in suicide incidence is not in fact significant, important distinctions exist with respect to age and sex. The lower Indian suicide rate for persons over 45 is balanced by the higher Indian figures for adolescents and young adults. Similarly, the significantly reduced female incidence in Indians is countered by an extremely inflated male rate, most critical between the ages 15 and 44. Correlates of Indian suicide attempts have been found to include alcoholism, family difficulties, and death of a friend or relative (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972).

In a study of mental health of native Indian boarding school children, Krush, Bjork, Sindell, and Nelle(1966) administered a battery of standardized psychological tests to residents of the Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, a population representing 600 students from 18 tribes and 5 states. In comparison to a 9th grade Minnesota normative sample, MMPI scores were significantly higher ($p < .01$) for both male and female Indian respondants on 10 of the 13 subscales. The Flandreau sample was also reported as evidencing significant negative differences compared to Gough's high school norms on 15 of the California Psychological Inventory's 18 items. On the

Quay-Peterson Three Factor Scale, a measure of psychopathic, neurotic, and subcultural delinquency, the Flandreau students scored similarly to institutionalized delinquents. Additionally, students differed from the staff on the Kluckhorn Value Orientation Scale in their selection of Collateral, Subjection to Nature, and Present orientations as opposed to the staff's preference for Individualistic, Mastery over Nature and Future perspectives. In explanation, Krush et al. proposed a causal configuration of students' frequent physical mobility resulting in repeated exposure to changing expectations ultimately promoting personality disorganization and value confusion.

Other studies report various degrees of similarities and/or differences to core culture value orientations in expressed attitudes of native Indian students. In employing a chi-square item analysis to compare selected attitudes of Indian and non-Indian grade 9-11 students in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Bean (1966) reported significant differences, with Indian students expressing less democratic attitudes, achievement orientation, tolerance of ambiguity, and interest in post-secondary education, but greater concern for the future, willingness to share, and opposition to bossing. While not significant, a tendency was noted for Indian students to express reduced occupational aspirations and a less positive self image. Although Bean commented on the educational significance of differences decreasing with age, other studies (Gue, 1971) indicate the adoption of core culture values to be potentially a try out phenomenon rather than any real commitment to white belief systems.

Using a questionnaire initially designed to measure values of Mexican-American youth, Friesan (1974) found significant differences on 7 of the instrument's 12 scales when comparing grade 6-9 Blackfoot and Stony Indian

students with non-Indian peers in Calgary, Alberta. Indians scored lower in their expressed self esteem, belief in the rewards of education, interest in planning for the future, and faith in human nature; higher Indian scores were reported for independence from peers, respect for family authority, and faith in occupational rewards. Within the Indian sample, students attending integrated schools expressed greater faith in human nature and acquiescence to school expectations, but reduced belief in occupational rewards and the authority of the family.

Within the six subscales of Gordon's Survey of Interpersonal Values (support, conformity, recognition, independence, benevolence, leadership) Goody (1972) found scores of Indian students enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in Oregon, Utah, Arizona, and California differing significantly from established norms in five categories. Males conformed to non-Indian norms only in leadership, females in benevolence.

In an area of research dominated by findings of differences between Indians and non-Indians, Zentner's study (1963) of Alberta Blood and Blackfoot Indian adolescents reports strikingly anomalous results. Compared to 335 non-Indian Cardston, Alberta, high school students, the 115 denominational and public school Indian students were more likely to endorse core culture "positive" values of rationality, calculation, and reserve. The "negative" values of isolation, withdrawal, and resignation were uniformly rejected by both populations. Zentner's conclusion that from an attitudinal perspective, the Indian student sample evidenced an adaptive stance to the urban white environment requires cautious consideration in light of a strong possibility of an acquiescence bias inherent in his methodology.

The recurring documentation of Indian people's self-estrangement, family disorganization, high mobility, school failure, value conflicts,

unemployment, discrepancy between espoused cultural goals and opportunities for attainment, psychological dysfunctioning, and social pathology has led to frequent consideration of alienation as an integrating explanatory model.

> One of the outstanding themes of Indian youth is the sense of alienation they feel with regard to their own culture and also to non-Indian culture.... One is forced to conclude that the majority of them live in a no-man's land from which they have no escape. (Hawthorn, 1967, p. 116)

Attempts at this construct's empirical validation have engendered equivocal results. Using Kolesar's Alienation Questionnaire, Franklyn (1974) found no overall main effect in alienation from school when comparing Indian Metis and non-Indian students in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories. However, indepednent consideration of subscales revelaed a statistically significant difference on the Normlessness variable, indicating Indian students' greater approval of the use of illegitimate means to achieve school goals. Franklyn concluded that "although [the Indian student] may have assimilated some aspects of institutional expectation goals, he may not have equally internalized the institutitional norms governing the ways and means for attainment" (p. 166).

Bryde (1970) proposed alienation as the unifying principle in explaining MMPI personality profile deviations of Pine Ridge Reserve Ogala Sioux high school students, found to be characterized by feelings of depression, rejection, alienation from self and others, anxeity, withdrawal, and paranoia. Within the student population, Bryde identified a negative relationship between alienation and educational achievement, the greatest pathology being evidenced by recent dropouts, the greatest adjustment by 12th graders. Echoing earlier sentiments of Parsons and Shils (1954) Bryde hypothesized a causal relation between conflicting value expectations, personality deviations (role diffusion and alienation), and academic

achievement.

The potential influence of the dominant group in structuring a minority's experience of alienation has been demonstrated by Tefft (1967). Although both the Arapaho and Shoshone students enrolled in the integrated Wind River, Wyoming, high school appeared objectively equivalent in exposure to educational and occupational barriers, the Arapaho youth evidenced significantly greater despair and disillusionment as measured by the Srole Anomy Scale. The Harvard Value Study Questionnaire indicated that both Indian groups were similar to white peers in value orientation; however, the Arapaho students showed less agreement in rank ordering their choices. The major factor distinguishing the Indian groups appeared to be the white students' greater approval toward the Shoshone, considering them to be "progressive Indians...more like us." Although both Indian groups desired positive white evaluation, only 9% of the Arapaho students felt approved compared to 75% of Shoshone students. Tefft concluded that for the Arapaho rejection by the dominant white groups resulted in reduced ingroup identification, increased value conflict, and consequently their expression of social alienation. Similarly, Hawthorn (1967) found educational achievement, occupational aspirations, and self image directly related to community attitudes toward native Indian residents.

Implicit in the frequent citation of value conflict is the underlying assumption that Indian children are socialized to traditional ways at the expense of their accommodation to the demands of the dominant society. In question is the nature of this aboriginal culture and its persistence in view of apparent inadaptability. Despite extensive intertribal variability, considerable attention has been given to the identification of commonalities thought universally characteristic of North American native people,

e.g. harmony with nature, a present time emphasis, and a cooperative orientation. Based upon psycho-cultural studies, Spindler and Spindler (1957) have catalogued traits most indicative of such cultural homogeneity:

> nondemonstrative emotionality and reserve accompanied by a high degree of control over interpersonal aggression ...a pattern of generosity...autonomy of the individual...; ability to endure pain, hardship, hunger, and frustration without external evidence of discomfort; a positive evaluation of bravery and courage; a generalizaed fear of the world as dangerous; a "practical joker" strain; attention to the concrete realities of the present...in contrast to... long-range goals; a dependence upon supernatural power outside one's self-power that determines one's fate. (p. 148)

While Spindler and Spindler caution emphasizing generalities at the expense of the more meaningful study of individual variation, the dysfunctional continuance of historically founded behaviour patterns in view of the social, psychological, and economic disruption engendered by radical culture change requires consideration. Both the isolation inherent in the reservation system (Bean, 1966) and the lack of meaningful rewards for cultural adaptation (Spindler & Spindler, 1957) have been postulated as contributing to the perpetuation of a traditionally Indian world view.

For the present day Indian adolescent, however, an expanded repertoire of new learning is often required to effectively cope in a white dominated world. Despite the systematic enculturation of educational programs, Sebald (1968) proposed that "in essence the contemporary Indian teenager may not be appreciably different from his forefathers in his outlook on life" (p. 313). Modified versions of traditional attitudes and behaviours are found utilitarian in reordering social reality.

The Indian youth adopting both the materialistic goals of the core culture and the inherently competitive individualistic social roles of that system remains excluded from white society by virtue of minority

identification while simultaneously risking personal rejection from the native community for this defection. Like Spindler and Goldschmidt's (1952) transitional type, the Indian adolescent is in a state of suspension, neither white nor Indian, a marginal being, a personal testimony to social disorganization.

> The slow change of the psychological structure of the Indian teenager is usually due to circumstances that neither sociocultural system--neither the white nor the Indian culture--is fully meaningful and acceptable to contemporary Indian youth. As a result, the Indians as a distinct minority group are not by any means vanishing or becoming absorbed....they are becoming an increasingly problematic minority group whose problems will continue to vex both the dominant society and each new generation of Indians. (Sebald, 1968, p. 319)

Not unexpectedly, the Indian perception of their situation is quite distinct from that of the government; ironically, the government's "Indian problem" is conversely the Indians' "government problem". Of paramount concern is the government's eventual recognition of the right of Indian people to the self determination required to effect their continued existence as a distinct unit. Despite espoused benevolent intentions, the government's Indian management programs have been ill-received by native people:

> People think that the Indian has or can develop no way of his own, better suited to his spirit and his traditions. Consequently, consciously or unconsciously, almost all proposals in the past have been aimed at the absorption of the Indian into the white community with the resultant destruction of the Indian people. The Indian has lost his lands, he has been deprived of his traditional means of livelihood; his spirit has been broken down; he is losing his language and his culture; he is being wiped out by assimilation. (Statement of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, 1964, quoted by Hawthorn, 1967, pp. 48-49)

Drawn together by the common threat of cultural annihilation, Indian people have coalesced inter-tribally forming organizations to promote information exchange and provide public forums. Additionally, the focus on Indian

identity has prompted the growth of nativistic movements and increased interest in the education of the native Indian child.

> The time has come for a radical change in Indian education. Our aim is to make education relevant to the philosophy and needs of the Indian people. We want education to give our children a strong sense of identity, with confidence in their personal worth and ability. (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 3)

Believing the traditional public school perception of the Indian child as experientially deficient and requiring social and cognitive remediation to be destructive both to the child and the native community, Indian people propose an alternative curriculum orientation recognizing the validity of the Indian way of life, i.e. the inclusion of Indian culture, the use of pedagogical methods appropriate to Indian learning styles, and the eventual realization of the child's potential through the development of appropriate occupational and social skills (Lazure, 1973).

Education is but one dimension of an awakening Indian interest in restructuring their heritage of political powerlessness:

> It is exceedingly important that we organize and unite as a racial group and that we operate from a base of political power. Only then can we function as a pressure group in society.... Of course this means becoming involved in politics, that is, becoming aware of the political situation around us. (Adams, 1972, p. 440)

Historically, socially and economically impoverished minority groups have been excluded from significant political influence. For Indian people, however, the implementation of self defined priorities demands a responsive government. The task of the native electorate is to become a politically relevant constituency, i.e. to formulate an effective strategy for acquiring political power (Hawthorn, 1967). Indian awareness of their political mandate is evidenced by George Manuel's address to the B.C. Native Indian

Teachers Association, as president of the National Indian Brotherhood.

> What I say is that the time is now, when Indians with confidence and conviction must stand up and be counted, must be seen and heard by government, by the public and by other Indians across Canada. ('Indians Need More Say', 1974, p. 92)

While the systematic incorporation of Indian citizens within the political sphere would strengthen Canadian unity, Indian activists in recent years have presented an increasingly militant response to the frustrations of minority status positions in politics. The ineffectiveness of the ballot box has led to reliance on nontraditional forms of political expression, e.g. highway blockades, demonstrations, and occupations of government buildings. The one moderating influence of a conservative Indian leadership is being overturned.

> In the case of social wrongs and deeply felt concerns time is of the essence...if for much longer the rights are not noticed, needs not met, or aspirations not fulfilled, then no one...can be assured that the rank and file will continue to accept such pacific conduct from its leaders. (Citizens Plus, 1972, p. 439)

The present investigation

The present study represents a preliminary attempt at investigating the political socialization experience of Indian youth. The unique political position of Canada's native people, the inherent inequities of the Indian's social standing, and the reawakening of interest in the preservation of a unique Indian identity require the systematic investigation of the Indian child's politicalization. Theoretically, the repeatedly demonstrated cultural specificity of political socialization findings demands the independent consideration of distinct minority populations. Practically, such accrued knowledge is critical for society's maximizing opportunities for equitable inclusion of its minority members and for native Indian people's effective organization of social/political activity.

It is expected that the Canadian Indian's heritage of social/political impoverishment will be reflected in the espoused attitudes of Indian youth, i.e. the Indian students will perceive themselves less personally competent than other Canadian youth.

Hypothesis 1: The Indian adolescent's inferior social position, as indicated by socio-economic status, will be parallelled by feelings of lower self esteem, inferior performance on assessments of scholastic achievement, and reduced occupational aspirations in relation to core culture youth.

Hypothesis 2: The Indian student's political perceptions will be characterized by a passive political orientation, i.e. disinterest in political participation and low levels of political trust and efficacy.

Hypothesis 3: Indian adolescents will express feelings of interpersonal distrust and personal impotence in school decision making.

Hypothesis 4: Compared to white adolescents, the availability of role models will be significantly reduced for Indian students.

Choice of methodology

Survey research is the most commonly employed research strategy in the investigation of political attitudes. With recent methodological advancement in questionnaire construction, sampling procedures, and techniques of analysis, the possibilities for its application are seemingly limitless. Unfortunately, many investigators provide ample justification for Abraham Kaplan's law of instrument: give a child a hammer and s/he will find that everything requires pounding. With completely unquestioned and possibly unwarranted total reliance on this approach, there is some danger that equally valid but "unscientific" personal impressions and observations are frequently neglected.

Despite these reservations, a questionnaire strategy was thought appropriate in the present context of pilot, descriptive research for a previously unexplored investigative domain. The critical assumption that students would understand the items was of considerable concern. Although suspected to be linguistically disadvantaged compared to white students, the Indian youths' enrollment in an integrated public school, membership in bands known to be politically active, and sophistication resulting from proximity to an urban center, Victoria, B.C., provided some justification for the use of questions previously utilized for populations of young persons. Additionally, teachers of the Indian students expressed the belief that questionnaire completion would be feasible for most of the children.

Although not overtly included in the structure of the present investigation, the eventual interpretation of results is influenced by the author's residence in the community during the four month period of questionnaire modification and administration. Her husband's presence as a student teacher in the study school provided further opportunity to know the children as people rather than merely as experimental subjects. The author feels this experience conveyed a far greater personal appreciation for the culture of Indian youth than is possible to convey within the constraints of an empirical investigation.

Chapter 2: Method

Pretest

Subjects

The pretest questionnaire was administered to two grade 9 classes, selected by the principal for scheduling convenience, at Royal Oak Junior Secondary School in District 63, Saanich, Vancouver Island. This population of 44 students included 18 males, mean age 14.0, and 26 females, mean age 13.8. No native Indian students were enrolled at the school.

Development of the pretest questionnaire

The pretest questionnaire (Appendix A) was constructed by selecting items and scales appropriate to the proposed hypotheses, the abilities of the sample population, and the characteristics of testing situations. Certain items were modified to comply with these considerations. The indices reflect a continuum from personal to social/political components of the subject's perceived life space. Subsections of the questionnaire were designed to measure socioeconomic status, self esteem - environmental control, school power structure, political efficacy, political trust, political participation, assessment of the government's role, life goals, and ego/world ideals. Measures of each of these variables will be discussed in turn.

Socioeconomic status. Two indices of socioeconomic status were included in the pretest questionnaire: parent's occupation and a household item inventory. Hess and Torney (1967) employed occupational status ratings as an acceptably accurate estimate for assigning children to social status groupings. However, due to a suspected high concentration of low status occupations among parents of native Indian children, such an index might prove inappropriate in this context. As Greenberg (1970b) has suggested, ethnic

group membership may necessitate occupational meaning distinct from white society as a consequence of unequal educational opportunities and a separate social milieu. A life style indicator, the Household Item Inventory (Coleman, 1966), was selected as a supplementary socioeconomic status index for the study population. (Pretest questionnaire, page 2)

Self esteem - environmental control. The questions comprising the self esteem - environmental control index (pretest questionnaire, page 3) were selected from the Equality of Educational Opportunity study sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Coleman, 1966). Within the 13 item scale, Coleman employed three questions to assess academic self concept or self confidence (brightness compared to other students, ability to learn, school performance related to perceived speed of teacher) and three questions to measure the child's feelings of control over the environment (chance to be successful, respective importance of luck vs. hard work, possibilities for getting ahead). All 13 items were incorporated within the study questionnaire.

School power structure. Students' perception of their school power structure hierarchy has been hypothesized as a contributing factor in fostering the establishment of belief in internal or external environmental control (Wittes, 1972). The school power structure index (pretest questionnaire, page 4) was included to assess the relationship between differential perception of the school organization and social/political variables. Students were asked to evaluate the degree of influence (little or no, some, moderate, considerable, a great deal) that various groups actually have in deciding what happens in their school.

Political efficacy. A children's modification of the Survey Research Center's political efficacy scale was adopted for use in the questionnaire

(pretest questionnaire, page 5). Designed to measure subjective interpretation of political competence, the extent to which the government is responsive to individual needs and opinions, the scale has demonstrated high correlations with measures of political participation (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954).

Political trust. The political trust items utilized in the questionnaire (pretest questionnaire, page 6) were selected from the Survey Research Center's attitude toward government scale, developed for use in their 1964 election study. Widely used as a measure of political confidence for both children and adults, the index reflects the degree to which one believes that the government acts in the best interests of the people. Independently, distrust has been utilized to predict adult voting patterns (Aberbach, 1969).

Assessment of the government's role. To measure approval of established government functioning, children were asked to agree or disagree with statements representative of its authority (pretest questionnaire, page 7). The extent of agreement with existing government roles reflects an acceptance of the legitimacy of the political system (Easton & Dennis, 1969).

Political involvement. An indication of political commitment may be evidenced by asking children to declare intended political activities. Indices of preference for method of political change and future voting behaviour are therefore included in the questionnaire (pretest questionnaire, page 7). Choices of traditional (voting, letter writing) and nontraditional (demonstrations, doing nothing, "something else") political activities are presented as alternatives for facilitating change in the government. Questions concerning future voting behaviour (will you vote, does it matter which party wins, who would you ask how to vote) were selected from Greenstein's Civic Responsibility Interview (1965).

Goals and ideals. One's personalized political system functions as a mediator between the inner demands of the self and the imposed constraints of society. A harmonious relationship between the individual and the social structure demands the system's recognition of and provision for the satisfaction of human needs. Within the questionnaire, this construct is operationalized by indices of perceived life chance and ego/world ideals (pretest questionnaire, page 8). A significant concern of the Perceived Life Chance Index (Jessor, Graves, Hanson, & Jessor, 1968) is the discrepancy between the individual's desired goals and the actual expectations of achieving them (the job you'd like to have vs. the job you expect to have). This inconsistency, the "life chance disjunction" has been proposed as a measure of alienation appropriate for high school students. The ego ideal items request the respondent to name "a famous person you want to be like" and "a famous person you don't want to be like" (Greenstein, 1965). In addition to indicating a role model (Hyman, 1972), the questions provide a measure of self estrangement, "the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual self" (Seeman, 1972). The final question concerns the child's perception of modifications necessary for perfecting the world order, "if you could change the world ..." (Greenstein, 1965). Proposed changes reflect both the child's world view and a personal hierarchy of social concern.

Procedure

The experimenter was introduced to the students by the classroom teacher, who explained that s/he would not be present that period. Preceding questionnaire distribution, students were told that they were participating in a research project at Simon Fraser University to learn about how junior secondary students feel they can influence the world. Students were

instructed to read the instructions carefully, to work quickly and independently, to answer all questions, to select the response choice most like their own feelings, and to raise their hands if confused or finished. Students, whose completed questionnaires were individually collected, were then requested to read quietly at their desks until all class members were finished. Completion times ranged from 20 to 30 minutes. During the remainder of the class period, the experimenter discussed with the students the questionnaire and their feelings about school and politics.

Results of the pretest: revision of the questionnaire

Based on results of the pretest sample, selected revisions were incorporated in the final draft of the questionnaire (Appendix B).

Deletion: Socioeconomic status. A lack of variance in the pretest sample's responses to the Household Item Inventory resulted in its exclusion from the revised form of the questionnaire. It was decided to employ only father's occupation (mother's employment was considered only for instances of father absence) in assigning social status, recognizing the interpretive limitations this choice imposed.

Deletion: Assessment of the government's role. The attempt in the pretest to measure cognitive dispositions by assessing approval of established government functioning resulted in a tendency toward generalized endorsement by the sample population. Thought to be of limited informational value, these items were not included in the final draft of the questionnaire.

Addition: Interpersonal trust. The deletion of these pretest items permitted the addition of a scale designed to measure interpersonal trust without significantly increasing the time required for

questionnaire completion. Rosenberg's Faith in People Scale (final questionnaire, page 3) "attempts to assess one's degree of confidence in the trustworthiness, honesty, goodness, generosity, and brotherliness of people in general". Use by the Survey Research Center in the 1964 election study indicated a positive relationship between interpersonal trust and attitudes toward government. Trust in people items were found to correlate .24 with trust in government, .23 with belief in a responsive government, .25 with political efficacy, and .28 with personal competence (Robinson, Rusk, & Head, 1968). Rosenberg (1956) had previously found that persons who professed low faith in people also expressed low trust in government.

Main Study

Subjects

During an extended home room period for the entire school population, 370 grade 8-10 students at Mount Newton Junior Secondary School in District 63, Saanich, Vancouver Island, completed the final revised form of the questionnaire. This population included 37 native Indian children from the Tsartlip and Tsawout Bands. The identification of Indian students was accomplished through the assistance of school personnel. Relevant personal characteristics for the sample subjects are summarized in Table 1.

Subjects include incomplete questionnaire respondents (determined by no responses attempted on last or previous questionnaire pages) for 8% of the native Indian students and 5% of the other students).

Procedure

Subjects were administered the study questionnaire by their home room teachers. An explanation letter (Appendix C) requested teachers to read

Table 1

Subject Characteristics of Native Indian and Other Students

	% Ss Male	% Ss Female	Mean[a] Age	Mean[b] SES	Mean[c] SCAT	Mean[c] GPA
Indian Students	40	60	14.4 (12-17)	5.5	2.1 (D)	3.2 (C-)
Other Students	53	47	13.9 (12-18)	4.2	4.2 (C)	4.6 (C+)

[a]Numbers in parentheses indicate the range of ages represented

[b]Socioeconomic status is based on Blishen's (1967) 6 point scale

[c]Scholastic Aptitude Test score and cumulative grade point average are adjusted to an equivalent 7 point scale (A, B, C+, C, C-, D, E)

the questionnaire's cover page instructions to their students, emphasizing the importance of reading directions, working quickly and independently, answering all questions, and selecting the response alternative that is closest to one's actual feelings. To prevent discussion biasing responses, teachers were asked to answer questions concerning terminology briefly, as the students' opinions did not need to be based on extensive factual information. Approximately one-half hour was allotted for completion of the questionnaire. Additional classroom time was given to 9 of the 37 Indian students (24%) to finish the questionnaire.

In addition to personal data requested on the cover page of the questionnaire (name, age, sex, and parents' occupations), access to the school's permanent record files permitted calculation of cumulative grade point average and obtaining Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. Efforts at acquiring a school adjustment conflict measure (e.g. citizenship cards, principal reports, or teacher ratings) were opposed by the school

administration for reasons of confidentiality.

Data analysis

All data manipulations reported were accomplished by utilizing programs drawn from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975).

Scale Construction

The appropriateness of scales selected from previous studies was investigated for the present sample. Based upon item statistics and factor analytic results, scale items not contributing to internal consistency were excluded to improve the quality of the originally selected measures. These resultant components were verified by a factor pattern which maximized scale differentiation. Internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) and factor loadings for indices incorporated in the final data analysis are summarized in Table 2.

No empirical justification was indicated for the Coleman self esteem - environmental control scale's bi-dimensionality. In the reconstructed scale, eight of the original 13 items, producing acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .63) and a clearly delineated factor structure, were employed as an indicator of self concept. A selection of four of the six original interpersonal trust items resulted in a maximum Cronbach's alpha of .46 and only moderate factor loadings, generating some doubt concerning the scale's internal consistency. For the school power structure hierarchy, the factor pattern indicates two distinct dimensions, distant power (the school board, superintendent, the principal) and near power (the teachers, the students, yourself); combined, the scale's internal consistency coefficient is expectedly low, .39. Eliminating three of the original nine

Table 2

Varimax Factor Loadings for Scale Items

Scale (Alpha)		Item	Factors I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Self concept (.63)	3	try to get ahead	.40	.07	.07	.01	.20	.00
	6	make any sacrifice	.30	.08	.09	.07	.06	.02
	7	if I could change	.36	.05	.01	.02	.06	.08
	8	just can't learn	.46	.05	.07	.00	.05	.12
	9	do better in school	.47	.09	.08	.09	.03	.03
	10	chance to be successful	.40	.07	.05	.02	.01	.10
	12	do many things well	.30	.07	.03	.05	.19	.14
	13	how bright are you	.71	.03	.04	.00	.02	.07
Interpersonal trust (.46)	1	people can be trusted	.16	.10	.03	.11	.21	.04
	2	people try to help	.13	.07	.07	.01	.64	.06
	3	people take advantage	.14	.10	.14	.08	.49	.20
	6	teachers treat everyone same	.19	.20	.22	.09	.23	.04
School power (.39) distant	1	school board	.14	.03	.15	.64	.10	.06
	2	superintendent	.05	.08	.06	.61	.04	.06
	3	principal	.36	.14	.14	.39	.06	.18
near	4	teachers	.15	.12	.48	.20	.12	.09
	5	students	.01	.02	.52	.22	.03	.05
	6	you	.21	.06	.75	.15	.02	.15
Political efficacy (.54)	1	voting is only say	.05	.09	.08	.09	.00	.34
	4	government men don't care	.06	.40	.13	.04	.14	.41
	5	family doesn't have say	.08	.21	.03	.02	.02	.32
	7	think government cares	.01	.27	.10	.03	.20	.35
	8	citizens don't have say	.00	.01	.02	.18	.04	.37
	9	average person decides laws	.08	.06	.10	.00	.28	.24
Political trust (.71)	1	government people are crooked	.00	.45	.04	.06	.03	.11
	2	government people waste money	.01	.48	.08	.04	.06	.00
	3	government does right	.24	.60	.11	.02	.01	.09
	4	government people know jobs	.22	.58	.02	.06	.09	.10
	5	government is run for...	.12	.50	.01	.16	.06	.14
	6	government pays attention	.01	.50	.04	.10	.27	.03
Political participation (.40)	1	will you vote	.20	.14	.02	.13	.13	.19
	2	does winner make difference	.26	.17	.02	.14	.13	.11

political efficacy items resulted in a final internal consistency of .54 and a relatively distinct factor pattern. Evidencing a strong uni-dimensionality, the six original political trust items had an internal consistency of .71 and consistently strong factor loadings. The combining of two political involvement items (will you vote, does it matter which party wins) as an indication of projected political participation was justified in the interest of data simplification and their .40 Cronbach's alpha, despite the lack of factor homogeneity.

Independent analysis for the Indian population indicated some variation from the scale structure generated by the entire sample. The comparatively small number of Indian subjects and a generally perceived similarity in view of expected differences precluded extensive consideration of this issue. All other variables were considered independently as items for purposes of data analysis.

Chapter 3: Results

The Pearson product moment correlation r was employed to measure the strength of the relationship between Indian/White group membership and selected variables drawn from the questionnaire. The results of this analysis, i.e. correlation coefficients and their respective levels of significance, are summarized in Table 3. Negative values indicate a lower score for Indian respondents for all variables, excluding positive and negative ideals where the direction reflects native students' greater disposition towards choosing same sex and different race models.

Table 3

Pearson Correlations Between Group Membership and Questionnaire Variables

Variables	r	Probability
Socio-Economic Status	-.2536	.001
Scholastic Aptitude Test Score	-.3835	.001
Cumulative Grade Point Average	-.4053	.001
Self Concept	-.2563	.001
Interpersonal Trust	.0725	n.s.
Near School Power	.1020	.026
Distant School Power	-.1387	.004
Political Efficacy	.0700	n.s.
Political Trust	.0534	n.s.
Political Change-Letter to MP	-.1048	.024
Political Change-Demonstrations	.0805	n.s.
Political Participation	-.2377	.001
Political Advice-Friend	.1142	.016
Political Advice-Teachers	.0672	n.s.
Desired Occupation (SES)	-.1855	.001
Expected Occupation (SES)	-.1439	.011
Life Chance Disjunction	-.0375	n.s.
Sex of Positive Ideal	.0508	n.s.
Sex of Negative Ideal	.0934	.036
Race of Positive Ideal	-.5193	.001
Race of Negative Ideal	-.8876	.001

> Hypothesis 1: The Indian adolescent's inferior social position, as indicated by socio-economic status, will be paralleled by feelings of lower self esteem, inferior performance on assessments of scholastic achievement. and reduced occupational aspirations in relation to core culture youth.

As expected for Indian youth, group membership was significantly related to low social standing, reduced feelings of self esteem, inferior performance on assessments of academic achievement, and low status occupational aspirations compared to white peers. However, as both groups selected slightly lower status expected occupations, no significant difference was evidenced for the desired/expected employment discrepancy, indicated by life chance disjunction. (See Table 3)

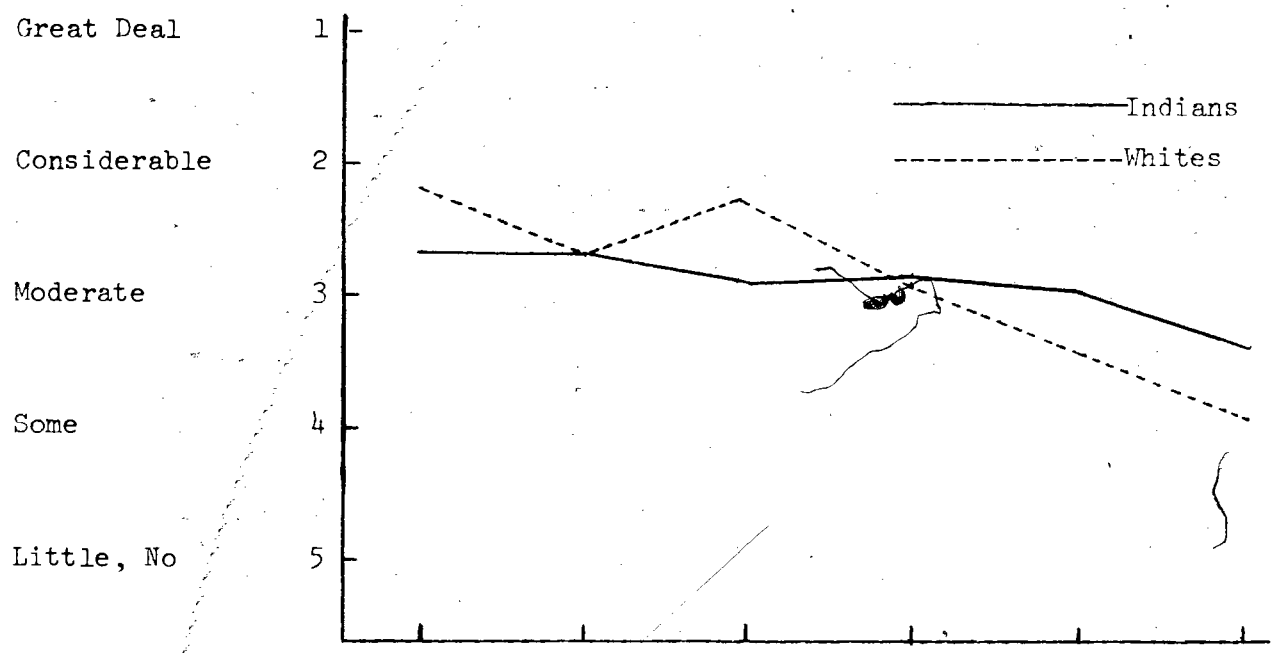
> Hypothesis 2: The Indian student's political perceptions will be characterized by a passive political orientation, i.e. disinterest in political participation and low levels of political trust and efficacy.

Mixed findings characterized native youths' political orientations. Both groups of students expressed equivalent support for the political norms of trust and efficacy. Only minor differences were evidenced in choices of political change and advice, with Indian youths somewhat less disposed to write letters to MPs and slightly more inclined to ask friends for voting advice. The native students, however, reported a significantly greater disinterest in their personal political participation. (See Table 3)

> Hypothesis 3: Indian adolescents will express feelings of interpersonal distrust and personal impotence in school decision making.

Noteworthy are the unexpected response patterns of the interpersonal trust and school power variables. Although both groups expressed equivalent belief in people, the Indian students' perception of the school power hierarchy was quite distinct. Perceiving the near power triad as more powerful and the distant power triad as less powerful (see Table 3), the Indian students'

responses reflected a marked egalitarian school decision making perspective. These findings are presented graphically in Figure 2.



	School Board	Super-intendent	Prin-cipal	Teachers	Students	You
Means (Indian)	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.8	3.0	3.4
Means (White)	2.2	2.7	2.3	2.9	3.4	3.9
t	2.02	.17	2.36	.62	1.31	2.15
p	.05	n.s.	.02	n.s.	n.s.	.04

Figure 2. Mean scores of Indian/White school power hierarchy responses

> Hypothesis 4: Compared to white adolescents, the availability of role models will be greatly reduced for Indian students.

Requiring written responses, positive and negative ideals were characterized by considerable missing data. Non-respondents included 30% of Indians and 29% of Whites for positive ideal, 38% of Indians and 25% of Whites for negative ideal. The potential population specificity of subjects

completing these items requires cautious consideration of their data. White students consistently selected persons of the same racial background for both positive (97%) and negative (99%) ideals. While comparatively lacking in same race role models (see Table 3) Indian students more frequently selected a native person as a positive (50%) than as a negative (15%) ideal. The significant sex of negative ideal relationship (see Table 3) results from white females' greater tendency to select male persons.

Due to a lack of refinement in the categorization system employed for positive and negative ideals, these findings are presented only by percentage endorsement in Table 4. White students were more inclined to choose athletes and entertainers as positive ideals, while Indian youth indicated a somewhat greater preference for relatives. For negative ideals, Whites evidenced a greater tendency to choose historical and government figures (especially Richard Nixon), while the Indian students were more disposed towards selecting athletes and local persons.

Table 4

Positive and Negative Ideals Chosen by Indian and White Respondents

Categories	Positive Ideal		Negative Ideal	
	Indian (N=26)	White (N=238)	Indian (N=23)	White (N=251)
Government figure	3.8%(1)	2.9%(7)	13.0%(3)	44.2%(111)
Athlete	3.8%(1)	12.2%(29)	13.0%(3)	2.0%(5)
Entertainer	19.2%(5)	26.0%(62)	30.4%(7)	25.9%(65)
Historical Figure	11.5%(3)	6.7%(16)	8.7%(2)	11.2%(28)
Relative	11.5%(3)	3.8%(9)	4.3%(1)	1.2%(3)
Local Person	3.8%(1)	.4%(1)	17.4%(4)	2.0%(5)
No one	23.1%(6)	18.1%(43)	13.0%(3)	8.0%(20)
Self	19.2%(5)	20.2%(48)	--------	.4%(1)
Other	3.8%(1)	9.7%(23)	--------	5.2%(13)

Discriminant analysis is a statistical technique for determining the maximum differentiation of several groups for a specific criterion, through the construction of a linear combination of variables which are weighted according to their relative contributions. As indicated by discriminant coefficients presented in Table 5, grade point average, political participation, SCAT score, political trust, socio-economic status, interpersonal trust, friend as best source of political advice, and demonstrations as best method of political change were found to be optimal variables in differentiating group membership, i.e. race as a criterion. A prediction system including all questionnaire variables, except goals and ideals excluded for missing data considerations, correctly classified 89.2% of the Indian subjects and 88.9% of the White subjects. When applied to only complete data subjects, it correctly identified 95.2% of Indians (N=21) and 92.3% of Whites (N=207).

The salience of those variables ascribed importance by discriminant analysis was validated by multiple regression, the statistical identification of the smallest set of predictors accounting for the largest proportion of the variance for a given criterion. Based on complete data subjects, a prediction equation including grade point average, socio-economic status, friend as best source of political advice, political trust, political participation, SCAT score, teacher as best source of political advice, and interpersonal trust explains 32% (R^2=.3158) of the variation in group membership. On the average, predicted group membership scores (1-Indian/2-White) would vary by .25 units as indicated by the standard error of estimate. A detailed description of this analysis is presented in Table 6.

Table 5

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients for Questionnaire Variables Included in Discriminant Analysis

Variables	Discriminant Coefficient
Age	0.070
Sex	0.089
Socio-Economic Status	0.206
Scholastic Aptitude Test Score	-0.267
Cumulative Grade Point Average	-0.460
Self Concept	0.070
Interpersonal Trust	-0.195
Near School Power	-0.018
Distant School Power	0.055
My School Power (Students-You)	-0.084
Political Efficacy	-0.076
Political Trust	-0.219
Political Change-Letter to P.M.	-0.030
Political Change-Demonstrations	-0.130
Political Change-Letter to M.P.	-0.008
Political Change-Vote	0.069
Political Change-Something Else	-0.097
Political Participation	0.338
Political Advice-Friend	-0.134
Political Advice-Brother, Sister	-0.060
Political Advice-Father	0.067
Political Advice-Mother	-0.019
Political Advice-Teacher	-0.098
Political Advice-Someone Else	0.100

Table 6

Summary Table for Multiple Regression Analysis of Group Membership

Variable	Multiple R	R^2	Simple R	F[a]
Grade Point Average	.4416	.1950	.4416	19.2
Socio-Economic Status	.4760	.2266	-.2482	5.2
Political Advice-Friend	.4951	.2451	.1784	5.9
Political Trust	.5132	.2634	.0428	7.0
Political Participation	.5324	.2835	-.2861	9.8
SCAT Score	.5513	.3040	.3902	6.2
Political Advice-Teacher	.5570	.3102	.0964	2.5
Interpersonal Trust	.5620	.3158	.0050	2.0

[a] An F of 3.9 is significant at the .05 probability level

Sex differences as assessed by the Pearson product moment correlation r are reported in Table 7. Negative values indicate a lower score for male respondents for all variables excluding ideals, where positive scores reflect females' disposition toward responses coded "different" (e.g., ideals of opposite sex) and negative scores their increased likelihood in choosing responses coded "same" (e.g. ideals of same race).

Table 7

Pearson Correlations Between Sex and Questionnaire Variables

Variables	Whites		Indians	
	r	Probability	r	Probability
Socio-Economic Status	-.0694	n.s.	.2293	n.s.
Scholastic Aptitude Test	-.0742	n.s.	.2228	n.s.
Grade Point Average	-.2197	.001	-.0919	n.s.
Self Concept	.1000	.041	.3242	.038
Interpersonal Trust	-.0465	n.s.	-.4308	.005
Near Power	-.0893	.054	.1679	n.s.
Distant Power	-.0779	n.s.	.0586	n.s.
Political Efficacy	.0661	n.s.	.0287	n.s.
Political Trust	.0700	n.s.	-.0222	n.s.
Political Change-Voting	.0921	.049	-.2646	n.s.
Political Change-Something Else	-.0517	n.s.	.4110	.008
Political Change-Nothing	-.1221	.014	-.0344	n.s.
Political Participation	.0833	n.s.	.0219	n.s.
Political Advice-Friend	-.1161	.019	.2017	n.s.
Political Advice-Brother/ Sister	-.0927	.049	.0296	n.s.
Political Advice-Father	-.1604	.002	-.0129	n.s.
Political Advice-Mother	-.1171	.018	-.0344	n.s.
Political Advice-Teacher	.1277	.011	.1413	n.s.
Political Advice-Someone Else	-.1057	.030	.2814	.053
Desired Occupation	-.1103	.031	-.2539	n.s.
Expected Occupation	-.0172	n.s.	-.1817	n.s.
Life Chance Disjunction	-.1007	n.s.	.0681	n.s.
Sex of Positive Ideal	.1252	.011	-.4513	.003
Sex of Negative Ideal	.3114	.001	-.5623	.001
Race of Positive Ideal	-.1650	.011	-.6124	.002
Race of Negative Ideal	-.0614	n.s.	-.3361	n.s.

For White subjects, the significant differences result from males' lower grade point average, higher self concept, reduced near power evaluation, increased endorsement of voting and rejection of doing nothing to promote political change, greater disposition to ask a teacher as opposed to a friend, brother/sister, father, mother, or someone else for political advice, lower status desired occupation, increased choice of same sex positive and negative ideals, and greater selection of different race positive ideals (e.g. black American sports figures).

Significant male/female Indian differences are indicative of Indian males' higher self concept, lower interpersonal trust, greater selection of the "something else" and "someone else" alternatives for political change and advice, and more frequent selection of different race ideals. The negative sex of ideals correlation results from Indian females' choice of same sex models. As evidenced from the data presented, the smaller N of the Indian sample requires correlations of far greater magnitude to reach significance. Of some interest is the lack of sex differences for most of the overtly political variables.

Chapter 4: Discussion

In generating some evidence for the proposed hypotheses, the results support the contention that Canadian Indian youth likely perceive themselves to be less socially and politically competent than their core culture peers. The deleterious effect of culture conflict for the Indian adolescent is demonstrated by those findings viewed as suggestive of accomodation to a state of dual marginality, i.e. acculturated but not assimilated native youth neither ascribe to traditional ways nor are incorporated within white society.

Hypothesis 1: A pattern of low social standing, reduced self esteem, academic difficulty, and limited desired and expected occupational aspirations provides dubious foundation for future efficacious social interaction. Inherent in adopting a white value system is the personal acceptance of a negative identity for Indian people. The low self esteem scores of the Indian adolescent is of particular interest in view of the school's espoused efforts to provide a "meaningful" education for Indian youth through the replacement of Social Studies 9 and 10 by Native Studies, attended by 64% of Indian students completing the questionnaire.

> By providing Indian students with an opportunity to study more of their own history and culture and by presenting them with contemporary and historical material of a more relevant nature, it is hoped to increase the self esteem of these students, thereby making their schooling more rewarding and productive. (Taylor, 1974, p. 3)

That the native child might be in greater difficulty without this special provision is a recognized possibility (as is the equally realistic option, "too little too late"). However, the principal's belief that his Indian students will "survive and prosper" (Taylor, 1974, p. 3) is not

overwhelmingly supported by the data collected. The extreme academic distress and frequently cited low status desired and expected occupations, e.g. sales clerk, secretary, chambermaid, shipyard worker, carpenter, provide little evidence for expanded life option possibilities.

Hypothesis 2: The Indian students' lack of interest in actively participating in the political process, despite an avowed subscription to core culture political values, may reflect both the realization of the futility of minority politics and a consequent lack of belief in the personal relevance of the political system. The Indian adolescents' equivalent normative support for political trust and efficacy is perhaps indicative of the school's partial success in transmitting cultural values to minority group members.

Hypothesis 3: Several explanations might possibly account for the Indian students' egalitarian perception of the school power structure. The democratic decision making orientation of the band polity may be transferred to the students' own social milieu. Conversely, the Indian students may be denying the influence which distant power authority figures have in determining their lives. School staff members provided anecdotal support for this position. The unexpected subscription to belief in people's inherent goodness may reflect both a traditional Indian and Western cultural expectation. However, adverse experience in the wider social structure could eradicate this belief.

Hypothesis 4: Although statistical verification supports the comparative lack of same race role models for Indian students, greater significance is attached to the greatly increased choice of native persons as positive than negative ideals, thought indicative of affirmative identification with native people. Additionally, the extreme ethnocentric bias of the white

students is not considered totally desirable in an ostensibly pluralistic society.

As Indian racial membership is by social definition institutionalized inferiority, it is not surprising that patterns observed for native students parallel trends documented for lower class school children -

> [they] do not learn subject matter as well, are less successful in passing examinations and other performance tests, do not attain as high a grade level, do not remain in school as long, have lower educational and occupational aspirations. Pupils from lower class families also participate less in extracurricular activities...[and] in social affairs. (Jones & Selby, 1972, p. 115)

The issue of social status, however, has not been pursued in this analysis. While it cannot be disputed that Indianness is confounded with low socio-economic standing, until equivalent opportunities exist for native Indian people it would not reflect social reality to attempt to isolate this effect. Additionally, the issue of "multicollinearity", the likelihood of sampling error falsification of partial slopes and partial correlations when based upon intercorrelated independent variables, renders questionable the statistical advisability of controlling the influence of social class (Blalock, 1970). Distinguishing Indianness through matched grouping by relevant descriptive variables (age, sex, SES, GPA, SCAT) was not feasible due to the inadequate availability of appropriately disadvantaged white students.

Additional methodological issues require consideration. Though of value as exploratory, descriptive research in providing an initial data base and direction for further investigation, this study's findings need be substantiated through cross validation samples to avoid possibly unwarranted

generalization. The measures' validity, reliability, and appropriateness to Indian youth are in need of further verification; the results of paper/pencil tests are inherently suspect when administered to persons culturally distinct from the construction sample. The assumptions that the students' responses indicate actual opinions and are reflections of likely behaviours may not be totally justified.

> What Indian students put down on paper is more often than not belied by subsequent behaviour. No matter how similar the expressed attitudes may appear to those of white students after such testing, they still back off from the white world and do not reflect its attitudes in their conduct. (Bryde, 1971, p. 29)

The demand characteristics of a testing situation necessitate the application of alternative approaches in supporting questionnaire generated findings. Assessment from an individualistic perspective, e.g. observations and interviews, would additionally provide insight into the intra-psychic processes of the socialization experience. The relationship of youthful attitudes to later adult behaviours will only be understood through extensive longitudinal investigation. As research with Black Americans has indicated that race of experimenter, questionnaire administrator, or interviewer can significantly affect the measurement of both attitudes and cognitive constructs, e.g. IQ, (Watson, 1973), the active involvement of native persons in such research is imperative.

These questions relate to larger issues of considerable importance to any study within the domain of political socialization. Detrimental to theoretical advancement, political socialization research has traditionally emphasized content, what political attitudes children learn, to the neglect of process, how these beliefs are acquired.

> If we focus our studies on what children learn rather than how they learn it, our interpretation of our findings must remain conjectural. By contrast, attention to the dynamic models of socialization processes can lead to explanations of how and why political socialization occurs and can assist us to test propositions concerning the centrality, stability, and relevance for behaviour of acquired political orientations. (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1975, p. 11)

The validity of developmental trends inferred from commonly employed cross sectional designs is questionable; such findings may more accurately reflect the effects of change in the social environment. To date, process assumptions, e.g. the persistence of political dispostions from youth to adulthood and their relation to behaviour, have not been supported by empirical data. The verification of such speculation requires longitudinal investigation including an expanded age range from young children to aged adults. A process orientation ought to recognize the individual's active role in the socialization process, the continuous nature of social learning, and the time and place specificity of research findings, e.g. attitude variation as a function of cultural diversity. Additionally, the past aggregate response research emphasis has neglected documentation of political socialization's assumed effects on the political system and consideration of the potentially unique attributes of the individual.

Besides indictment by omission, questionnaire based studies are further charged with internal deficiencies. Recent studies questioning both the validity (Lynch, 1974) and reliability (Asher, 1974) of the Survey Research Center's political efficacy scale have highlighted the danger of the unquestioned use of measures supported by folklore rather than fact. Sources of invalidity are thought to include the oversimplification of constructs and the use of artificial categorization schemes inappropriately imposed on complex belief systems. Kolson and Green (1970) have experimentally

verified the operation of three types of response sets confounding questionnaire responses:- "a tendency to gamble," i.e. answers based on no knowledge; "an acquiescence response set," i.e. reluctance to respond negatively; and "an agreement response set," i.e. responses cued by question format. Riccards (1973) proposed that children may respond to questionnaires frivolously or, conversely, as a test requiring their selection of "right" answers.

Recent investigation of test-retest reliability have evidenced a low incidence of response stability for both questionnaire items and indices. In a study of 9- to 15-year-old San Francisco Bay Area children, Vaillancourt (1973) found higher stability coefficients for factual questions as opposed to opinion, over a two month interval instead of a 6 month, for older children rather than younger, for high IQ children vs. low, for white and high SES children as opposed to black and low status children. She cautioned that studies reporting group stability and systematic differences may in fact be reporting random error, and that such findings may more likely be indicative of a lack of attitudes.

> In some situations, where "non-attitudes" are the cause of low stability of children's political orientations, it is possible that the political socialization researcher...creates attitudes instead of measuring existing cause.
> (Vaillancourt, 1973, p. 376)

Such findings suggest the need for methodological modifications, including lie scales and reliability checks within questionnaires, increased use of open-ended questions and interviews, supplemented by research examining the salience of politics for children.

Although constrained by methodological limitations, the present study is thought to supplement related research in identifying problematic areas prohibiting the system integration of persons socially disenfranchised by minority group membership.

Of considerable importance is the need to improve educational opportunities for native Indian children. School success is critical as a foundation for social effectiveness and political competence. The pervasive significance of the school in providing life choice options has prompted Franklyn (1974) to support the independent use of school achievement as an indication of adolescent alienation.

> It is evident that, in our modern technological society, access to socially valued and personally satisfying goals is coming to depend more and more on the level of academic and vocational training. In fact, access to valued status other than by way of formal education and training has become almost impossible. (p. 160)

Society's successful incorporation of Indian persons requires significant educational innovations. Without such change, schools will likely remain incompatible for native students, resulting in continued low achievement. Knowledge of Indian students' attitudes will assist in planning appropriate instructional programs designed to maximize the personal, social, and cognitive growth potential of Indian youth. In addition to the modification of existing curricula in accordance with the Indian child's cognitive style, interests, and experiences, structured pre-school programs are essential in fostering the development of readiness skills necessary for academic success.

Evaluation of early stimulation programs are optimistic in reporting initial short term effects. Grade 1 Indian graduates of an Alberta

language arts focused kindergarten program were both assessed by their teachers as comparatively advantaged and evidenced an increased class average IQ score (Leviston, 1966). Native children enrolled in a Vancouver Island preschool language enrichment program evidenced advancement as measured by pre- and post-program tests (Mickelson and Galloway, 1969). However, the absence of longitudinal studies prohibits extrapolating implications for subsequent academic performance.

The low self concept of Indian students is thought consolidated both by the manifest and latent content of the school communication network. In a content analysis of California public school textbooks, Reynolds and Reynolds (1974) found accounts of native Indians basically inaccurate, with wide discrepancies between "factual" information presented and accepted ethnographic data. Recurring themes included the superiority of white culture, the Indians' receptiveness to cultural replacement, the benevolence of white Europeans in improving the quality of Indian life, and a pervasive we (the discoverers of our land)/they (Indian as alien) dichotomy. As a result of such distortions, Reynolds and Reynolds propose that,

> The Indian will develop a false self image of inferiority while the false self image of the white will be that he is superior to the American Indian... The textbooks foster a paternalistic attitude of whites towards Indians and a reciprocal feeling among Indians of passivity and dependency on whites...tolerance and acceptance of cultural diversity is discouraged... There is but one way of doing things, the white way. The textbooks commit "culturecide". (p. 525)

Past studies focusing on student characteristics such as self concept have neglected the interactive nature of the school experience. In addition to the problems founded in mutual student/teacher role confusions, teacher expectations are thought to influence students' self perceptions, attitudes,

and behaviours. It is therefore not surprising that,

> Research data indicate the typical white classroom teacher perceives lower class and deprived children in accordance with the stereotypes traditionally ascribed these groups: poor intellectual ability, lazy, disruptive, and so on. (Samuda, 1975, p. 80)

The benefits of integrated education are eroded by such systematic destruction of Indian childrens' belief in the worth of themselves and their culture. The inclusion of native Indian persons in school staffs would both increase the sensitivity of white teachers and provide personally identifiable role models for Indian students.

Although the present study's focus on youth precludes extensive consideration of adult political behaviours, it is predicted that without extensive system adaptation the expanding discontent, identity consciousness, and political sophistication of native persons will result in increased social conflict. The task of the researcher is to recognize the potential implications of academic studies for service either to a dominant culture orientation and continued "paralysis through analysis" (Citizens Plus, 1970) or to native people's right to self determination by providing greater understanding promoting social change.

> Go in search of the people
> Live with the people
> Learn from them
> Love them
> Serve them
> Make plans together with the people
> Begin with what they know
> Build on what they have.
>
> (Introduction to a proposal by the Standing Man Committee for an Office of Economic Opportunity community development project, quoted by Wax & Wax, 1972, p. 180)

Appendix A

Pretest Questionnaire

By answering this questionnaire, you will be participating in a research project at Simon Fraser University. We're interested in learning about how Junior Secondary students feel they can influence the world. The success of the study depends on your answering the questions as carefully as possible. If you do not understand something, raise your hand for help. Please follow instructions and try to answer all the questions. Information about you will be considered confidential and will be used only in analyzing the data collected.

Name_____
(First name) (Last name)

Age_____

Male_____ Female_____ (check one)

Father's Occupation_____

Mother's Occupation_____

Directions: The items below are things your family may have. Check A if your family has it. Check B if your family does not have it.

1. Television set
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

2. Telephone
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

3. Record player, hifi, or stereo
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

4. Electric or gas refrigerator
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

5. Dictionary
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

6. Encyclopedia
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

7. Automobile
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

8. Vacuum cleaner
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

9. Daily newspaper
   _____ (A) yes
   _____ (B) no

Directions: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Circle ONE answer for each statement.

1. People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.

agree disagree

2. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.

agree disagree

3. Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.

agree disagree

4. If a person is not successful in life, it is his own fault.

agree disagree

5. Even with a good education, I will have a hard time getting the right kind of job.

agree disagree

6. I would make any sacrifice to get ahead in the world.

agree disagree

7. If I could change, I would be someone different from myself.

agree disagree

8. I sometimes feel I just can't learn.

agree disagree

9. I would do better in school if teachers didn't go so fast.

agree disagree

10. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.

agree disagree

11. The tougher the job, the harder I work.

agree disagree

12. I am able to do many things well.

agree disagree

13. How bright do you think you are in comparison with the other students in your grade? (Check one)

_____ (a) among the brightest
_____ (b) above average
_____ (c) average
_____ (d) below average
_____ (e) among the lowest

Directions: How much influence do you think the following persons actually have in deciding what happens in this school? Please rate their actual influence over the way your school is run. Indicate your choice by marking an "X" in the appropriate box.

a. the school board

little or no influence	some influence	moderate influence	considerable influence	a great deal of influence
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b. the superintendent

little or no influence	some influence	moderate influence	considerable influence	a great deal of influence
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

c. the principal

little or no influence	some influence	moderate influence	considerable influence	a great deal of influence
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

d. your teachers

little or no influence	some influence	moderate influence	considerable influence	a great deal of influence
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

e. the students

little or no influence	some influence	moderate influence	considerable influence	a great deal of influence
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

f. you

little or no influence	some influence	moderate influence	considerable influence	a great deal of influence
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Directions: Please check ONE answer below each of the following statements. To indicate your answer mark an "X" in the box most like your feelings. (for example, choose the big box if you feel strongly).

1. Voting is the only way people like my father and mother can have any say about how the government runs things.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

2. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

3. What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It's like the weather there is nothing people can do about it.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

4. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing. They do not care about us ordinary people.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

5. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

6. The political views of students are very important.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

7. I don't think the government cares much about what people like my family think.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

8. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

9. The average person helps considerably in deciding which laws are made for the country.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

Directions: For each of the following questions choose the part which you believe is more true. There are no right or wrong answers. Read all parts of each question. Then circle the letter for the part you believe is more true.

1. Do you think
   a. quite a few people running the government are a little crooked
   b. some of the people running the government are a little crooked
   c. hardly any people running the government are crooked at all

2. Do you think people in the government
   a. waste a lot of money we pay in taxes
   b. waste some of the money we pay in taxes
   c. don't waste very much money we pay in taxes

3. How much time do you think you can trust the government to do what is right?
   a. most of the time
   b. some of the time
   c. none of the time

4. Do you feel that almost all the people running the government are
   a. people who usually know what they are doing
   b. people who sometimes know what they are doing
   c. people who don't seem to know what they are doing

5. Would you say the government is
   a. run for a few big people looking out for themselves
   b. run some for big important people some for average people
   c. run for the benefit of all the people

6. Do you think the government in deciding what to do
   a. pays a lot of attention to what people think
   b. pays some attention to what people think
   c. pays no attention to what people think

Directions: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements. Circle ONE answer for each statement.

The government interferes too much with our private lives.	agree	disagree
The government usually knows what is best for the people.	agree	disagree
The government ought to give money and food to people out of work	agree	disagree
The government should have more power over the people	agree	disagree

Directions: Please select ONE answer and indicate your choice with an "X".

The best way to change thing in the government is to

_____1. write a letter to the prime minister
_____2. take part in a demonstration or protest
_____3. write a letter to your MP
_____4. vote in the next election
_____5. do something else. What? _____
_____6. there would not be anything that you could do

Not everyone who is 19 votes at election time. Will you vote when you are 19?

_____yes _____no (check one)

Do you think it makes much difference which party wins an election?

_____yes _____no (check one)

If you were to vote, who would be the best person to ask how you should vote? (check one)

_____ a friend your own age
_____ brother or sister
_____ father
_____ mother
_____ teacher
_____ someone else Who?_____
_____ nobody

Directions: Almost everyone spends some time thinking about what life will be like for them. Please answer these questions about your own future as honestly as you can.

1. What job would you like to have when you are about 25 years old? Give the name of a job and say what you'd be doing.

_____

_____

2. Taking account of things that might keep you from getting the job you would like to have, what job do you really expect to have when you are 25? Again, give the name of the job and say what you will be doing.

_____

_____

Name a famous person you want to be like

(1)_____

Name a famous person you don't want to be like

(2)_____

If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your help in this project.

Appendix B

Final Questionnaire

By answering this questionnaire, you will be participating in a research project at Simon Fraser University. We're interested in learning about how Junior Secondary students feel they can influence the world. The success of the study depends on your answering the questions as carefully as possible. If you do not understand something, raise your hand for help. Please follow instructions and try to answer all the questions. Information about you will be considered confidential and will be used only in analyzing the data collected.

Name_____
(First name) (Last name)

Age_____

Male_____ Female_____ (check one)

Name of Father's Occupation_____

What does he do in this job?_____

Name of Mother's Occupation_____

What does she do in this job?_____

Directions: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Circle ONE answer for each statement.

1. People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.
   agree disagree
2. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.
   agree disagree
3. Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.
   agree disagree
4. If a person is not successful in life, it is his own fault.
   agree disagree
5. Even with a good education, I will have a hard time getting the right kind of job.
   agree disagree
6. I would make any sacrifice to get ahead in the world.
   agree disagree
7. If I could change, I would be someone different from myself.
   agree disagree
8. I sometimes feel I just can't learn.
   agree disagree
9. I would do better in school if teachers didn't go so fast.
   agree disagree
10. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.
    agree disagree
11. The tougher the job, the harder I work.
    agree disagree
12. I am able to do many things well.
    agree disagree
13. How bright do you think you are in comparison with the other students in your grade? (Check one)

    _____ (a) among the brightest
    _____ (b) above average
    _____ (c) average
    _____ (d) below average
    _____ (e) among the lowest

Directions: For each of the following questions, choose the part which you believe is more true. There are no right or wrong answers. Read both parts of each question. Then circle the letter for the part you believe is more true.

1. Generally speaking would you say that:

   a. most people can be trusted

   or

   b. you must be very careful in dealing with people

2. Would you say that:

   a. most of the time people try to be helpful

   or

   b. people are mostly just looking out for themselves

3. Do you think most people:

   a. would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance

   or

   b. would try to be fair

4. Do you believe that:

   a. no one cares much what happens to you

   or

   b. people are generally concerned about you

5. Would you say that:

   a. human nature is fundamentally cooperative

   or

   b. human nature is mostly competitive

6. Do you think:

   a. teachers treat everyone the same

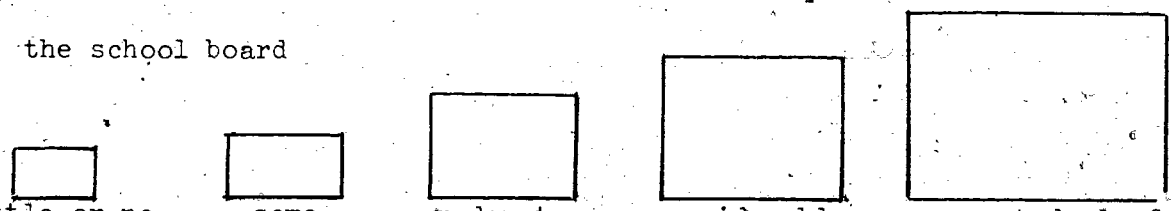
   or

   b. teachers do not treat everyone fairly

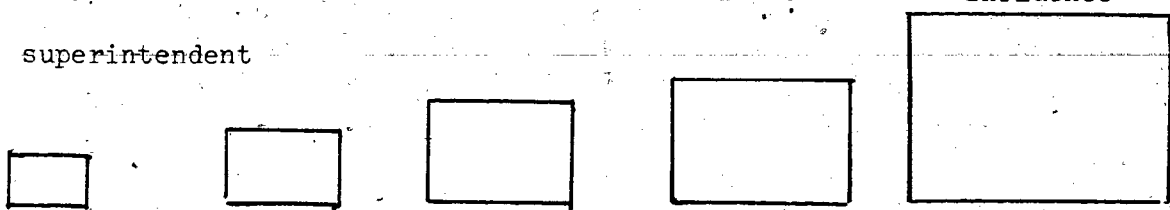
V

Directions: How much influence do you think the following persons actually have in deciding what happens in this school? Please rate thier actual influence over the way your school is run. Indicate your choice by marking an "X" in the appropriate box.

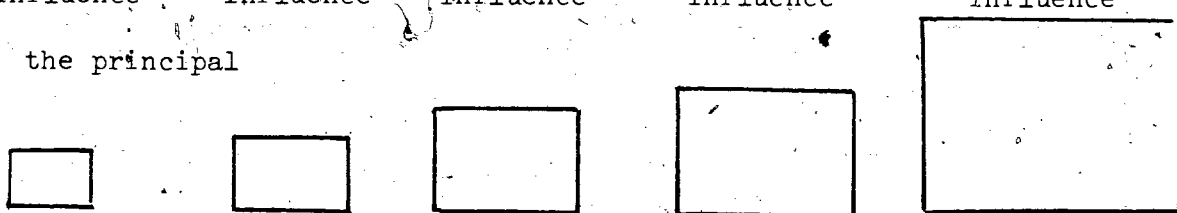
a. the school board



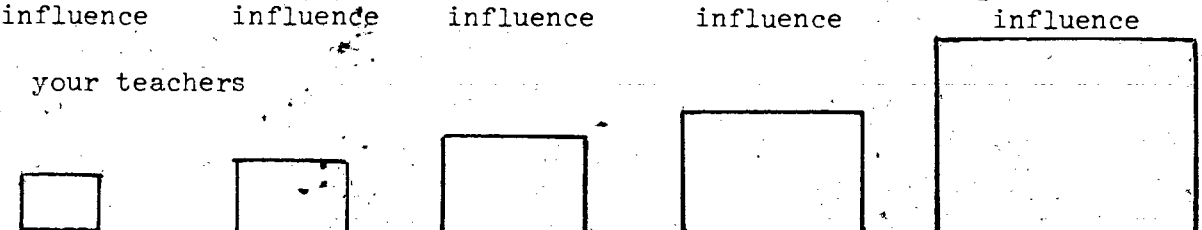
b. superintendent



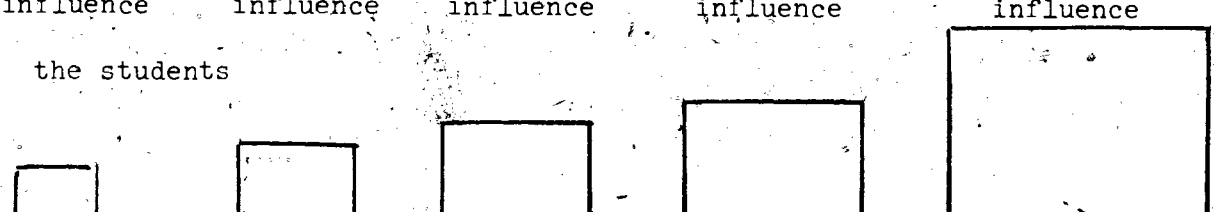
c. the principal



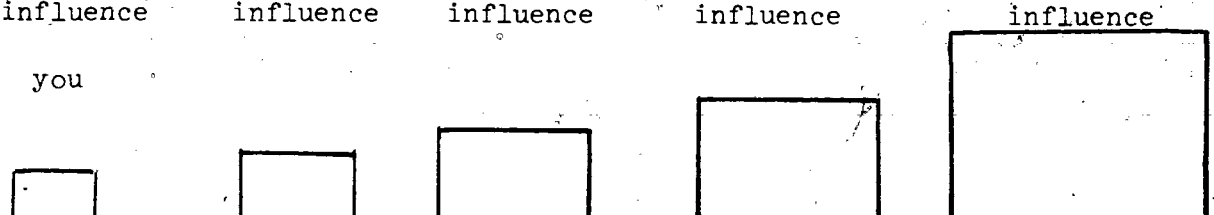
d. your teachers



e. the students



f. you



Directions: Please check ONE answer below each of the following statements. To indicate your answer mark an "X" in the box most like your feelings (for example, choose the big box if you feel strongly).

1. Voting is the only way people like my father and mother can have any say about how the government runs things.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

2. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in the government.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

3. What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It's like the weather there is nothing people can do about it.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

4. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing. They do not care about us ordinary people.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

5. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

6. The political views of students are very important.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

7. I don't think the government cares much about what people like my family think.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

8. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

9. The average person helps considerably in deciding which laws are made for the country.

YES ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO ☐

Directions: For each of the following questions choose the part which you believe is more true. There are no right or wrong answers. Read all parts of each question. Then circle the letter for the part you believe is more true.

1. Do you think
   a. quite a few people running the government are a little crooked
   b. some of the people running the government are a little crooked
   c. hardly any people running the government are crooked at all

2. Do you think people in the government
   a. waste a lot of money we pay in taxes
   b. waste some of the money we pay in taxes
   c. don't waste very much money we pay in taxes

3. How much time do you think you can trust the government to do what is right?
   a. most of the time
   b. some of the time
   c. none of the time

4. Do you feel that almost all the people running the government are
   a. people who usually know what they are doing
   b. people who sometimes know what they are doing
   c. people who don't seem to know what they are doing

5. Would you say the government is
   a. run for a few big people looking out for themselves
   b. run some for big important people some for average people
   c. run for the benefit of all the people

6. Do you think the government in deciding what to do
   a. pays a lot of attention to what people think
   b. pays some attention to what people think
   c. pays no attention to what people think

Directions: Please select one answer for the following questions and indicate your choice with an "X".

The best way to change things in the government is to

_____ 1. write a letter to the prime minister
_____ 2. take part in a demonstration or protest
_____ 3. write a letter to your MP
_____ 4. vote in the next election
_____ 5. do something else, What?_____
_____ 6. there would not be anything that you could do

Not everyone who is 19 votes at election time. Will you vote when you are 19?

_____ yes _____ no (check one)

Do you think it makes much difference which party wins an election?

_____ yes _____ no (check one)

If you were to vote, who would be the best person to ask how you should vote?

_____ a friend your own age
_____ brother or sister
_____ father
_____ mother
_____ teacher
_____ someone else. Who?_____
_____ nobody

Directions: Almost everyone spends some time thinking about what life will be like for them. Please answer these questions about your own future as honestly as you can.

1. What job would you like to have when you are about 25 years old? Give the name of a job and say what you'd be doing.

_____

_____

2. Taking account of things that might keep you from getting the job you would like to have, what job do you really expect to have when you are 25? Again, give the name of the job and say what you will be doing.

_____

_____

Name a famous person you want to be like

(1)_____

Name a famous person you don't want to be like

(2)_____

If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your help in this project.

Appendix C

Instructions given to teachers

November 4, 1974

Mt. Newton teachers:

Thank you for assisting in my research by supervising the administration of the study questionnaire in your home room classes on November 8. An analysis of the students' responses will be utilized as data for my master's thesis. I am interested in adolescents' perception of their relationship to society, the extent to which young people feel efficacious in shaping their future.

The actual completion of the test should require approximately ½ hour. Please read the cover page instructions to your students, emphasizing the importance of reading directions, working quickly and independently, answering all questions, and responding most like one's actual feelings. Please explain any questions concerning terminology briefly as the students' opinions need not be based on extensive factual information.

Results of the study will be available to you through Mr. Taylor. I hope the information might prove useful both in possible incorporation in relevant subject areas and in furthering your understanding of the students. I would be most interested in discussing my findings with anyone concerned with this area of research and may be contacted through Patrick Palmer or the psychology department at Simon Fraser University.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,
Nancy Maloney

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