

AN EXPLORATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF  
TEACHER ETHNOCENTRICITY AND LOW EXPECTATIONS  
IN AN URBAN INTEGRATED SCHOOL

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## ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of an urban elementary school set in a residential, middle class area. Twenty percent of the school population came from an Indian Reserve located directly beside the residential area. Findings in the study are based on interviews with all the teachers and approximately half of the Indian parents whose children attended the school, and observations made during twelve months the authour spent teaching in the school.

The study can be broken into five parts. First, the economic, social and cultural aspects of the residential community and the Reserve are described in sufficient detail to serve as a reference source for the comments and viewpoints outlined later. Second, the opinions of the teachers regarding the home environment of the Indian children are stated as well as their comments on the effect of that environment on the learning patterns of the Indian children. Third, the comments of the teachers are noted regarding the social relations of the Indian and White children. Included in this section are the results of sociograms conducted in the rooms which show the choice and rejection patterns involving Indian children. Fourth, the teachers filled out question sheets concerning their expectations for the Indian children in their rooms. The data from these questionnaires were analyzed and the results compared with the research in the literature on the effects on performance of low or high expectations. Fifth, the teachers were asked to discuss the particular qualities needed by a teacher in that school and to

describe the aims of such a school with regards to their Indian pupils. These are compared with the views of the Indian parents who were interviewed and with comments from the literature on the aims and objectives of education.

In any situation where two cultures contact each other, ethnocentricity is an inherent characteristic. The first conclusion of the study is that the majority of the teachers had an ethnocentric understanding of the home environment of the children and that this, as well as teachers' low expectations were significant factors contributing to the low performance level of the Indian children. The teachers were quite competent in their analysis of the learning problems of the children but were insufficiently aware of the cultural and social aspects of the possible causes and solutions to these problems.

The second conclusion of this study is that teachers in integrated schools must have pre-service and in-service training which will help them identify the impact of the cultural background of the children on their learning patterns in school. Without this training the most sensitive of teachers cannot identify and meet the needs of his Indian pupils as effectively as is needed.

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## Introduction

This is a study of one school, with a specific group of teachers, during one particular segment of time. The school is an urban school set in a pleasant residential, middle class area next door to an Indian Reserve. Sixteen to twenty percent of the school's population comes from this Reserve. This, then, is a case study attempting to explore the opinions and viewpoints of the teachers regarding the Indian children and their home background and then to suggest the implications of these opinions and viewpoints with regard to the academic performance of the children.

The teachers were asked to discuss the home background of the children as it affected their school work; the relations of the parents with the school; the general cultural and social background of the children; and the causes of the particular problems each child had. After these viewpoints are set out in the study, the performance record of the children is then established as it is shown in the report card results of the children who were in the school at that time. The expectations of the teachers were also explored both verbally in the interviews and also in written form using a questionnaire. Data from the questionnaire is analyzed in this study and discussed in the light of research reported in the literature on the effects of expectations on performance. Finally, the teachers were asked to discuss the role of the teacher and the school as they saw it in relation to the Indian pupils particularly.

The first conclusion reached in the study is that ethnocentricity on the part of the majority of the staff, combined with the low expectations of the majority of the staff is one of the significant factors contributing to the low performance level of the Indian children in the academic areas. The teachers competently isolated and analyzed the learning problems of the children as they saw them in the classroom but were insufficiently aware of the cultural and social aspects of the causes and possible solutions of these problems. This unawareness of the impact of the cultural and social backgrounds of the children on their behavior and learning patterns and the teachers' resulting misinterpretation of the behavior patterns of both the children and the parents is the ethnocentricity to which I refer.

Ethnocentricity was part of the scene in this school because it was a culture contact situation. No one on staff had had training in the teaching of minority groups or in the historical or present cultural background of the children from the Reserve. Teachers with this type of training were not appointed to the school because the School Board did not see the school as requiring staff with such qualifications. This policy had been established, in part, on the advice of the principals of the schools in the district in which there were Indian children registered.

The second conclusion of this study is that while the teachers are quite correct in their contention that the most important qualities for a teacher in this school are the same as those for any other school, that is, a sensitivity to the individual needs of his or her pupils and a genuine desire to meet those needs as far as possible,

nevertheless, the ability to identify and meet those needs requires some in-service training of some kind in order to clarify the role of the teacher in such a school and to assist him in understanding the particular needs of these children.

The point made in the first sentence of this introduction is worth stressing. This study is about a particular situation and, therefore, generalizations made from it must be formed very carefully. The Indian population of Canada has very few uniform characteristics. Conditions on reserves, the degree of acculturation, the attitudes toward education, just to take some examples, all vary widely from band to band even within a small geographical area. The group of teachers in this study were a particular group of people interacting and influencing each other at one time and place. They were not picked or designed or seen as a representative group of any larger organization or social construct. Therefore, it would not be wise to generalize from this study on topics such as White teacher-Indian parent relationships, attitudes toward education on the part of Indian children, or the concept of the role of the teacher of Indian children as understood by the White, middle class teacher. This study has the drawbacks of a case study. It does not have the generalized applicability of a survey. Hopefully, it has the strengths of the case study -- a depth of detail of one particular example of a fairly common situation, an integrated school.

The information for this study was gathered during a full twelve months of teaching in the school. The statements in the study on the views of the teachers are based on daily contact in class and

staff room, at least one interview, and a questionnaire. The interviews were taped and then transcribed verbatim. The interviews were based on a standard series of questions but were usually quite open-ended. The statements in the study on the opinions of the Indian parents were based on interviews with thirteen of the twenty-seven families who had children in the school at that time. It is important to note that these families were neither randomly selected nor chosen as representative of the Reserve population. It was my original intention to interview all twenty-seven families. Thirteen was all that my time would allow. They do, however, represent a rough cross section of the people on the Reserve in terms of age, income, and education.

Another caution must be introduced here regarding this study. The teachers' statements were all checked against the knowledge one amasses as a participant-observer in a situation over twelve months. I share a common background with the teachers both socially and in terms of training. Therefore, I have a considerable amount of faith in the reliability of my interpretations of their comments and actions. However, the statements on the views of the Indian parents are based on a brief contact of two hours or so. I have put nothing down of which I was not certain, however, it is impossible to have the same faith in the accuracy of my interpretations of the comments of the Indian parents as I have in my analysis of the teachers' views. Only frequent and unstructured contacts with many Indian families would give the same hope of reliability of interpretation. This, I was not fortunate enough to have.

The teaching situation at this school was by no means as de-

pressing as such as can be found in the central areas of our large cities. But there was a large number of Indian children in this situation who were not achieving as well as I believe they could. Where culture contact situations exist, ethnocentricity is likely to exist as I saw it there, and be part of the cause of this lack of adequate academic performance. Serious learning handicaps do exist over which the teacher has no control and can do little to alleviate. But the aggravation of the learning problems of the child, caused, inadvertently, by the teacher, we can take steps to overcome.

## Chapter 1 Introduction of the Area

Norgate Park: History, Economic, Occupational and Social Characteristics

The residential area called Norgate Park has a rather interesting history. It was built over a three-year period ending in 1952 and was the second subdivision built in the history of British Columbia. The idea of the original contractor buying the lots, laying out the streets, putting in the lighting and services, and building all the houses to a limited number of plans, was in itself then quite new to the area. The houses themselves had features which, at the time, were controversial. None of the houses had a basement but were laid on heated concrete slabs, and most of them had carports, a new idea in 1949.

The plan of the community added greatly to its attractiveness. Three through streets running the length of the area and one running the width act as a framework off which run short crescents, cul-de-sacs, and limited access streets. Two park strips, ninety and seventy feet wide, run the length of the subdivision, one in the middle of the house lots, the other on one perimeter. A five acre park and community recreation area at one end of the area is balanced by the five acre school plot at the other.

Access to the subdivision is limited to four roads. It is bounded by railway tracks and water on one side, by a main traffic artery on the other, by the Indian Reserve on one end, and by a light industry zone at the other end. The houses themselves are separated from each of these boundaries by a block-thick barrier of bush and trees.

The population has remained steady for the entire sixteen years of the subdivision's existence since the ground available for housing was used up in the original layout of 420 houses. The best way to describe the population is to provide and then elaborate on the information supplied by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

The census tract which includes Norgate Park also includes a larger area situated on a ridge above the subdivision. About thirty percent of the houses in this area are in the same price range as those of Norgate Park and would appear to parallel them in all other categories noted in the census. The remainder of the houses in the area are placed on the ridge itself and thus are considerably more expensive than the others situated on the area behind the ridge or in Norgate. Norgate Park and the houses of similar construction and price range, make up approximately two-thirds of the whole census tract in number of households and population. Assurance that census information from this tract can be used in reference to Norgate Park can be taken from the introduction to the Census Tract Bulletin. It states that census tracts are "...designed with a view to providing basic census statistics for areas which are homogeneous with respect to economic status and living conditions." (Canada Census 1966: 3)

The characteristics of the population of these areas have not changed markedly over the last twenty years except for a slow increase in the number of retired people attracted to the Norgate Park area by the one-story, easily maintained houses. Since no significant changes are apparent, and since the census of 1961 was a full census, it will be the prime source of data. Where applicable, the data from the 1966 census are also given as a comparison.

TABLE I SELECTED CENSUS DATA, 1961; SUPPLEMENTS 1966.

Ethnic Origin and Religious Denomination

75% born in Canada  
 78% of British ethnic background  
 96% speak English only  
 70% claim either the Anglican or United Church as their religious denomination

Schooling (Percentages represent those who have finished their formal education)

15% finished one or more years of elementary only  
 18% finished one or two years of secondary  
 48% finished three to five years of secondary  
 19% finished one or more years of university  
 100%

Family Size

89% of the households are comprised of one family (1966 - 85%)  
 74% of the families have the head of the family between the ages of 25 and 55 (1966 - 69%)  
 The families average 3.5 persons per family (1966 - 3.4)  
 The families average 1.6 children per family (1966 - 1.5)

Housing

The houses average 5.4 rooms per dwelling with an average of 0.6 persons per room. None of the houses is in need of major repair.  
 6% of the houses are crowded; that is, they have more than one person per room living in the house.  
 81% of the houses are owner-occupied (1966 - 79%)

Occupational Data

Classifications	Male	Female
Labour Force*	82%	29%
Class of Worker**		
Wage earners	85%	91%
Self employed	15%	6%
Unpaid family workers	-	3%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Occupation Division		
Managerial	23%	5%
Professional and Technical	18%	15%
Clerical	8%	45%
Sales	15%	15%



TABLE I - Continued

	Male	Female
Service and Recreation	5%	14%
Transport and Communication	6%	3%
Primary (lumbering, fishing, etc.)	2%	-
Craftsmen, Production workers	18%	2%
Labourers	4%	-
Unstated	1%	1%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Looking for work	4%	5%

\* The 1961 census defines the labour force as including "...all persons, 15 years of age and over, who were reported as having a job of any kind, either part-time or full-time,....or were reported as looking for work, during the week prior to the enumeration." (pg. 28). The labour force does not include housewives.

\*\* All figures in the remaining sections are given as a percentage of the total labour force.

Using this data as a base, certain assumptions can be made about the residents of this area. Before these assumptions are stated, however, one definition is required. Joseph Kahl makes the following points in his book, The American Class Structure. (1962: passim) First, families can be measured or given a rating on six variables; prestige, occupations, possessions, interaction, class consciousness, and value orientations. Second, a family tends to equalize its position on these six variables. Third, "If a large group of families are approximately equal to each other and clearly differentiated from other families, we call them a social class." (pg. 12)

Using this definition, the residents of Worgate Park can be assumed to be members of the middle class. They own their homes; have at least a high school education in two-thirds of the cases; they work

at medium prestige jobs which bring in a middle income. We can assume that they will share many of the same value orientations toward those matters which are of the most interest in this study: education, the school and its teachers.

Capilano Reserve: Physical, Economic, Occupational, Social and Cultural Characteristics

According to the Indian Act of the Federal Government of Canada, an Indian is anyone who is listed on a Band list as a member of an Indian Band. This is a legal definition which does not always parallel lines of blood descent. If an Indian woman marries a non-Indian, she automatically and permanently loses her status as an Indian as do any children she may have. If an Indian man marries a non-Indian, his wife gains Indian status and their children are listed on the Band list and are considered legally Indian. Since inter-marriage between Indians and non-Indians is increasingly common, there is a large body of people who are not legally Indian but who are as much Indian by blood as many who are listed as legally Indian. There is also a group of people who are Indian by descent but who have been enfranchised. The request for enfranchisement was much more common a few years ago than it is now. When an Indian applies for enfranchisement he receives his share of whatever capital funds the Band may have and relinquishes any claim to treaty rights or any privileges which being an Indian may bring.

Quoting Hawthorn, "According to the Indian Act, a 'band' is a body of Indians who possess lands, for whose use moneys are held by the Federal government, or who have received their legal status from the Governor-General." (Hawthorn 1967:23) The Act also declared that a "reserve" is "A tract of land, the legal title to which has been vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band." (Indian Act 1956:2)

In this paper the term Indian will refer to those who are Indian by descent on either side and who consider themselves culturally and socially to be Indian.

Many of the figures given in the next few pages were taken from a report prepared for the Squamish Band by Acres Western Limited. I cross-checked some of the figures and found them to be quite reliable. Permission to use this information was given by both Acres Western Limited and the Band Council. Where no acknowledgement is made, the information was obtained during interviews.

The Capilano Indian Reserve consists of 300 acres of land set in the middle of a large urban district. The Reserve is bounded by water on one side and a major traffic artery on the other. Parkland is at one end and Norgate Park subdivision is at the other. The 300 acres are broken up as follows: (Acres 1968)

58.37	Commercial complexes
9.43	High density residential
55.0	Industrial
15.0	Mobile Home Park
17.5	Indian Village
14.84	Recreational
<u>129.86</u>	Vacant or undeveloped
300.00 acres	

Of the total Reserve, then, the Indian village takes up only about 5.8% of the land available. The cluster of houses is situated in the north east corner of the Reserve close to the boundaries with Norgate Park and the major traffic artery. The houses are separated from both these boundaries by either a thick belt of trees and bush or a wide stretch of open land.

There has been an Indian village near this particular location as far back as the memory goes. In 1923, the people on this

Reserve joined with several other Reserves to form a large amalgamated Band\*. (R. Band 1969: 7) The various Reserves forming this Band are related through ties of marriage, language and customs and felt they could more effectively handle the similar problems they faced as a united group than as separate units. At the present, this large Band has two hereditary Chiefs and a council of elected representatives as its controlling body.

One result of the amalgamation of the various Reserves was a shift in population from crowded Reserves in the Band to the sparsely populated Capilano Reserve.

The majority of the people are of the Roman Catholic faith. However, the Church does not appear to have any great deal of influence on non-religious matters on the Reserve. There is no church building on the Capilano Reserve. A small number of families are Anglican. This fact has played some role in their selection of schools. Since the Indian Day School was run by a Roman Catholic Order, the Anglican families had the choice of enrolling their children in the nearby public schools or sending them to the nearest Anglican Indian residential school which was almost 200 miles away.

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\* According to R. Band, population has shifted to the extent that of the original sixteen Bands occupying twenty-four distinct reserves, only six reserves are still considered as residential areas. Seventy-two percent of the total Squamish population lives on the Capilano Reserve in North Vancouver District and the Mission Reserve in North Vancouver City. The other twenty-eight percent live on the four Reserves in the District of Squamish, some twenty-five miles from North Vancouver. (1969: 7)

### Economic Development

The Federal Government's Indian Act allows Indian Bands to lease Reserve land to non-Indians for development and management. Since the amalgamation of the various Reserves the Band Council handles all such leases for all the Reserves. Of the 300 acres of the Capilano Reserve, 157.18 acres are under lease. (Acres 1968) Because of its position on the waterfront and because of the small percentage of land required for the Indian village, and because of its strategic location in the center of a growing urban area, the leases held at present produce a good revenue and the undeveloped land is the most valuable real estate in the urban area.

The money received from these leases is not entirely under the direct control of the Band Council. The money is put in a Capital Fund held in trust by the Federal Government. The yearly interest is given to the Band, but regular withdrawals are discouraged. The balance of control over such revenues has changed considerably over the last few years. Gradually, local Band Councils are gaining total control over such monies.

### Relations with the Non-Indian Society

The Squamish Band has shown an increasing degree of sophistication in their dealings with Indian Affairs, neighbouring communities, and business firms. For the last several years they have had a permanent Band Manager and have retained a law firm to act for them in all legal matters. Recently the Band hired a large consulting firm to do a land use study for them. The detailed and

comprehensive proposals put forward in this study are now being studied by the Band Council.

Relations between the Capilano Reserve and the local municipal governments tend to be somewhat complicated by the fact that the Reserve is situated on the border between two municipalities, North Vancouver and West Vancouver, and is also in a pocket away from the main travel routes. Service is adequate but it is not entirely clear which police and fire departments are responsible for the Reserve lands. Communication links are growing on the official level between the various Reserves and the white community. However, many organizations in the white community still see other white people, such as Indian Affairs or University personnel, as more likely sources of information than the Indian people themselves on matters where knowledge concerning the Reserve is required. A university professor who was known to have interest in and contact with local Indian Reserves reported frequent requests from various local people and organizations for factual information on nearby Indian Reserves. When the callers were informed that the best source for such information was the Indian Band office, they usually expressed ignorance of, and surprise at, the existence of such an office.

On the Capilano Reserve itself, very few of the adult Indians interviewed could or would recall any examples of overt prejudice against themselves as Indians. They did feel that there was evidence of prejudice operating in oblique and indirect ways. They mentioned preferential treatment for Whites when competing for jobs as the best example of such indirect prejudice.

Contacts between the Capilano Reserve and Norgate Park itself were very limited. According to the Indian parents interviewed, these were very pleasant when they occurred. School events and voting days provided the large majority of such contacts. Residents of Norgate Park tended to make the same kind of general, rather neutral, remarks about the residents of the Indian Reserve. There were a few negative feelings on the part of the White community, however. A local restaurant owner who had some dealings with residents of the local Reserve said that there was one good man on the Reserve and the rest were completely unreliable. Complaints about gangs of Indian youths wandering the streets of Norgate Park and beating White children were occasionally heard as were complaints about similar gangs making trouble at a local drive-in movie. However, most residents of the White communities around the Reserve had little contact, if any at all, with the residents of the Reserve and were unaware even of the amount of land the Reserve occupied. A proposal to use more of the Reserve land, presently a treed park area, for commercial development was the subject of a public meeting. Two members of the Band Council were present at the meeting and reported later that both those in favour of the proposal and those opposed showed either ignorance or indifference to the fact that the land being discussed did not belong to the municipality but to the Indian Band.

As of 1968, the population of the Capilano Reserve was 210 persons, 105 male and 105 female. The breakdown of this total figure was as follows: (Acres 1968)



TABLE II POPULATION DISTRIBUTION CHART OF LEGAL STATUS INDIANS 1968

Population	Age Groupings									
	0-4	5-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-54	55-64	65-74	75- Total	
Number of Males	12	39	14	4	13	19	3	0	1	105
Number of Females	13	36	15	7	10	18	3	1	2	105
Percent of total Population	12	36	14	5	11	17	3	1	1	100

It is interesting to note that the preponderance of the population is between the ages of less than one and nineteen years of age. On the Reserve, 62% of the population is between these ages as against 37% in the census tract including Norgate Park. However, there still has been a decline over the last ten years in total population in spite of this seemingly high proportion of youth. There are two factors which contribute to this decline. First, from all available evidence, the death rate has remained stable but the birth rate has gone down over the last ten years. Second, the number of adults leaving the Reserve has increased. 36% of the population is between the ages of twenty and sixty-four as against 54% in the census tract including Norgate Park. (Census 1966) The three main reasons for this latter phenomenon are a scarcity of satisfactory housing on the Reserve, a minimum of job opportunities in the area and an increase in the number of marriages with non-Reserve residents.

Over the last ten years the pattern of marriages for the entire Band has been as follows: (Acres 1968)

TABLE III MARRIAGE PATTERNS 1958-1967

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Female Band Members marrying non-Indians	40
Male Band Members marrying non-Indians	<u>19</u>
	59 total
Female Band Members marrying non-Band Indians	9
Male Band Members marrying non-Band Indians	<u>23</u>
	32 total
Band Members marrying Band Members	17

---

Non-Indian women who marry Band members are added to the Band List. However, female Band members who marry non-Indians lose their Indian status permanently. Female Band members who marry non-Band Indians lose their Band membership since they are transferred to the Band List of their husband. From these figures it can be seen that the Capilano Band has suffered a loss of seven women through marriage alone.

In 1967 there were a total of 39 males between the ages of twenty and sixty-four in the labour force on the Capilano Reserve. Of the thirty-eight women in the same age brackets, twenty-three were listed as housewives, six worked part time and one woman was fully employed. The figures given below will refer to the male working force only, since the statistics would be unnecessarily biased if the women listed as housewives were included in the working force. (Acres 1968)

As can be seen from the charts, the majority of the men are employed as longshoremen. Wages from this occupation are good but employment tends to be seasonal with frequent and sometimes long layoffs.

TABLE IV OCCUPATIONS GROUPED BY AGE

Occupation	Age Groupings					Total
	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
Longshoring	1	8	2	7	2	20
Wood and Concrete Products	-	-	-	1	-	1
Casual	-	2	2	1	-	5
Other	-	1	-	2	-	3
Totals	1	11	4	11	2	29

Unemployed 10/39 = 26%

### Housing

Information regarding the housing on the Reserve was gathered from two surveys; one done by the land use study conducted by the consulting firm; the other survey was done by members of the Band itself on behalf of the Band Council. The factors examined by both surveys were: the age of the house; the state of repair, judged as being good, in disrepair, or dilapidated; and the state of crowding of the house, or the person to room ratio. The information gathered was as follows in Tables V and VI.

The most significant correlation of facts which this information reveals is; 1) that more than half of the houses were built before 1939; 2) that it is these houses which are either in disrepair or dilapidated; and, 3) that it is these houses which have the largest families in them and thus are overcrowded.

TABLE V HOUSING INFORMATION SHOWING NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS AND DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

Number of Occupants	Date of House Construction					Total Number of Occupants
	before 1939	1939 1948	1948 1959	1959 1964	1964 1967	
1	2	0	0	0	0	2
2	2	0	2	1	0	10
3	3	1	1	0	0	15
4	1	0	3	1	0	20
5	1	0	2	1	1	25
6	3	0	3	0	0	36
7	1	0	4	0	0	35
8	3	0	0	0	0	24
9	2	0	0	0	0	18
10	2	0	0	0	0	20
11	4	0	0	0	0	44
						249*
Total Number of Houses	24	1	15	3	1	44

\* This number includes the enfranchised Indians living on the Reserve and thus is larger than the 210 reported earlier which includes legal status Indians only.

TABLE VI HOUSING INFORMATION SHOWING STATE OF REPAIR AND DEGREE OF CROWDING

Number of houses overcrowded (greater than one person per room)	13
Number of houses in disrepair	9
Number of houses in disrepair and overcrowded	8
Number of houses in unsatisfactory condition	30
Number requiring work	4
Number in good condition	10
Total number of houses	44

Education

Many changes have taken place in the formal education of the children of the Capilano Reserve over the last forty years. Until the late 1940's all but one or two of the children attended residential schools run by religious denominations for the Department of Indian Affairs. Even when the schools were situated near the Indian community the children were usually residential students. Any child wishing to go on to high school transferred to the public high school at grade nine since there was no Indian high school until the late 1950's. In 1949 agreement was made between the Federal and Provincial governments allowing for Indian students to enroll in the local public schools. This shift started for the children on the Capilano Reserve with the building of Norgate School in Norgate Park. By 1967 only four families out of the total of thirty-one with school aged children attended the separate Indian Day School.

Of the parents interviewed, the person with the most schooling had attended for eleven years. Two others had had nine years of schooling and the rest averaged between six and eight years. With the one exception of the person with eleven year's schooling, all these parents had received their education in Federal Indian Schools run by a religious denomination. A few had been day pupils at the nearby residential school but the majority had been full time residents. In the late 1950's and early 1960's when the majority of the pupils from the Reserve had transferred to Norgate Park school or had started at Norgate Park, and when a high school had been started by the Roman Catholic Church near the Reserve serving those pupils who had stayed

at the Indian Day School, most of the Indian pupils entered high school and completed one or two years. The percentage of those who complete high school is rising but the majority still terminate their high school education in grade ten or eleven.

### Culture

The cultural life of the Capilano Indians is more difficult to describe. The questions involved are basic. Can the Capilano Reserve be considered a cultural entity -- an Indian cultural community, or even a sub-culture of the dominant Canadian culture? Or has the impact of the dominant culture been strong enough to erase any significant traces of cultural differentiation from their way of life?

There is some empirical evidence for the existence of an Indian culture. Most of the homes I visited had on display Indian artifacts of one form or another. One man had a large basement room filled with poles, wall hangings, and other forms, all on an Indian theme and all for sale. Several of the adults make Indian art pieces for sale at various outlets. Some families still have ceremonial dance costumes available to them. The Salish language is still spoken by some of the elders of the Band. Many of the adult generation can understand Salish but rarely use it except in occasional conversations with their parents. Some of the children can understand a few phrases but the majority of the children have no understanding of Salish at all. At the same time there is praise for those who do speak "Indian" and occasionally parents would talk of establishing language classes on the Reserve after the children come home from school. The same parents would make positive references to the group of parents at Squamish who were reported to have

language classes underway. Knowledge of traditional Indian folklore concerning Indian beliefs and customs is spread through the community in about the same way as Indian language.

There are some behavioral mores which are also evidence for the existence of an Indian culture. Later in the study, there is a description of child raising techniques which compare in many ways with those described as Indian by Schriver and Leacock in Harrison Indian Childhood. (Schriver 1963: Passim) Richard Band describes methods of social control and decision making which are characteristic of the Squamish as distinct from the larger Canadian society. (R. Band 1969: passim)

One of the strongest pieces of evidence for the survival of an Indian culture on the Capilano Reserve is the revival of Indian Spirit Dancing. According to Barnett (1955) the Salish Indians held a belief in supernatural guardian spirits as part of their religious beliefs before their conversion to Christianity. The seeking and possession of these spirits was an individual affair. They could not be inherited. Both boys and girls sought supernatural helpers roughly at the age of puberty although the boy's quest was usually more vigorous and their spirit stronger. There were two manifestations of the presence of a guardian spirit; one occupational; the other occurred during the winter spirit dancing season.

Possession is displayed for the first time when a person becomes a new dancer. Everyone who has power, sooner or later has to become a dancer. "If you have a power and don't become a dancer you'll get sick because you haven't sung. It (the power) eats you inside." A person who has true spirit power eventually is made sick by his power, because it "wants out". The only way for a recipient to sing the song or songs the power has bestowed

is to become a dancer.

(Barnett 1955: 77)

Barnett goes on to say that the dancing power often came from the same spirit as the occupational power but the song for dancing had to be different from the song for the occupation and usually the two were received on different occasions.

The Spirit Dancing was the most prominent of the winter ceremonials. It usually started in November and went almost nightly until March or April. This was the only sanctioned time for the expression of spirit possession and Barnett indicates the significance of this time when he cites reports of people getting sick as the season approached and finding relief only through letting their spirit possess them and find outlet through dancing and singing.

Spirit Dancing and possession today is directly related to this aboriginal winter dancing season. Barbara Lane (1953) states that in the area she studied, one of the most conservative, Dancing did not start until after Christmas so that it would not interfere with the Christmas celebrations and thus minimize the possible antagonism of church leaders. After Christmas, however, Spirit Dancing continued almost nightly for local people and, on the weekends, catered to large crowds from as far away as a day's journey by car and ferry.

Capilano has undergone a revival of Spirit Dancing over the last few years. For a long period of time there had been no Spirit possessed Dancers on the Reserve and no particular interest in the Dance. Then, during the winter of 1964 the first Dance was held for the people of the two neighbouring Bands. By 1968 eight or nine people had gone through the rigorous initiation. The necessary knowledge of rituals and



all the necessary paraphernalia had come from another nearby Reserve where Dancing had been more or less continuous through the years. However, the enthusiasm and the large crowds were from Capilano and Mission Reserves.

This then, is the evidence for the existence of a viable Indian culture on the Capilano Reserve. As it has been noted, there is a continuing interest in Indian art forms, the Salish language and folklore, although this has not resulted in action to preserve these, and there is the continuing force of Salish behavioral mores in the areas of inter-personal relationships such as child raising, inter-family feuds, and decision making.

However, culture cannot be defined satisfactorily by simply enumerating the ways in which it appears. Kroeber and Kluckhohn make the following comment in their review of concepts and definitions of culture.

Culture becomes a conceptual model that must be based on and interpret behavior but which is not behavior itself. Culture is a design or system of designs for living; it is a plan, not the living itself; it is that which selectively channels men's reactions, it is not the reactions themselves. The importance of this is that it extricates culture as such from behavior, abstracts it from human activity; the concept is itself selective.  
(Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1963: 120)

The key word here is "abstract". Culture is the abstraction which can be drawn from the empirical evidence. Redfield (Redfield 1940) puts the definition of culture in a very clear light when he says that culture is, "An organization of conventional understandings manifest in act and artifact, which, persisting through tradition, characterizes a human group." (Redfield, in Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1963: 118)

Whether there is an "organization of conventional under-

standings..." which does in fact characterize the Capilano Band is the question. During the interviews I had with the parents there were three groups of attitudes toward the visible aspects of Indian culture. A large group of adults looked on Indian art and language much as was described at the beginning of this section. That is, they saw them as positive parts of their cultural identity and showed concern that they should be preserved. This group frequently could not speak the Salish language, nor were they pushing their children to learn it, but they were sorry to see it being lost. They did not have any detailed knowledge of the interpretation of the symbolism of their art work but they collected and displayed it. They saw it as a valuable reminder of their past of which they were clearly proud. As one man said in commenting on the displaying of some masks and costumes at the school, "We should build a museum on the Reserve here". The people who made up this large group contributed a share of the enthusiasm and crowd that helped revive Spirit Dancing, but these families did not supply the Dancers. Their attitude toward Spirit Dancing tended to be somewhat ambivalent. One man who had made a most successful adaptation to the values and business methods of the dominant Canadian society commented that although Spirit Dancing was "a savage thing", nevertheless, the drumming "did something to him". Another young person left the Reserve for a time and attended the Dances only rarely to ensure that he was not grabbed and made a Dancer against his will. He commented negatively on the amount of money required for the necessary presents to sponsors and others on the occasion of the new dancer's initial Dance, and on the loss of employment and income which came about since the new Dancer had to attend all winter Dances which were possible in his first year as a

Dancer. At the same time, the same young person said that the Dances were good for those who wanted them. They reminded the people of the old times and the traditional ways which were all worth remembering.

Two other groups held polar views to each other and were at some variance with this majority viewpoint. One small group saw assimilation as an inevitable and, to some extent, positive eventuality. One man's expressions state this position clearly. Learning Indian traditions or language was of no value to himself or to his children because such things were no longer of any importance. They were things of the past and not compatible with today. Today's world was competitive and becoming more so. To have a good life in a competitive world a person needed education and if education meant that his children had to become more competitive, less friendly with one another, more like White people, then this was something that one had to take along with the benefits of education. He was going to stay on the Reserve because he liked the life, but he did not see it as being the good life or the type of life his sons ought necessarily to have.

To this group the language, the traditions, and particularly the Spirit Dancing are associated with the way life was for the Indian of the past - an unacceptable way for the present or for the future. These things are the necessary price which must be paid for admission into the life of the mainstream of society. It is not necessarily a happy price but it is an inevitable one. The disappearance of the Indian through complete assimilation into the dominant society was seen as an unavoidable eventuality.

The other small group was formed by the conservatives. These

people know and, according to some, still believe much of the traditional folklore which the art they produce symbolizes. There is no question to them as to whether or not their culture is a viable entity. There is an Indian way of life and an Indian way of looking at things which is not only different from that of the dominant Canadian society, but superior to it as well. They have not only an active interest in, but a strong commitment to what they perceive as traditional Indian ways. The extent to which such activities as the winter ceremonial dances are accurate in terms of being the same as they were in the past is not of too great significance. What is important is that they are perceived as being wholly Indian, and, as such, most important.

The one visible aspect of culture which I have not discussed in terms of the three groups mentioned above is the group of characteristically Salish behavioral mores observed by the Capilano Band. If there is an area where there is general agreement among the Capilano, it would be in their observance of these mores. Redfield's definition uses these words, "...an organization of conventional understandings...". If there remains an organization of conventional understandings among the Capilano it would have to be in the area of such mores.

The evidence I have from my interviews with the parents will not allow me to state conclusively whether or not such a conventional understanding does exist. The statements made by Richard Band in his thesis, Decision-making and leadership among the Squamish, would lend considerable weight to the supposition that there is indeed a strong organization of conventional understandings still extant among the members of the Capilano Band. Band says,

Because of the very different socio-cultural patterns and the distinctive legal and social rights involved, the Squamish form a distinct unit apart from the wider society. Many of the Squamish see themselves as a separate "nation" or as a separate "people" residing within the national boundaries of Canada.

(R. Band 1969: 20)

In summary, then, I would suggest that there is a small group of Indians in the Capilano Band for whom there is a clear cultural identity - an "...organization of conventional understandings manifest in act and artifact, which, persisting through tradition, characterizes.." that particular group. (Redfield, in Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1963: 118) For the rest of the Capilano Band members there is a cultural identity which varies greatly in completeness from one to another, being closest to universal in the area of behavioral mores.

Which of these three groups will dominate the Band in the future is another very interesting question. In his Survey of contemporary Indians of Canada, Hawthorn (1967) mentions that there has been a tremendous upsurge of ethnic pride among the Indians of Canada during the last few years. He also points out two vital words of warning, however. First, in the history of many ethnic groups which have come into contact with another, stronger culture, "...the loss of a people's language leads almost inevitably to the loss of their own ethnic identity and cultural traditions." (Hawthorn 1967: 36) Second, he states that to be "...a viable socio-cultural unit..." a Reserve must be one "...which meets the fundamental requirements of society, which provides its members with the elements and the structures necessary for survival. They are, so to speak, the minimal cultural

conditions which make group living possible, both in the first and the later years of life. This means natural resources, structures which make possible the satisfaction of the individual's physiological needs, assignment of roles and responsibilities according to individual aptitudes, adequate channels of communication, communal goals which are adequately defined and controlled, training of the young, enlightened leadership, in a word, all elements essential to the efficient working of social relationships." (Hawthorn 1967: 169) That their language is gone is almost beyond doubt. Whether or not these cultural conditions can be met over the next few years within the Capilano Band is very much a matter of conjecture.

The members of the Capilano Band do generally exhibit a strong sense of identity as Indians. As Band pointed out, "Many of the Squamish see themselves as a separate 'nation' or as a separate 'people' residing within the national boundaries of Canada." (Band 1969: 20) Band also describes how the obligations of intra-group loyalty remain in force even when no legal sanctions can be applied. When a woman member of the Band marries a non-Indian she loses her legal status as an Indian and also relinquishes all rights given her under the Indian Act. However, as Richard Band describes it, if a woman returns to the Reserve because her "new people" have not taken care of her after an unsuccessful marriage venture, she is given welfare help from Band funds even though there is no legal requirement for the Council to help her in any way. The rationalization is that the Council has a social responsibility to help since she is no less Squamish even though she is married.

Richard Band does indicate that the interaction between members is lessening and the interaction between Band members and members of the larger society surrounding the Reserve is increasing. However, he sees the community ties remaining strong and vital. The vital link in maintaining strong communal feelings is the Band Council. It is the co-ordinating body for the activities which link the family groups together. It provides representation for each family group in decisions which will affect the whole. Although the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are officially responsible for the maintenance of law and order on the Reserve, according to both Richard Band and Hawthorn, the members of the Band seldom call on them for assistance, except in cases of major crime. For inter-family disputes and occasionally in disputes between Band members and non-Band members the Council takes the lead in initiating action to restore peace. In connection with cultural traits of Capilano Band members it is interesting to note that Band suggests that teasing and ridicule, the traditional means of social control, are still the strongest and most important curbs on errant behavior. The significance of the role of the Council is put quite plainly in this quote from Hawthorn: "The type of community where strong local decision-making units develop is that which maintains a kind of deliberate distinction from its environs, while at the same time interacting with it in a selective fashion. In our field reports we see that such groups as the Squamish of North Vancouver .....maintain social boundaries around themselves while at the same time linking up selectively with outside agencies in the surrounding society." (Hawthorn 1967: 180)

One further indication of significance of the Indian identity

remains. The pieces of native art which are displayed in homes as well as the ones which are created on the Reserve do not have to be in the Salish artistic tradition in order to be valued. Although many of the articles like the dance costumes and most of the masks are similar in style to those used in the Salish traditional dances, much of the small art forms, such as the poles offered for sale, are far more reminiscent of North Coast art styles than the Salish South Coast styles. No one had any extensive knowledge of any possible interpretations of the various symbols used in the art forms. It would seem that the fact that the pieces were unmistakably Indian was sufficient to make them valued.

One of the major reasons mentioned by Duff to explain the resurgence of Spirit dancing is its contribution to the participant's sense of identity as an Indian. Duff says,

"There is little indication that Spirit Dancing will die out within the near future; on the contrary, it gives the impression of being a flourishing and still evolving activity. Anthropologists have been much interested in the reasons for its persistence, and have concluded that it provides the dancer with strong satisfactions, even in today's world. The spirit dancers experience strong sensations which are fundamentally religious in nature; furthermore he has the social security which comes from belonging to an exclusive group, he has an emotional "safety valve" which provides a release of tension in a socially approved way, and he has discovered a method of asserting his identity as an Indian.

(Duff 1964: 10)

The psychological motivations of the Dancers are undoubtedly complex and highly individual. To the Capilano people with whom I discussed Spirit Dancing, its most significant aspect was that Dancing was uniquely Indian. The most conservative of the Indian families



were the ones who were most involved in the Dances and the ones who were least willing to discuss it with an outsider. The large group of families in the center felt that at least one positive thing about the Dancing was that it reminded the people of the old Indian ways. Both of these groups agreed that non-Indians as spectators were definitely not welcome and would be asked to leave, and even as guests of Indians they were not particularly appreciated. Those who regarded their Indian identity as an out-moded entity were the ones most opposed to Spirit Dancing.

This then, is the Capilano Band. They appear to be a group of people held together as a community by geographical, blood, social and cultural ties. Some of the ties are changing in form and some would seem to be weakening, but clearly, at the moment, they can be distinguished from the surrounding society as a people and a community with an identity of its own.

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Chapter 2 The Views of the Teachers on the  
Home Environment and its Effect on Learning

Background Knowledge of Teachers

In order to assess properly the comments of the teachers on such matters as family background and home environment, cultural activities and particular customs of the inhabitants of the Reserve, it is necessary to know the amount of knowledge each had on these matters and the sources of this knowledge.

Two sources are mentioned frequently in the following pages, the public health nurse and a special education teacher. Both of these specialists had a considerable amount of personal knowledge of the families on the Reserve as a result of both their official functions and their personal interest and involvement with several of the families. I found their factual knowledge of living conditions and cultural activities to be both extensive and accurate. However, I do not intend to outline their background and sources of knowledge on Reserve matters for two reasons. First, they were not regular teaching members of the staff and thus are distinct from the other staff members referred to in this study; second, although various staff members referred to these specialists as their prime sources of information, it became obvious in staff room discussions and interviews that each staff member's interpretation of the information given them by either of these two sources tended to reflect that staff member's pre-conception of the situation rather than a repetition of the specialist's views. Thus, the fact that the teachers saw them as primary sources of information is more important

than what these sources had to say. The significant thing is that the staff members saw them as sources of information but then used them selectively.

### The Principal

The principal had taken two anthropology courses during work on a Master of Education degree. One was an educational anthropology course, the other a more academic course dealing with kinship and marriage customs in folk societies. Neither course dealt with the North West Coast except in a very general nature.

The principal did have considerable knowledge of some families on the Reserve developed over the ten years he had spent at the school. These families generally fell into two categories, the leaders of the Indian community and the families whose children caused problems for the administration through poor attendance or academic weakness.

As a source for his information on most families on the Reserve, he relied on the public health nurse whose opinion he considered to be very valuable. He listened to but generally discounted the comments of the special education teacher whom he considered to be non-objective and thus misleading. He also had had many contacts with the various Indian parents themselves at school functions, at interviews and over the phone.

He had a clear picture of what he considered to be the social order of the Reserve and clear and strong definitions of the attitudes of the parents toward education and the school based on his personal experiences over the ten years. He had almost no knowledge of the ongoing cultural life of the Indians, such as the revival of the Spirit

Dance tradition, nor of the attitudes of the parents toward other matters of life outside the narrow confines of the school and education.

#### Teacher A

Teacher A had had no contact with Indian people prior to coming to Norgate and had taken no relevant course work in anthropology or in the teaching of children from minority groups. By the end of his first year he had developed a considerable body of knowledge about the background of each of the children in his room. The majority of this information had been obtained from the public health nurse, but a good deal of it came from interviews with the parents and many conversations with the children involved.

He also had considerable knowledge of the cultural activities on the Reserve. This information he got from discussions with the children in his class who talked quite freely with him about these matters.

#### Teacher B

Teacher B had had no contact with Indian people prior to coming to Norgate. He had taken no course work dealing with minority groups but had done some general reading during his first year at Norgate.

He showed very little knowledge of the home backgrounds of any of his children. He appeared to have little or no knowledge of the actual life styles of people on the Reserve and thus had only the most generalized opinions with regard to cultural activities or Indian attitudes. Any time he needed information about any of his pupils, a

situation he stated was rare, he used the special education teacher as a source. He did, however, make some estimates of the social standing and economic conditions of some of the families based on the clothes the children wore and the presents they referred to during the year. He also made inferences about the cultural life of the Reserve from the subjects the children chose in art and the occasional comments he overheard in conversations among the children.

#### Teacher C

As a child, Teacher C had attended school with Indian pupils. She described the school as well integrated. She had taught in two other schools in which there were Indian pupils before coming to Worgate. She had taken no course work and had done no reading.

She showed some knowledge about the background of some of her pupils, however, it centered on those families who stood out in her mind for negative reasons; i.e., uncleanliness of the home, parental neglect, poor attitudes toward the school. As a source for this information she quoted the public health nurse, staff room conversation and some personal contacts with a family to whom she had given some clothes during her first year at the school. She showed no knowledge of cultural activities on the Reserve and a rather limited, non-objective, negative view of life styles on the Reserve.

#### Teacher D

Teacher D had had Indian pupils in both the schools she had taught in previously. She had taken no course work but may have done some reading.

She had a fair amount of knowledge of the family backgrounds of most of her pupils. She had encouraged both the special education teacher and her pupils to talk freely. She also had met several of her parents frequently in informal settings such as the local supermarket. She had not visited their homes.

Through her discussions with the children and the special education teacher she had some knowledge of the cultural activities on the Reserve. She had quite clear and firm opinions on what she saw as the Indian people's attitudes toward education, value systems, Indian-White contact and the future of the Indian culture. Her opinions tended, however, to be a romanticized version of those of the special education teacher, being based on discussions with this teacher rather than Indian people, and being strongly influenced by the sympathy she felt for Indian pupils attending what she saw as a non-integrated school with at least a few prejudiced teachers.

#### Teacher E

Teacher E had had no contact with Indian people before coming to Norgate. She had had no course work and had done no reading.

She displayed no knowledge of the families of any of her pupils except for that gained through interviews with four of the five mothers at report card time and some contact with two of those mothers who came to help at a school event.

She saw the public health nurse and the special education teacher as two sources of information but had not had occasion to use either of them. She saw the children as too quiet to cause any problem.

She had no knowledge of Indian culture or cultural activities



and had only the most generalized opinions on possible Indian attitudes on social or educational matters.

#### Teacher F

Teacher F had had Indian pupils in her class for all of the previous eight years teaching experience. She had taken no course work in anthropology but had both course work and considerable experience in the teaching of those with educational handicaps.

She had a fairly detailed body of information about the families of each of her pupils. This was based primarily on three to four visits by each of the parents with the exception of one family, and many conversations with, and personal writings from the children. She found the comments of the public health nurse to be always negative and the comments of the special education teacher to be always positive so she used them sparingly. She had a limited knowledge of Indian culture and cultural activities but had worked out from observations clear ideas on family relations and personality characteristics of her Indian pupils as they differed from her White pupils.

#### Teacher G

Teacher G had had no contact with Indian people prior to coming to Norgate except participation as a volunteer helper while in university in a study center for Indian pupils. She had taken no courses and had done no reading.

She had only two Indian pupils in her class. She had some general knowledge of the two families based on the two interviews but had no idea of home or economic conditions.

She had a little information regarding cultural activities gained from others on staff and her pupils, but only the most generalized opinions on possible Indian attitudes on social or educational matters.

#### Teacher H

Teacher H had had no contact with Indian people before coming to Norgate. She had taken no course work and had done no reading.

She had only a small amount of information about the families of her children although she did have a very detailed picture of the learning problems of each of her pupils and the relationship of their Indian background to these various strengths and weaknesses.

She found interviews with Indian parents to be of little value for either the receiving or giving of information and thus depended on the public health nurse for the information she needed.

She had no knowledge of what Indian culture there may have been or of its forms of expression. She also had no knowledge of Indian attitudes on any matters.

#### Teacher I

Teacher I had taught Indian pupils in Whitehorse and had spent a summer working on Reserves in the Whitehorse region as a Church volunteer. She had taken no course work.

She had a fairly detailed knowledge of each family in her class based on conversations with the public health nurse, interviews with the parents and personal visits to each home at least once a year.

She had a limited knowledge of the existing Indian culture being primarily aware of it as it reflected the past; i.e. carvings,

basketry, beadwork, etc..

Teacher J

Teacher J, who taught in the Indian kindergarten, had had no contact with Indian people before coming to Morgate. She had taken no course work but had done considerable reading during her first year of teaching.

She showed a great deal of knowledge of the various families in her class. This information came from conversations and interviews with the parents, and several visits, formal and informal, to Indian homes.

She did not have a great deal of knowledge on such matters as the Spirit Dancing. She did have very clear ideas on what she saw as several differing life styles on the Reserve and their effect on learning patterns and Indian-White relations.

A summary chart of the above information will prove handy.

TABLE VII SUMMARY OF KINDS AND QUANTITIES OF BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE OF TEACHERS

Sources and Kinds of Knowledge	Quantity of Knowledge		
	None	A Little	Fair Amount
Course Work			
Number of Teachers	10	1	0
Identity of Teacher	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J	Principal	-
Background Reading			
Number of Teachers	6	3	2
Identity of Teacher	C, E, F, G, H, I	B, D, A	J, Principal

TABLE VII - Continued

Sources and Kinds of Knowledge	None	A Little	Fair Amount
First Hand Knowledge of Family Background			
Number of Teachers	0	6	5
Identity of Teacher		B,C,D, E,G,H	Principal J,A,I,F
Second Hand Knowledge of Family Background			
Number of Teachers	2	3	6
Identity of Teacher	E,G	B,C,H	Principal A,D,F,I,J
General Knowledge of Reserve			
Number of Teachers	4	4	3
Identity of Teacher	B,E,G,H	Principal C,D,F	A,I,J

The divisions here between "A Little" and a "Fair Amount" are necessarily arbitrary and relative. Some explanations of some of the categories will help. By a "Fair Amount" of background reading I am referring to the amount of reading one would have to do for a thorough summer school course in anthropology. A "Fair Amount" of first hand knowledge of the family and family background has come from a number of conversations with the children and/or parents, with visits to the homes also occurring occasionally. Since all the teachers have conducted interviews with all or almost all of their pupils' parents, all teachers are credited with a little first hand knowledge of their pupils' families and family backgrounds. The second hand knowledge is derived from school records, the special education teacher, the public health nurse, other teachers and other Indian parents. By general

knowledge of the Reserve I refer to knowledge of Indian cultural activities--what these are and what significance to the Indian pupil they might have. It also refers to knowledge of Indian viewpoints on matters other than day to day situations in which an Indian parent and the school have an interest, such as the progress of a specific child. A fair amount of general knowledge represents considerable thinking on the part of the teacher based on reading, discussion with other teachers, Indian adults and children, and open-minded observation.

All the categories are relative in that if a teacher's total knowledge of a child's background--cultural as well as familial--was based on two ten to fifteen minute interviews at report card times and occasional staff room conversation, any other teacher who had made any effort at all would have a fair amount more knowledge than the first even though he still could not be assumed to know a great deal. Thus, the absolute amounts of knowledge upon which the teachers' comments are based must be deduced from the quality and kind of facts they state and the nature of the comments they make.

In the next several sections I will discuss the opinions of the teachers with regard to the housing and living conditions of the children and the causes of these conditions; and, with regard to how their home environment affected the learning of the children. I will discuss the way the teachers saw the child-parent relationship on the Reserve, and the attitudes of the parents toward education and learning in general, and Norgate school and its teachers in particular.

### Housing and Living Conditions

Looking first at the housing and living conditions of the

children, the teachers did agree on a number of things. All teachers agreed that there were families on the Reserve who lived in fairly modern, adequately equipped and maintained housing and the children of these families were clean, well dressed and healthy. They also agreed that there was a considerable amount of substandard, inadequate housing. The teachers agreed that there were homes in which there were health hazards due to uncleanliness, and the teachers all agreed that there were children who had health problems due to improper diet and insufficient care. However, among the teachers there was considerable difference of opinion as to the extent of any of the above conditions and their causes.

Two teachers who showed a very limited knowledge of their pupils' backgrounds made very general comments on this topic of housing and living conditions. One said that he thought that there was an "upper class" on the Reserve since one of his pupils got a pool table for Christmas and the family owned a colour television set. At the same time he estimated that the housing was very poor to average. He judged that the economic level of the families was low average or poor in comparison with the wider society outside the Reserve. The contributing factors to this below average housing and economic level were the large families which made even an average salary inadequate and the fact that several of the parents with low incomes also drank a lot.

The other teacher said that there were children who could be described as underprivileged. She indicated that there were parents who were satisfied with the bare minimum of everything from education to food and clothes and who were content to sit back on their \$4,000.00

or \$2,000.00 a year and do as little as possible. At the same time, the parents she had met did not seem different from any of the white parents of Norgate Park.

Two teachers had quite negative pre-conceptions of what to expect of the Indian pupils and their home environments and were pleasantly surprised after a year at Norgate. Both acknowledged that there were exceptions. One teacher had only two little girls in her room from the Reserve and she described them as spotlessly clean, very cute, very nice and healthy little girls. She said, "...they are not the type, you know, they never have colds, or runny noses, or are dirty or tired. Now mind you, you get the odd one who is obnoxious but you can't help that. I don't know how I would feel if I had one that sort of smelled like something, you know. Like this little girl in ..... room."

The other teacher thought that generally the Indians were very clean and well kept. Most of the home environments were good in every way. She indicated several times that to her, a lack of money did not mean that the home environment was poor. In the two cases she described as being bad environments, both families were on welfare but the harmful effect on the children was caused by the alcoholism of one or both of the parents and by the indifference of the parents to the welfare of the children. Thus the homes were poorly kept and the children lacked the proper food. Other families also had limited incomes but were closely knit, self-sustaining units.

One teacher attempted to set down an objective, balanced picture of housing, housekeeping and health conditions. She said that

in a few cases the Indian children were markedly poorly dressed or they suffered from continual colds and runny noses or sores and scabs that would not heal quickly. These conditions she put down to a poor diet. She did not indicate whether the diet was due to parental ignorance of nutrition or parental indifference. About the housing, she said that many of the homes on the Reserve were excellent, they may be cluttered but were certainly not filthy. Many of the homes in another nearby residential area were worse in upkeep. The facilities in the homes on the Reserve were usually adequate. A different standard of housekeeping was what she saw plus the problems created by thirteen to fifteen people living in one house. She said that if there were no Reserve and the Indian families were living in Norgate Park it would be very hard to point to any marked differences which would separate them from the rest of the people in the Park. "If the housing restrictions [bylaws] in the rest of Vancouver were the same as the regulations on the Reserve you would notice a great increase in the number of shacks and cheap housing that would spread through the rest of North Vancouver. The housing on the Reserve often looks a lot worse simply because the regulations are not there to enforce higher standards of housing."

One other teacher tended to separate what she saw as good home environments from poor without using income as a criterion. In the one case she cited where the level of cleanliness contributed to the health problems suffered by the family, she named as causes acute poverty and alcoholism on the part of both the mother and father. She described other families, however, where the children were neatly dressed even though the clothing itself was poor, and the parents as



being excellent even though quite poor. She felt most of the home environments were not disadvantaging.

Two teachers saw the situation more negatively and placed the causes more directly on the shoulders of the parents. One of the teachers stressed that she was dealing only with the parents of the children in her room who were the "lower group". These were not the average families. With the families she discussed, however, there was no question of the condition of the homes and the children being attributed to different standards and thus being excused. In each case she cited, the standard of cleanliness and health were well below the acceptable and were clearly caused by parental failure or ignorance. She felt that cleanliness and poor diet were major problems. In discussing a comment made by the nurse regarding one of the homes she first paraphrased the nurse's comments, "So there's ten of them in a house with only two bedrooms. They do the best they can, you know. It's not that bad. You can't help it if he smells." Then she said, "But you can help it if he smells. You can take some soap down there and you can tell the mother to get busy instead of sleeping all the time, can't you. No matter how little money or how small a house I had I wouldn't let my children go off to school smelly." She described one child particularly as suffering from a combination of ignorance and indifference to what she saw as his needs. The child had had infectious hepatitis and was carrying a great deal of unhealthy fat. He lived on a diet of white bread and tea and was so dirty that the nurse would regularly soak his feet each week. She said, "I think it's a happy family. I think there's love in the family. I don't think

the children get--perhaps Mother just doesn't know how to take care of children diet-wise. I tried to tell her when she was up the last time. But the minute I started she had so many problems. The little one had just finished lighting a fire under the bed the night before and they had to pull the mattress out and get the fire engines down. She just pounded on me with all the things that went on at home. So she wasn't terribly interested in what she might consider minor problems that we don't, such as \_\_\_\_\_'s shoes being too small, \_\_\_\_\_ not getting the proper foods, or that he has all this unhealthy fat, the constant cold. I think these to her are minor problems. So he's got a runny nose, so what? That's just baby fat. He's going to lose it. So his shoes are too tight. That won't really matter."

The one excuse the teacher did offer for the parents was that reaching acceptable standards takes time. In referring to the minimum standards she would accept in her own home and family she said, "But this is our education, isn't it, and the way we've been raised for several centuries. I don't know. Maybe the Indian is slowly, slowly getting up. I don't know. Also, these are isolated cases we are speaking of, not the average family."

The other teacher who saw the situation more negatively saw most of the problems suffered by the various families on the Reserve as being caused by either the lack or mismanagement of money. Where money was not available the problems increased. Where it was available it was managed poorly. In either case the general poverty was quite striking, showing up in the children's clothing and cleanliness. "If you go to the home and see the tremendous poverty they are living

in, although it's more mismanagement perhaps than poverty, because there are many Indians who are capable of it [better standard of living] as longshoremen. They're making damn fine money, but through mismanagement they are living in tumble-down, ramshackle places."

To this teacher it was the attitude of the parents and not the facilities which were responsible. The value structure of the Indians is inadequate where material possessions and physical appearance were concerned. "I don't think they have enough experience or have been exposed to the good life. I don't think they have been fully aware or can appreciate what we term the good life. I think again, looking at their homes, their sets of values are completely removed from what ours are. I think, if they've got food in their tummies and they've got a television set they can watch their TV with, then that's it. It's a different set of values from ours in that they haven't been exposed to ours. We could term it an absence of ours and say, 'Oh well, they are living in poverty,' and all this sort of thing, but I don't know that they know any better than this. They haven't experienced any better, certainly, so I think maybe their set of values is quite acceptable to them."

One teacher was both negative and general in her comments on home conditions on the Reserve. She maintained that the families on the Reserve were not generally self sufficient economically, physically, or emotionally. The parents were no "...great shakes except for an isolated few" and were "...not living that satisfactory a life." As she saw it, many were disadvantaged economically and in their housing; many fought against a family problem, usually alcohol; and they were not

a healthy race caused in part by the overcrowded conditions of many of the homes. This teacher saw alcohol as a problem for many families causing partial neglect of the children. "The older brothers and sisters have to watch the younger brothers and sisters while the parents go beering. I defy you to go into the Avalon any night of the week and not find half the Reserve in there."

When this teacher referred to specific families her comments were stronger than those of the other teachers. Referring to one child she said that there was a dirt problem in the house. The child was always dirty. The nurse had to cut the socks off him. Two brothers were described as very dirty and smelly. Their home was filthy. The nurse said that it was unbelievable. It was one of the sources of lice. The children had scabs from the foot to above the knee. She had gone to visit one family but found the house so dirty and repulsive she was afraid to go in. She mentioned that she had visited one house but on the general run, "I don't care to. Maybe I've got a bug about neatness."

In summary then, four of the eleven teachers saw housing and health conditions on the Reserve as being adequate. The majority of the teachers, however, described the standard of housing as poor in comparison to the area surrounding the Reserve--an area they considered to be adequate. Some attributed this to a low income level, but others claimed that the level of housing, like the income was due to a satisfaction with the minimum and a lack of desire for anything better. In the area of health, the majority of the teachers described the homes as adequately clean and healthy on the whole but also considered the exceptions to this level to be at a higher rate than the surrounding

district. These exceptions were put down to poor diet or parental neglect caused by ignorance of proper diet, personal problems aggravated by acute poverty, or alcoholism.

### Child-Parent Relationships

The teachers saw a marked contrast between the child-rearing methods of the Indian parents and that of the middle-class parents of Norgate Park. Indian parents were much more permissive. Decisions made by the children were much more significant in their consequences and were made by the children at a much earlier age. Household organization was generally more relaxed with decisions such as what to wear, what to eat and when to eat it, whether to attend school or not, being individual matters rather than family, or at least joint parent-child decisions.

Some of the teachers saw this permissiveness as a negative thing, detrimental to educational progress. Discussing the problems of attendance and lateness, one teacher said, "The parents simply won't get the kiddies up in the morning." Another said, "They aren't restricted as much as the White kids are. Indian kids are allowed to do a lot more. Their parents are a lot freer with them and in this way it is hard for them to settle down and have to do something."

Some saw the permissiveness as partly causing and being caused by a lack of parental ability to control their children. One teacher simply said, "They are not a group of people who have self-discipline." Another teacher described one situation where the family was considering sending the oldest son, in his early teens, to a more restricted environment in a residential school because the mother could

not handle him. The same teacher described another situation where one of the Indian mothers had phoned about a strapping her son had received along with several others for persistently participating in a very dangerous activity. At first she had been quite upset but later admitted to this teacher that maybe the strapping had been necessary since neither she nor the other parents had been able to control the children themselves.

Some of the teachers saw this permissiveness positively. They saw this style of child rearing as training the children earlier and more effectively to be self reliant. Two of the teachers defined this permissiveness in different but complementary ways. One said that the attitude of the Indian parents was a much more permissive one but permissive from the point of view that there were fewer regulations, not just that the regulations were more poorly kept. She felt that because there were fewer regulations the Indian child was more independent, and because he was more independent there was less likely to be rebellions from the Indian child when he reached his teens. The other teacher said, "Other parents are perhaps more conscious of being parents. They usually have a definite set of rules, whereas I don't think my parents know their objectives. They try to do what's right, but in the end it just depends on how they are feeling at that moment. They aren't parents as we know parents to be. They teach the child to get out early and fend for himself, and it's not necessarily a fair deal; that is where everybody gets equal time, everybody gets a fair share. They're highly individualistic and yet, in the family I don't think there's an individual. That is, they are all grouped together as a family. They don't stick out as

individuals, and yet this breeds strong individuality because they fight for what they want."

One teacher commented that she did not think Indian families were any closer than White but several others disagreed. Some specified the sibling bond, others the parent-child bond as being more open and stronger than in the others families of their pupils. One teacher clarified her feelings this way, "A very important thing about the Indians--I would say that, percentage-wise, more Indian families have time for love and affection than White families with their children. There is more family feeling for young, for old, a far much closer--more feeling. I think this is wonderful."

Several of the teachers commented on the existence of the extended family. One saw the effect of this as positive particularly as it encouraged respect for the wisdom of the old in contrast to what she saw as the tendency of the rest of society to ignore or disparage the aged. Three other teachers, however, saw the older generation as antagonistic to education and strongly affecting the attitudes of the young in this direction. Two commented that since the passing of some of the older generation, relations with some families had greatly improved. Referring to another family, another teacher said that they were all afraid of the grandfather. The family was ruled by the old man--wrapped up and kept to their traditions by him.

The teachers frequently tried to describe what they saw as the different way in which Indian children were viewed by their parents. For the most part this came out in examples of the kinds of choices children were allowed to make for themselves and the earlier age at

which such choices were made by Indian children as compared with their White counterparts. However, some teachers added more explicit comments. Two saw the child as having fewer responsibilities in the family. Until they were in their teens they were "carefree" with few or no chores or duties. They wandered the Reserve without adult supervision from a very early age. Another said that the Indians parents loved their children as much as any parents but were less possessive. One teacher contrasted Indian parent-child relationships with White middle class parent-child relationships as follows, "We mould our children subtly and sometimes not so subtly into acceptable ways. I do not think Indian parents mould their children to the same extent. The children are much more respected for what they are, and their wishes are respected. The littlest one has a say whether or not he will do something, and he'll throw the whole family out of whack, but that's too bad. If he doesn't want to, he doesn't. So their children are freer than our children and they are more accepted as individuals. They have different values than ours--like individual freedom of the small child which we think is ludicrous."

Related to this concept of a different relationship between child and parent was the observation made by three of the teachers that when teaching was done by the Indian parents there was considerable less talking at the child than with the White parent and child. The Indian child was allowed to venture more by trial and error, being removed from the situation, often without explanation, only when he was in physical danger.

Two teachers commented that they saw the beginnings of change



in the generation of parents with children just starting school. The reason, as the teachers saw it, was simple. "My children who are doing the best and the children who do the best in grade one have the parents who are beginning to do what we do. Send him to bed at eight. They have regular times, regular hours. They're the ones who are changing their ways because they can't fit in otherwise. Their children cannot make it."

### Indian Parent Attitudes toward Education

When describing the attitudes of the parents toward education, the teachers generally fitted these attitudes into what I see as three categories. In the first category would go those parents who saw education as valuable. They realized the value of graduation from High School. One teacher described these parents as follows. "The Indian is much more practical about what school is for than we are. He has had perhaps more difficulty because of not having his Grade twelve or Grade eleven. It may be regarded as more of a necessity by him. Even if he thinks what the school is teaching is nonsense, he knows he has to have that Grade twelve." Beside thinking that education was important, these parents took a more active interest in their child's progress because they had both a clearer recognition of what tasks the school saw as it's province and a clearer understanding of the methods the school used to accomplish these tasks.

In the second category would go those parents whom the teachers describe as being interested in their child's progress because they saw education as being valuable, but who were either confused about

or ignorant of the role and methods of the school as the teachers saw them.

In the third category would go those parents who the teachers saw as being mildly interested at best, or indifferent to their children's progress and who either placed little value on education or were antagonistic to education and educational institutions.

Before going on to discuss these three categories more fully, it is necessary to note two things. First, two teachers did see the parents in markedly different ways from both each other and these categories. One saw all or almost all of the parents on the Reserve as falling into category three. Any increase in interest in education on the part of some of the parents was more than likely a passing fad only. The other teacher described a small group of parents who were negligent in almost every aspect of child care and education was no exception. Apart from this small group, however, she described the attitude of the parents of the Reserve toward education as being "exceptionally good".

The second thing which must be noted is that the percentage of parents falling into each group varied somewhat among the teachers. However, from their comments it is safe to say that, with the exception of the one mentioned above, all the teachers would place a clear and definite majority of the parents in categories two and three.

The teachers' explanations as to why the parents held these various attitudes is the most significant part. In the third group, in a few cases, the cause of the lack of interest in the children's progress was considered to be simple negligence often caused in turn by the

overwhelming pressure of the parent's own problems. Some teachers attributed the parent's negative attitude toward schooling to their previous experiences with school and their own probable lack of success. One teacher said, "I think a lot of the parents hate school too. They know they have to send their children. I think it is much the same situation. The parents didn't know too much and they didn't do too well themselves."

Other teachers saw a definite conflict between what they perceived as the traditional Indian values and the value system espoused in the classroom. They felt that the Indian parents who also saw this conflict were either opposing the school or at least unable to support it. In a statement referring to the parents generally, one teacher said, "They have a tremendously low regard for education. It's just not part of their thinking. It's not part of their way. I think generally they can't conceive of the future past tomorrow. They can conceive of that but not past that. They don't stockpile, there's no forethought for the day after tomorrow. They live for the moment and that's good enough. There's no worry about the time to come." Another teacher, in describing a specific family, said that they still had their old ways, "...meaning their disinterest in education and general disinterest in what we are trying to do." One other teacher also felt that the Indian parents saw a conflict between their values and the values of those in the school but this did not lessen their interest in education and their children's progress. She made a number of statements which bring out this point of view. "These people do have a different cultural background. They think their basic culture is better than ours. They

are not quite sure that they want all these things that we think are valuable. They want to keep what they have and keep their children happy. They also want what we have at Norgate. They think this [Norgate] is a step over St. Paul's Indian Day School but they are not sure it is the complete answer. School is less important to them than it is to us. It comes after being happy and being an Indian."

Where the Indian parents had made the decision that education was valuable, this teacher described being Indian as a very positive benefit. Thus, in one case in which she saw the family as being quite traditional in their values but at the same time valuing education, she saw the boy being expected to get "good marks" simply because he was an Indian and he had an Indian name to uphold.

When describing parents in the second category, the teachers themselves tended to divide into two groups. One of these groups expressed the thought that the interest shown by many of the parents and their statements regarding the value of education had more form than substance. As evidence of this they cited the lack of questioning on the part of the parents during interviews, also the apparent lack of concern they showed with mediocre performances by their children. One teacher said, "His father smiles all the time. I usually tell him that \_\_\_\_\_ is making average progress and he seems quite satisfied with this. He doesn't bother asking me whether he could do better or not. He doesn't say much. He is very happy the way \_\_\_\_\_ is progressing averagely in school and that he is going to pass at the end of the year and that's about it."

The other group of teachers saw the parents as being genuinely

interested in both education and their children's progress, but, through lack of personal education and/or experience with schools not clearly understanding what the school was trying to achieve and what their role was in this process.

This is where the sharp contrast with the parents in the first category can be seen. These parents not only had a genuine interest in education, they also saw what role they were supposed to play in conjunction with the school and were attempting to do so.

From the teachers' comments the single most significant factor in determining the attitude of the parents toward education was the generation from which they came. For most of the teachers the older generation was identified clearly with category three and occasionally two. The younger generation was seen as the one with both the interest in and the understanding of education. Summing up this feeling, one teacher said, "The younger set of parents are buying lots more things for their children like puzzles, crayons, and plasticene and books. They no longer think it is exclusively the school's job to educate their children. The older generation did not have this attitude. I don't think they realize what reading a story to a child means--what it's doing for the child besides entertaining him. I don't think they realize that."

As can be seen from all the comments in this section, the percentage of the younger parents who were thought by the teachers to be genuinely interested, concerned and involved in the education of their children varied greatly from none, or almost none, to almost all. However, where a teacher commented on an increase in the valuation of education,

it was the newer generation of parents who were given the credit.

### Indian Parent Attitudes toward the School and Teachers

The way in which each teacher perceived the attitudes of the Indian parents toward education was closely interrelated with two other matters: the attitudes toward the school and teachers which she ascribed to each individual set of parents, and the value she placed on the interview which was prescribed for each child's parents.

The interviews were not optional, at least as far as the teachers were concerned. "We are forced to see them and they are forced to see us, a confrontation two or three times a year, whether each side wanted it or not." Certainly, not all the teachers looked on it as unpleasant or an imposition. However, one teacher saw little or no point to the interviews with the Indian parents and four others were quite dissatisfied if the interview was supposed to be anything but a talk by the teacher on the strengths, shortcomings and weaknesses of the various children.

Six of the teachers saw the interviews as being useful most of the time anyway, with the parents exhibiting a marked desire to help even if they were not always clear how. One teacher said, "These are people I believe are quite intelligent and sensitive. The White parents come in and say, 'My child got a B. Why didn't he get an A?'--if they ever come at all. Whereas the Indian parents come in and say, 'How is my child doing? What can I do?' They come in and try to meet you as a person." The only exception to this generalization on the parental attitudes by these six teachers was the group of families who refused to

come in and meet the teacher. These were dismissed as unco-operative.

Two teachers said that generally they found no sense of need to co-operate on the part of the parents. Speaking of one family, one teacher said, "Being a chief's family it probably behooved them to come and it gave them a certain amount of status to come to the Whiteman's school. But that was all it was. It was sufficient just to come, just to say that they were going to the Whiteman's school. No need to show any responsibility to the school or any sense of co-operation with the school."

Five teachers observed that even when parental assistance had been promised, it was rarely forthcoming. One said, "They'll agree to anything while they're in the school but once outside the door they forget and that's the end of it." Another teacher said, "The parents come and get mildly excited about what they are going to do with the child, but nothing seems to happen. Nothing comes of it."

The same five teachers agreed that the parents showed an inability to understand the school's activities and were not particularly concerned about this. One parent was described as being a "...meek, very placid person who just does as she's told. Doesn't question at all. This summarizes her attitude toward the school." Another teacher generalized about his contacts with Indian parents this way. "I have had some. They generally come on open house or they send someone in the family. They don't seem to talk about the child or his problems much. They ask how much he is doing. I say he should improve in this or she should improve in that. There is usually a smile but I don't know whether they have understood it or not."

Two of the teachers made the observation that they felt that some of the parents contributed little to an interview because of their view of the teacher's knowledge and position. "The parents sit back and say 'Yes...yes,' and what you say, that's a fact. It must be and there's no question. I think they stand in awe of the teacher. It's their lack of education and the feeling that I know more than they know. I have the lower children. I think their parents think, 'Well, you are the teacher. You know what's right. That's what you think so it must be right.' "

Taken as a group most of the teachers felt that the majority of the Indian parents showed an interest in the school even if it did not always extend to effective involvement in the learning processes of their children in academic areas.

Some of the parents were seen as quite friendly to the school and its teachers. A number of parents contributed some valuable artifacts to a display set up in the school library. Two teachers remarked on the way certain mothers came down to the school and helped make Christmas costumes. Another teacher said that in her interviews with three out of the five Indian families she had in her room, she had noticed no differences in her relationship with them as compared with the White families. She described one mother as being young and cute. "She seemed like a friend of mine sitting there and talking to me."

Only a few of the Indian parents were seen as being actually hostile toward the school. Two of the teachers described some families as actually disliking the school and its teachers--the one teacher ascribing this to previous parental experiences with schools; the other teacher seeing the feeling toward the teachers as part of a general dis-



like of Whites. Four teachers mentioned that they had had some comment from Indian parents that there were other parents on the Reserve who considered the school to have different standards of behavior for the Indian and white pupil with the Indians getting the worst of it. Two teachers had got telephone calls in which they or the school had been charged with 'picking on' the Indians.

The way teachers reacted to and interpreted this hostility is worth noting. The ones who were accused of discriminatory treatment of Indian pupils rejected the charge completely. When an Indian parent did phone in anger or strongly disagree in a conference, it was seen as being unusual behavior and generally undesirable behavior as well. These comments on one particular parent will illustrate this view. One teacher said that most of the staff saw one parent as a "rabble-rouser", however, she was actually not over-aggressive. It was just that her attitude was such a marked contrast to that of the other parents. "As long as the school is in agreement with her, it's good. But she will not put herself out to understand the school position." In describing the same parent another teacher said, "She came in with a chip on her shoulder which I managed to knock off because I don't take any guff from her." A third teacher described a situation in which this same parent had phoned one day and blasted another of the teachers, using quite strong language, for that teacher's attitude toward her child. The next day the teacher remembering the story had intercepted a telephone call from the parent in which the parent quite genuinely and straightforwardly apologized for her actions of the day before. This quite impressed the teacher since she felt that the parent could just as easily have decided

against phoning with the excuse that the teacher would also soon forget.

The relationship between how the teacher saw the general attitude of the Indian parents toward education and how he saw the attitudes of his pupil's parents toward the school was particularly close. Without variation, where the teacher saw the parents as being generally interested in education, he saw his pupil's parents as being interested and co-operative with the school and friendly towards himself. If he saw the parents as having a wide range of attitudes toward education then they had the parallel range of attitudes toward himself and the school. This point seems like an obvious one except that it led to a very interesting range of interpretations of the same parents' actions and reactions by different members of the staff. The next short section will consist of three examples of different staff viewpoints on the same parent. It is worth noting that often the teachers reported the same reactions. Only the interpretations were markedly different.

#### Parent A

The teacher described the mother as being very much like her daughter--shy. She probably did not think about school. However, the family had recently moved to another Reserve and even though it cost them sixty cents a day they still sent their children all the way back to Norgate.

Another teacher said, "She's so docile, lackadaisical, and it doesn't matter..... I told her that \_\_\_\_\_ just wouldn't get through this year, he couldn't possibly. 'That's all right. I guess it just takes two years for my kids to get through every grade.' And that was about it. \_\_\_\_\_ has the same attitude as his mother's

got. 'Sit back and let things come to you or go to me. I won't do anything about it.'" The teacher commented that there did not seem to be any questioning going on. Whatever the teacher said was right and that was the end of the matter.

The third teacher described the mother as being very open to suggestion and that if she was given a good suggestion she would probably follow it. The teacher later explained that the phrase, 'open to suggestion', did not mean that the mother did not have any suggestions of her own but that she was simply very open to friendliness and open to ideas. The mother was very amiable. She had not contradicted anything that the teacher had said to her. She was very friendly and was trying to be a conscientious mother.

#### Parent B

One teacher described one of the fathers this way. "He comes by all smiles most of the time. I don't have too much to say to him. I usually tell him that \_\_\_\_\_ is making average progress and he seems quite satisfied with this. He doesn't bother asking me whether he could do better or not. He doesn't say much. He is very happy the way \_\_\_\_\_ is progressing averagely in school and that he is going to pass at the end of the year, and that's about it."

Another teacher described the same parent this way. She said that the boy's father had come to an afternoon tea when his wife couldn't. "He just looked and smiled and looked and smiled. He didn't come gushing up and say, 'Oh, you have done wonderful things for my child.' But he did stop and say, '\_\_\_\_\_ seems to be happy this year.'

It was quite obvious what he meant and that was that."

### Parent C

The first teacher said, in reference to interviews, "I phoned but she always had a reason not to come, or she would say, 'I can't do anything with him. Why don't you strap him?' She didn't want to try."

The next teacher said that she had met the mother. She was a very nice woman, very concerned. Her attitude toward school was perhaps the best of the whole lot.

The next teacher described this mother as very pleasant. "She's a well-spoken woman and well looked after. Interested, I wouldn't say concerned; I prefer to say she's an interested parent rather than a concerned parent. Willing, co-operative. She appeared to understand the report. She never questioned any of it and I just had to leave it as 'I hope you've understood what I've said.' No questions."

The fourth teacher described her contacts with this mother as being more formal than her interviews with other mothers. "With Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ it's more of a parent-teacher relationship. We always talk just about the children." The teacher described the mother's attitude toward the school as being of a serious and concerned nature.

### Effect of the Home Environment on Learning

In the last few sections I have presented the teachers' comments on the home environment of the Indian children. In this section I will summarize these and present the opinions of the teachers

as to how the home environment of the children affected their learning.

All the teachers agreed that there was a small group of families which suffered from every negative characteristic the teachers mentioned. The houses were old, small, dirty inside and out, poorly cared for, and poorly equipped in essential, properly functioning equipment. This was the extreme, however, and for most of the teachers the number of families in this group was small.

In the breakdown of staff opinions shown earlier, in summary, all the teachers except two compared the physical environment of the Indian children to that of the residents of Norgate Park and saw it as poorer in the large majority of cases; poorer in terms of basic construction, standard of maintenance, cleanliness, and quality and quantity of essential equipment such as furniture, appliances, and plumbing. Of the two exceptions, one saw this comparison as a legitimate one but disagreed with the totals, seeing the majority of the Indian homes as on a par with those in Norgate Park. The other exception saw such a comparison as irrelevant or misleading since the reason behind the disparity was the presence of enforced building and maintenance regulations in Norgate Park and the lack of these on the Reserve; and, differing standards of what is acceptable and appropriate in housekeeping complicated by the inescapable problems caused by large number of people crowded into a small space.

For the majority of the staff the cause of most health problems was a combination of lack of sufficient cleanliness and ignorance of adequate dietary knowledge. The lower standards of housekeeping and general cleanliness were seen as the result of such standards

being accepted as normal with the parents having no desire to improve them. The degree of cleanliness of the people and their surroundings was voluntarily brought into the conversation by every teacher except one and used as a generalized measuring stick for the children. Cleanliness was tied very closely with both academic and social success. The dirty child had neither. For both the child and the parents, the lack of any obvious pursuit of higher standards of cleanliness was seen as proof of a lack of drive and desire in all social affairs including education.

In the family itself, the large numbers of people present at any given time were seen as a greater problem than the housekeeping. The crowding of the home was mentioned in two ways. First, because the house was overcrowded the student was not able to get privacy for schoolwork; and two, when work was taken home and attempted, the amount of noise and distraction would be greatly increased by the number of people in a small area.

Two of the teachers mentioned that some of the parents held family responsibilities to be more important than school and thus children babysat for younger brothers and sisters occasionally while the parents went elsewhere.

Another effect of the large family mentioned by some of the teachers was that the mother was not able to give much attention to the individual child because of the demands on her time caused by simply trying to organize and run such a large household. Each child was, therefore, much more on his own.

The inescapable presence of older siblings as well as other

older young people was seen as another source of influence on the children. If these older children were not attracted to education their example soon spread to those younger and still of school age. One teacher said, "When I drive through there, there seems to be a lot of people, older boys, just sitting around and perhaps the kids get the idea, 'Well, just come to school. I don't have to do much. Eventually I am going to get out and maybe get some work or just sit around like the rest of them.'"

The Reserve itself was usually defined as a restrictive force on the children. The positive features of the Reserve system, as the teachers saw it, was that it tended to keep the extended family together and it helped maintain knowledge of Indian culture in that it increased the contact between the older people with the knowledge and the younger people who were yet to learn it. The drawbacks to close contact between the old and the young have already been mentioned. One teacher expressed the views of several, if not the majority, of the teachers when she said that the behavior patterns of the children could be traced directly to the fact that they were Indian children living on an Indian Reserve, since Indian children she had observed off the Reserve did not seem to have the same problems. The Reserve was seen as a negative and limiting factor in several ways. First, the children's lives, and for that matter the lives of their parents as well, tended to center around the Reserve. They knew this home area but knew very little about other areas of the surrounding city and country. Second, because the Reserve was physically separate from the nearby White community, the Indian children were physically segregated until Grade one or kindergarten.

Third, because it was such a small and tight community with many close kin relationships among the families, similar attitudes seemed to spread more evenly through the group and deviance from the majority attitude was harder to initiate and harder to maintain.

Perhaps the most important way in which the Reserve system affected the children, according to the teachers, was the limitation it placed on the variety of occupational models the children saw. Because of the higher rate of unemployment, men, particularly young men without work or with occasional work, were one common model the children knew. Several of the teachers mentioned that because the children lived on a Reserve they simply did not become aware of any more than a few unskilled or semi-unskilled occupations, and this lack of knowledge contributed to their lack of ambition and drive in academic matters. One teacher said, "Well, if they lived in Norgate and had a professor for a next door neighbour, say his wife was a social worker, they would know what a social worker is and what a professor is. The parents would be visiting back and forth and they would get some idea of the different kinds of trades and different kinds of industries that go on. They would know the different kind of work that goes on. But this way they know loggers, they know fishermen, and they know longshoremen, and they don't know anything else except some unemployment. I have never heard them mention any other occupation but these three."

All of the teachers agreed that the most significant factor from the home affecting the learning of the child was the attitude of the parents toward education in general and the school and its teachers in particular. There was general agreement among the teachers that



there was a small group of parents who saw education in the same light as most of the Norgate parents; that is, something to be pursued, something needed, something of value. There was considerable disagreement as to the size of this group, but the majority said that it was small, tended to be young and tended to be the ones who had had more education themselves. For the rest of the parents most of the teachers felt that the interest they did show was largely out of form, or was too generalized to be of much value. These parents were seen as simply too unreliable in the carrying out of promises they had made in teacher-parent interviews. Four of the teachers did feel that the interest of the parents was real and their concern was genuine but that they lacked sufficient awareness of the role the school was expecting parents to play. All teachers agreed that there was a small group of parents who held education in very low regard and at least some of these were overtly or covertly antagonistic toward the school and its teachers.

The effect on the learning habits and academic success of the children of these parental attitudes toward education, the school and its teachers is obvious from the tenor of their comments. In Chapter three we will discuss more fully the views of the teachers on the academic and social progress of the Indian pupils. Suffice to say at the present that they saw this progress as quite limited and the home environment as one of the chief factors in creating and maintaining this situation. Thus, anything less than full and enthusiastic cooperation from each parent would be considered as detrimental to the child's progress.

In affecting the attitudes of the parents toward education,

the most significant factor, apart from the educational background of the parents themselves, was a basic difference in philosophical outlook on life and a differing value system from that of the teachers and the Norgate parents. Not all teachers agreed. One saw no basic philosophical difference. She did see a lack of understanding on the part of the Indian parents of the requirements of the school and a definite inadequacy of preparation for school in the beginners, but no difference in outlook on life or education on the part of the parents sending children to the school.

One other teacher agreed that the Indian parents did look at life in a different fashion but felt that their viewpoint had more validity than that of the teachers and the Norgate Park parents. She saw the Indian people as being more open, warm people and decidedly happier. She did feel that their values conflicted with those espoused by the school and, therefore, the children were the inevitable losers.

The rest of the teachers agreed that the philosophical differences and value conflicts were major causes of the lack of academic success on the part of the Indian children but saw this as proof that the philosophical tenets of the parents were inappropriate if not unsatisfactory.

Some of the teachers saw the philosophical views of the parents as unspecified, traditional Indian viewpoints. Other teachers described the parents as being present-oriented rather than future-oriented; that is, a people preferring immediate and lesser gratification of desires over greater gratification which took more time and effort to achieve. Some saw these two viewpoints as being equivalent. Whatever the origin or nature of the difference in philosophy between

the Indian parents and the teachers, the teachers saw this difference as being most significant.

Perhaps the most important thing upon which there was general agreement among the teachers was their feeling that all but a few of the children came to school inadequately prepared for Grade one in comparison to the children from Norgate Park. The teachers described the school as being designed for children of middle class parents from a middle class residential area like Norgate Park and thus accommodating with some difficulty the lack of background in language activities of the Indian children.

However, while the teachers agreed on the basic fact that the children were not well prepared for Norgate school when they arrived, there was some difference of opinion as to the precise nature of the inadequacies of the children's pre-school preparation and the changes necessary as a result. One teacher, as mentioned earlier, felt that what she saw as the value system of the Indians was superior to that of the White parents of Norgate Park. Thus, as far as she was concerned, the changes which were necessary to better accommodate the Indian children were to be made by the school to take advantage of the background the children had. Another teacher saw the Indian children coming to the school with a tremendous range of experiences which the school was not utilizing effectively. However, she also saw the children as lacking essential background in pre-reading skills.

Most of the teachers tended to see this lack in specific learning skills and minimized, if they admitted the existence of, the positive features of the children's experiences as they related to the

classroom situation. That is, the teachers generally claimed that there were few books in most of the homes and that the parents did little reading themselves and thus little or no reading to their children before they entered school, and gave little encouragement to their children to read once they were in school. Two teachers saw the poor written and spoken English of their Indian pupils as the direct result of their home environment since they noticed during interviews that the parents "...spoke exactly the same as the children do".

Most of the teachers agreed that there were specific things missing in the children's background which were usually present in the pre-school experiences of the middle class children, such as lessons in counting, telling stories and being read stories, and deliberate encouragement of vocabulary development and correct pronunciation of words.

These specifics were seen as the result of three broader aspects of the children's early environment. First, most of the teachers felt that there were clear and narrow limitations on the breadth of the children's range of experiences. Several mentioned the lack of knowledge of the children of areas outside the local Reserves. That is, the children did not go on Sunday drives, they did not take regular vacations as a family to other parts of this province or country. There were few parent-organized visits to parks, museums, movie theatres or special events, all of which the teachers saw as being a regular part of the early childhood background of the children of Norgate Park.

The second and third aspects of the children's preparation for school are distinct but related. The second is that the parents' own experience with schooling was generally limited in length and success.

This meant that those closest to the children set a poor example as far as education was concerned whether they wanted to or not. The third and most important aspect to almost all the teachers was that the parents of the Indian children did not supply sufficient push, or motivation, to succeed. Perhaps because of their own schooling, or lack of it, the parents were not aware of the consistent effort needed from the child in order to succeed, particularly if his background in learning skills was weak. Perhaps the parents deliberately chose not to push their children to work because such coercion did not fit with their methods of child upbringing, or because the parents had limited ambitions for their children. With either cause, the teachers generally felt quite strongly that this lack of motivation from the parents was a most serious defect. They described what they saw as a lack of communication from the parents to the children that what he or she was doing was important and was to be done well. One comment sums up this aspect and would be generalized by most of the teachers to apply to more than half the homes.

"\_\_\_\_\_ came to school every day for the entire year, but he didn't seem to have direction. His parents sent him off to school and he knew he had to come to school, but he didn't know who or what for. He knew he had to come and sit here and then had to go home, but that was it. I talked to the parents about this, but I don't know what happened, whether he has progressed this year or not."

As far as the parents of this child were concerned he said, "I had them both down and the principal and I both talked to them. Their attitude was 'yes, yes', but not much more."

Summary

It was pointed out in the first section of this chapter that five of the eleven teachers had a "fair amount" of "first hand knowledge" of the families on the Reserve. Of these five, two had visited the homes of several or all of their pupils; the other three depended on conversations at the school with some of the parents and the children. As was also pointed out in the first section, the term 'fair amount', is a relative one. Since the base line for "a little first hand knowledge" was the amount of knowledge which could be gained from interviews at report card time, it is obvious that anything more than that could still be very little indeed.

A thorough discussion of the importance of a good knowledge of the child's home background is presented in the concluding chapter of this study. For the present argument, this is simply an assumption. Given that the assumption is a valid one, the information given by the teachers themselves does indicate that, as a group, they lacked first hand knowledge of the families of their pupils. Because of this lack, they depended for any information they felt they needed on the second hand sources. The information they received from these people was accurate and in good supply, but their answers to questions and their conversation in general would seem to indicate that this information tended to confirm their preconceptions rather than create present impressions. This is probably due to the fact that instead of filling in the blanks in their own first hand assessment of the situation, the information had to provide the basis of their mental picture. Where

the information was inadequate in quantity, their preconceptions of the situation provided the framework.

The answers given by the majority of the teachers tended to be quite generalized with regard to the causes of the various disadvantages pointed out in the children's home environments. The statement that these people are an undisciplined lot or are satisfied with their \$2,000.00 or \$4,000.00 a year, or live in ramshackle, tumble-down places because they manage their money poorly even when they have it, show very little consideration for the wide variety of circumstances or the wide variety of living standards evident on the Reserve.

The lack of knowledge of individual families also led to a grouping of the families together when specific qualities were discussed. It is difficult to assess an individual's attitude toward anything on the basis of a ten minute interview, or even a series of them over a number of years, and thus the plural pronoun 'they' was frequently used. It is important to note that several of the questions asked the teachers were general and allowed for responses referring to a group. However, they also could have been answered in terms of the individual family as two or three of the teachers did.

The lack of research in terms of reading or course work also created problems. Once again, it is an assumption that background reading and course work are of value. But, given that they are, their lack was noticeable in this situation. None of the teachers had taken any course work in the teaching of minority groups or in the cultural history or present of the Indians of this area. Two had done what they

described as a fair amount of background reading since they started teaching at the school.

The first thing of note was the failure of the large majority of the teachers to recognize that people of differing cultural, economic and social backgrounds frequently have different priorities when it comes to the satisfaction of needs and desires. This statement cannot lead to the suggestion that there is a uniform list of priorities on the Reserve either, since as Richard Band points out, there are at least two viewpoints there as well. (1969: 59) He indicates that those whose houses are ill-kept felt that the responsibility for the maintenance of a house belonged to the Band Council, not the owners. Painting and landscaping tend to be low on the list when the house is old to begin with or when the individual feels, as many Squamish do, that to put up a fence is an affront to one's neighbours. (R. Band 1969: 60) Thus, those whose houses appear on the outside to be poorly maintained may in fact be so but may also be in such condition for other than the implied reason that the owners should care but do not.

Many of the teachers picked up the idea that the child-parent relationship was different in the case of most of their Indian children when compared to the majority of their middle class classmates. However, the majority of them missed the cultural explanation of this and thus its ramifications in terms of adult-child relationships in the classroom. Richard Band points out (1969: 100) that non-interference in the affairs of another adult is very definitely the pattern, with any admonitions from even close relatives being considered an affront. Children take the same attitude toward reproof from other adults beside



their parents or close relatives.

On many occasions I have observed them using language that would even 'make a longshoreman blush' when an adult has attempted to scold them for their actions. One six-year old girl, after making a few choice introductory remarks, stated flatly to one Councillor, 'You think that you're such a big shot! You're just a ... nothing!' This sort of statement is often made by even younger children. There is nothing much a person can do in such a situation, except complain to the parents. This is rarely attempted, however, since the child probably picked up the expressions and the orientations towards the person of the Councillor from his parents. Such a complaint generally proves to be ineffective.

(R. Band 1969: 101)

The peer group also appears to have a very strong influence at an early age among the children of the Reserve. The attitude toward authority outside the family and the highly significant peer group pressure are two points which must be referred to in understanding classroom and playground behavior, and in putting into perspective the comments of the parents with regard to the control of their children.

A lack of knowledge of the educational history of the parents of the Indian children contributed to a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the apparent attitudes of the parents toward education in general and the school and its teachers in particular. The grandparents and, in some cases, the parents of the children in school during the last few years, took their education almost entirely in residential schools. The school was frequently a long way from the Reserve, the term was sometimes eleven months long, and visits home were discouraged. In the earlier days academic subjects took three hours with religious classes and chores filling the rest of the time. The parents reported that they received no encouragement to go past Grade seven, if they got

that far. Until the early 1950's all children from the Reserve, with the exception of two families, were educated in parochial schools. These became increasingly day schools rather than residential, except for children from broken homes, orphans, and children from "unsuitable" homes. (Verma 1954: 113) (It is not clear from Verma's text who decided which homes were unsuitable. The word is his.) The parochial school made the academic subjects more important but, according to the parents, still took a great deal of time teaching religion and gave minimum encouragement for those who desired to go on. Thus, the parents of the present children did not have a great deal of education and the education in itself was considerably different in many ways from that being received by their children in the public schools at present.<sup>1</sup>

Beside the difference in the education itself, the role of the parents of the parochial school-child was different from that expected of the parents of the public school-child. Two quotes from The Education of Indian Children in Canada will put this in perspective. (Jampolsky 1965) L.S.P. Waller, the Chief Superintendent of Indian Schools in 1965 says,

Indian parents have suddenly found themselves in a position of responsibility in school affairs. They have been consulted and asked to make decisions with respect to their children's education. Their reaction to this new situation differs very little from that of any other group in Canada with regard to democratic procedure. There is apathy, born perhaps, of bewilderment and traditional suspicion of new customs.

(Waller 1965: 68)

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<sup>1</sup>Table VIII indicates the continuing low percentage of Indian pupils in Grades nine to thirteen, but also shows the dramatic increase in total numbers of pupils, particularly in these grades, after 1949--the year provincial public schools first started to accept Indian pupils.

TABLE VIII

TOTAL NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF INDIAN PUPILS IN  
FEDERAL, PUBLIC, AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS BY YEAR AND GRADE

Grade	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1962-63	1963-64
Ad.							
1	7,209	5,765	8,199	9,176	2,687	3,759	3,397
2	2,834	2,763	4,912	5,908	7,253	7,016	7,507
3	2,400	2,402	3,294	4,571	5,908	6,447	6,651
4	2,029	1,993	1,540	3,667	5,323	6,093	6,322
5	1,605	1,514	2,152	3,089	4,826	5,357	5,763
6	1,079	1,012	1,541	2,438	4,128	5,079	4,858
7	577	635	1,005	1,735	3,389	4,038	4,352
8	420	324	623	1,083	2,652	3,334	3,557
9	93	71	283	728	1,715	2,438	2,604
10			37	433	1,115	1,827	1,959
11			38	244	599	1,065	1,140
12			11	136	384	541	620
13				10	166	367	314
					17	30	-
	13,396	16,438	23,409	32,223	40,162	47,346*	49,544**

\* Excludes 2,499 pupils for whom grade data are not obtainable.

\*\* Excludes 4,955 pupils for whom grade data are not obtainable. (Jampolsky 1965: 56)

Gooderham, at that time Regional School Superintendent in Alberta, was not quite as optimistic as Waller appears to be about the decisions being made by the Indian parents. He says,

At present, the education of Indian pupils is directed almost exclusively by outsiders. The federal, provincial and municipal authorities argue, discuss and decide. Indian people participate, but more to ratify than to plan, so is it any wonder that Indians continue to remain unexcited about our program for their education. If Indian parents are to be in a position to assist their children they must have a vital interest in the program. This means that they must have adequate representation on provincial school boards, if their children are attending provincial schools, and that they must have more than nominal authority over the schools operated by the Indian Affairs Branch. It must become possible for them to assume the same responsibility for school administration as is assumed by other Canadian parents.

(Gooderham 1965: 96)

These two quotes point out quite clearly that whether or not Indian parents obtain in the late 1960's and early 1970's the "... same responsibility for school administration as is assumed by other Canadian parents", they certainly did not have it when the present parents were children in school.

This points up then, the highly significant points the teachers missed because of their lack of knowledge of the educational background of the parents. The schooling which the parents received was in itself different to that received by their own parents. When the present parents were attending school, their parents were encouraged to send their children to school but were not requested, expected or allowed to take any role in their education beyond that. Schooling was the school's job. All the parents had to do was get the children there. Thus, the present parents lack both relevant experiences and examples in their

preparation for the roles the teachers expect them to play today. The teachers noted that the younger parents are much more co-operative and knowledgeable regarding their children's schooling. This bears out the previous arguments in that it is these parents who have more schooling, much of which took place in the public school system.

Finally, the teachers' lack of knowledge of life styles on the Reserve and particularly their lack of knowledge of the cultural background of the children contributes to the academic difficulties the teachers describe. There is no question that when the Indian children enter Grade one many of them are as much as a year or more behind their White, middle class counterparts in the development of the necessary pre-writing and pre-reading skills. This does not mean that they have had one or more years less experience than the other children. It means that they have had the same quantity but differing kinds of experiences. These usually are not the kinds of experiences which fit easily into the standard Grade one curriculum which is designed to fit the middle class child and his background. A knowledge of the child's life style and cultural background would enable a teacher to design more easily the changes in method and content necessary to fit that child's state of preparedness.

Secondly, a knowledge of the cultural background of the child would enable the teachers at all levels to make the curriculum both more intelligible and more relevant to the Indian child.

Given then, that a first hand knowledge of the child's home environment and a knowledge of the cultural background of the people of the Reserve are necessary parts of the teachers' equipment, their

lack causes problems in understanding and adapting to the perceived behavior of the parents and children and encourages an insistence on a single set of criteria by which all parents, homes and children should be judged. It is apparent from their comments that not all teachers had the same amount of knowledge. Thus, some were much better equipped in some areas than others. The majority of the teachers, however, did not have sufficient information in these areas and gave evidence of suffering from the problems described above.

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### Chapter 3 The Views of the Teachers Regarding the Indian Children

In Chapter two we discussed the views and opinions of the teachers regarding the home backgrounds of the Indian children and the ways in which those backgrounds affected their educational progress. In this chapter we will discuss the view of the teachers regarding the Indian children themselves, their social behavior, and the academic performance in the classroom.

First, I will present data concerning the teachers' identification of their Indian pupils, that is, their special characteristics as pupils. Then, I will present the teachers' views on how the Indian child saw his own identification as an Indian and the social relationships the Indian children enjoyed with their White classmates. Next, I will present data from sociograms done in all but one of the classrooms and discuss these in terms of the teachers' comments regarding White-Indian relationships. Next, we will discuss the teachers' views on the academic performance of the Indian children and their comments regarding their expectations for the future performance of the Indian pupils. Then, I will present data gathered in a questionnaire regarding some specific aspects of the teachers' expectations regarding the Indian children. Next, we will discuss the research findings on the relationship between the expectations of the teacher and the performance of her students, and then, finally, discuss the expectations of the teachers at Norgate in the light of the research and the



implications of this research.

### Special Characteristics

All teachers saw the Indian children as an identifiable, separate group. However, the kind, range and extent of the differentiating characteristics varied greatly. Only one teacher claimed that the skin coloration of the Indian pupils was the only way in which she could separate them from the other children in the room. Since her later comments indicated many sharply distinctive characteristics of Indian children in general and her pupils in particular, I regard the first statement as an inconsistency. One teacher saw economic factors as the only thing causing whatever differences there might be. Their clothing tended to be poorer and several of the Indian children had more sickness than their classmates, but these were all directly attributable to the economic factor. As she saw it, in their progress in learning, in their attitude toward her and the other children, and in their behavior patterns they were in no way identifiable as a separate group.

Most of the teachers did see specific behavior characteristics which were common to the Indian children. In Chapter two, the effect of the greater independence at home was noted, in that children were often more self-willed in school. There was disagreement over specific characteristics among the teachers. Some described the Indian children as more stubborn, but others directly countered this. Some teachers claimed that the Indian children were more irresponsible than their white classmates but others said the reverse; that their specific duties in the home and their greater independence made them more responsible

and more mature. Several commented that the children were quiet in the classroom particularly and were slow to speak in front of the class or to the teacher in private.

As can be seen, no pattern was evident. There was no agreed upon picture of the generalized Indian pupil with a characteristic behavior pattern exhibited in the school situation. This is emphasized by the fact that the teachers were aware of and ready to comment on the differences of viewpoint amongst themselves. Three of the teachers saw the characteristics attributed to the Indian children by some of their colleagues as evidence that they were prejudiced against Indian pupils and saw them as ". . . not as good as the rest." At least one other teacher beside these three saw her fellow teachers as lumping the Indian children into one group and not seeing them as individuals with individual differences and characteristics.

#### The Self-Identity of the Indian Children

I discussed this aspect with eight of the eleven teachers. Of these only one felt that the Indian children did not want to be identified as Indian or to identify themselves as Indians. He based this conviction on two incidents. As he described it, the Indian children were to take part in an inter-school program by performing an Indian dance--a featuring and a demonstration of Indian culture. Preparations were going along very well with the parents from the Reserve fully involved teaching their children a particular dance when, suddenly, no one showed up for the practice at the school and the teacher got a message that unless White children were included so that it was integrated and not just Indian, there would be no dance. His arguments

that the dance was to represent Indian culture and the inclusion of White children dressed up in Indian costume destroyed any idea of it being genuinely Indian, were ignored. The second was not so much an incident as an ongoing situation. He said, "This school should be a showplace of Indian materials. But they won't even admit to being Indian. That front hall case should be jammed with Indian material but they won't bring anything. They hide it. They won't even admit that they are Indian. Maybe I was wrong. Maybe they don't want to be Indian. Maybe they wanted to be treated just the same."

The other teachers completely disagreed. Four saw the Indian children as quite publicly proud of being Indian. Among the other three, one described the Indian children as wanting to identify themselves as Indian but tending to do it in a negative fashion. That is, to be Indian was to be non-White and to a large extent, anti-White. She claimed that the Indian people saw themselves as a separate group, a nation or people first, then an Indian people second. The other two teachers tended to be rather neutral in their comments. One generalized that the Indians seemed to consider "Indian" as a sort of nationality. She said that the parents frequently commented on their children as being proud of being Indian. The other simply said that being identified as Indians or having poems or plays about Indians read aloud did not seem to bother the children. One Indian child in particular was "always" making remarks like, "The Indians are on the war path", when the class got a bit rambunctious.

The general feeling of the teachers was that whether or not the child was proud of his Indian identity, it rarely was a significant

matter in terms of the learning situation. However the children saw themselves in this matter, there were only a few who appeared visibly concerned.

#### Social Relationships of the Indian Children in the School Situation

In a school with Indian and white children as pupils, discrimination and prejudice were two concepts which were never far from teachers' and pupils' minds when observing behavior. Nine of the eleven teachers saw little or no discrimination against or by the Indian children. Most of the nine teachers stated that while their White pupils were aware of the Indian pupils as being different in some ways from themselves, they saw this difference mainly in terms of shades of colour of skin and geographical separation of houses. A teacher of the early primary grades claimed that several of her children were quite surprised to learn that some of their playmates were "Indian". All nine teachers indicated that classroom relations were good between Indian and White pupils.

Not in terms of discrimination or exclusion, but in terms of grouping by preference, the teachers noted that the Indians tended to group together. One teacher commented that when questions were asked of one Indian child about others, even on such simple matters as whether or not they were sick or likely to be away for some time, the entire group became quite tight-lipped and non-communicative. They would tell on each other and complain about each other's behavior quite freely if that behavior took place at school. However, comments regarding each other on the Reserve were few and far between.

In choice situations, most of the teachers saw the Indian

children as preferring one another. As far as the White children were concerned, specific Indian children were frequently excluded and in social gatherings outside the school even quite popular Indian children were rarely invited. The explanation given for the exclusion from parties was the geographical distance which separated the two groups once they left school. The teachers who mentioned this stressed that they did not think that this exclusion meant anything more than the fact that most children, particularly in the younger grades, went home after school and their social groupings tended to depend on physical proximity. The Indian children lived in a physically separate area and also tended to go home after school. Thus, once school was out, the children rarely saw each other.

The rationale the teachers generally accepted for the choice patterns they saw in the classroom and on the school grounds was that the Indian children had grown up together in reasonably close physical proximity. They were often related to each other and were members of the same small, closely knit friendship groupings which included their whole families. These bonds continued through the school setting as well. They were bonds which had been formed over several years and rarely were they overshadowed or displaced by bonds formed with people met in the school situation. The children who were excluded by the Whites were those who stood out in terms of personality or in terms of cleanliness and were excluded not as Indians but because of their physical unattractiveness or their abrasive behavior patterns. Usually these children found what friends they had amongst the other Indian children because the bonds mentioned above remained stronger than the strains put upon them.

The Indian children who were actually excluded by white children were frequently excluded by a number of the Indian children as well.

The parents of the white children played some role in the out-of-school relationships of the children. One teacher referred to phone calls she had received concerning Indian children who had been brought home to play. Cleanliness once again seemed to be the most important factor. One teacher mentioned mentioned two particular girls who were quite popular in the classroom. Their lack of cleanliness did not seem to matter in the classroom, but the children did not play with them outside of school. "I think they know that their parents would not approve of them. This is what makes \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ [two other Indian girls] welcome where \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ are not."

Where discrimination did occur, parental influence was usually blamed. Biases were not "natural" but were picked up from parental attitudes. Several teachers commented that discrimination and prejudice showed up in both groups. A not unusual remark from the youngest of the Indian children was, "Here come the Whites. Stay away from the Whites." The comment which best sums up the attitude of these nine teachers was, "There is some discrimination in the class and there always will be. The worst comes from the Indians and there is always a group among the whites who do not like non-whites. But they get along with each other."

The one case of clear discrimination with obvious racial overtones was a case of Indian against Indian. One boy started missing a great deal of school in the middle of the year. When the teacher investigated he found the boy was playing hooky because he was a too

frequent target of other Indian boys. Their favourite epithet was "black boy" in reference to his darker skin colour. His tormentors had been joined by a couple of White boys " . . . who would gang up on anybody," but the main instigators were Indian.

Two teachers held out that there was clear and definite segregation between the two groups of children in the school. One stated that the segregation was the responsibility of the Indians themselves. He said, "I'm beginning to find out that maybe they do want to be different. But I think what it is, is that they want to be left alone. On the playground you'll find them playing in groups by themselves and if you try to mix them with the Whites, they don't want to be mixed with the Whites. They want to be by themselves. There's no rejection there. This is their choice. They are just as integrated as they want to be. It [the school] is [integrated] as much as they want it to be integrated. I don't think there's anyone who wants to join anything that he can't join. They are by themselves because they choose to be by themselves."

The other teacher felt that fifty to sixty percent of the children in her room would avoid contact with any Indian child; that the White children tend to see and treat the Indian children as a group and not as individuals; that this is a result of an "inborn feeling of difference" children have regarding those of another colour; and that this "natural" tendency to discriminate is greatly aggravated by the fact that some of the Indian children were either unclean and smelly or were physically unattractive due to excessive fat, continually running noses, the habit of drooling constantly, or other physical characteris-

tics. The Indian children, particularly the boys, either in reaction to this or by choice tend to avoid excessive contact with White children also.

During the last month of the school year I asked each teacher to obtain the data for a sociogram of her class. This data was then tabulated and put in table form. Sociograms are, of course, very crude measuring tools. Friendship patterns, particularly in the earlier grades, can change very quickly and frequently. However, sociograms of several groups within a large population can give indications of overall patterns and trends of friendships. The question asked by the teachers was a variant of, "If you were going (on a trip, camping, to be lost in the woods, to be stranded on a desert island, etc.) which two people would you choose to go with you from this class, and which two people would you not want to go with you?" Unfortunately, one class did not get the sociogram completed and five Indian children were absent on the day their classes answered the question.

Immediately following is a summary of the data given in the sociograms. Table IX, the Summary of Choices Made Involving Indian Children, gives a class by class breakdown of the kinds of choices made where Indian children figured as chooser or chosen. The total number of Indian children in the class is also given at the bottom of each column so that comparisons can be made between the total number of Indian children in each class and each particular kind of choice.

Table XI and Table XII show the frequency of choice and rejection of the Indian children by all their classmates. These figures are also presented class by class. It should be noted that some



teachers enrolled children in two grades. This accounts for the nine classes encompassing only seven grades.

TABLE IX SUMMARY OF CHOICES MADE INVOLVING INDIAN CHILDREN

Types of Choices	Classes									Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Indian Chose Indian	6	4	2	11	7	7	0	1	6	44
Indian Chose White	3	8	2	5	3	3	4	6	4	38
White Chose Indian	4	2	0	5	0	4	6	7	3	31
Mutual Indian - Indian Choice	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	1	11
Mutual Indian - White Choice	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	2	2	10
Number of Indians in Class	6	7	2	9	5	6	2	5	5	47

TABLE X SUMMARY OF REJECTIONS MADE INVOLVING INDIAN CHILDREN

Types of Rejections	Classes									Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Indian Rejected Indian	3	6	0	3	1	3	0	1	0	17
Indian Rejected White	7	5	2	7	9	5	4	5	8	52
White Rejected Indian	15	11	3	4	13	5	5	12	6	74
Mutual Indian - Indian Rejection	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mutual Indian - White Rejection	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	4
Number of Indians in Class	6	7	2	9	5	6	2	5	5	47

TABLE XI FREQUENCY OF CHOICE OF INDIAN PUPILS

Frequency of Choice	Classes									Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Not chosen at all	1	2	0	2	2	1	0	3	1	12
Chosen by one person	2	4	2	2	0	0	3	1	1	15
Chosen by two persons	2	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	2	10
Chosen by three persons	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	5
Chosen by four persons	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Chosen by five or more	0	0	0	0	0	1*	0	1**	0	2
Total number of choices	10	6	2	16	7	6	11	8	9	75

\* One person chosen by six others

\*\* One person chosen by seven others

TABLE XII FREQUENCY OF REJECTION OF INDIAN PUPILS

Frequency of Rejection	Classes									Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Rejected by none	1	0	0	6	1	0	2	2	2	14
Rejected by one person	2	3	1	2	0	1	2	1	0	12
Rejected by two persons	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	3	8
Rejected by three persons	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
Rejected by four persons	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
Rejected by five or more	2*	1	0	1	1**	0	0	1***	0	6
Total number of rejections	18	17	3	7	14	5	8	14	6	92

\* Two persons rejected by a total of thirteen people

\*\* One person rejected by seven people

\*\*\* One person rejected by ten people

TABLE XIII OTHER PERTINENT DATA FROM SOCIOGRAMS

Total Indian population of classes taking part	47
Total White population of classes taking part	261

Indian population is 18% of total

Total number of White children choosing Indian children	31
Total number of choices made by White children	415

Cases where White children chose Indian children represent 7.2% of total choices

Total number of rejections of Indian children by White children	74
Total number of rejections made by White children	398

Cases where White children rejected Indian children represent 18.6% of total rejections

Total number of Indian children choosing Indian children	44
Total number of choices made by Indian children	82

Cases where Indian children chose Indian children represent 53.7% of total Indian choices

Total number of rejections of Indian children by Indian children	17
Total number of rejections made by Indian children	69

Cases where Indian children rejected Indian children represent 24.6% of total Indian rejections

Several observations can be made on the basis of this data.

- 1) There was no strong anti-Indian bias among the White pupils generally. The 18.6% rejection is very close to the percentage of the total population which the Indian children represent.
- 2) There was no strong pro-Indian bias among the pupils either. Their 7.2% of the choices is one and one-half times fewer than their percentage of the population.
- 3) The fact that the Indian children made 53.7% of their choices from the rest of the Indian population does confirm that Indian children did tend to choose other Indian children in preference to White children.

This trend is made even more pronounced when it is remembered that five Indian pupils were absent. While they are included in the totals for the classes since others chose and rejected them, their own choices and rejections are not included in the figures. Since, by projecting the present trends, these choices would be at least 50% Indian, the percentage of Indian children choosing Indian children would be increased. Another factor which has likely limited the percentage of Indians choosing Indians by a considerable amount, is the restriction placed on the individual's choice by limiting him or her to his own class. In four of the nine classes the Indian population consisted of either just a boy and a girl, or one boy or one girl, with several members of the opposite sex making up the remainder of the Indian population. The restriction to choosing among the members of one's own class undoubtedly lowered the number of Indians choosing Indians since the usual reluctance of elementary school age children to pick a member of the opposite sex as a close friend was certainly stronger than the indicated preference of another Indian child over a White child.

4) There was no apparent age or grade significance in either choice or rejection patterns for White or Indian children. In four rooms with a high number of Indian children there were high rejection rates. In three other rooms, also with a high number of Indian children in them, rejection rates were quite low.

5) Fourteen white children did pick Indian children for both their rejections which could be interpreted as indicating the possibility of some prejudice. However, two-thirds of the Indian children rejected by these fourteen had also been each rejected by at least three other

children, often Indian children. While this does not preclude the possibility of prejudice on the part of the fourteen white children, it does lessen it since most of the Indian children they picked were rather unpopular to begin with.

6) Some specific Indian children were quite unpopular. Indian children were rejected a total of ninety-two times by Indian and White children. Six Indian children collected forty of these ninety-two rejections.

In generalized terms, then, this data indicates that Indian children did tend to choose Indians when given the chance freely. The white children tended to ignore rather than either choose or reject the Indian children. This seems to be indicated by the large percentage of Indian children who were neither rejected nor chosen by anyone.

The data also seem to support the main contentions of the nine teachers who said that there was little or no prejudice; that the Indian and White children got along well together but tended to choose among their separate groups for close friends. There also seems to be little evidence to support the contention of the one teacher who saw the school segregated because of the "natural feeling of difference" among the children based on their colour. Her particular class had the same level of choice and rejection as the others. There is nothing in the data to refute the reasonable supposition that the bonds struck in early childhood and the physical separation of the two groups of children were probably the most significant factors in their choice patterns of close friends.

The Academic Performance of the Indian Children

There was a marked lack of any strong comments by the teachers on any aspect of the Indian children's day by day performance. The children were definitely not regarded as discipline problems; as mentioned previously, some teachers commented on their quietness in class while one teacher claimed that they were more polite, more willing to help around the room and more willing to share than their White classmates.

Two teachers made comments regarding the competitive spirit of the Indian children. One teacher stressed the lack of desire to compete on the part of the Indian children. If the child was the best or close to it, he would participate in the competition. But if he felt that he did not have a good chance of winning, he would ignore the whole affair. The other teacher saw basically the same actions but differed in her interpretation. She saw the Indian children as liking the competition. "They like being the best". Some would stand back because they were not sure they could do it. However, once they knew they could succeed they competed willingly. They were not by nature non-competitive.

Both of these teachers were in the primary grades. In the higher grades the presence or lack of competitive spirit was not named as such but referred to in other terms. In some areas the Indian children certainly did compete. Indian children won places on all school teams in numbers corresponding to or exceeding their percentage of the school population. They participated fully on Sports Day and in games during school time. However, in the classroom teachers did comment on their quietness and lack of participation in discussion and in question periods. Only one child who was quite good in mathematics was noted

for his willingness to volunteer answers to questions asked by the teachers.

The work habits of the Indian children while actually in the classroom drew very few sharply unfavourable comments. That is, they seemed to work as best they could on assigned tasks. They were not generally described as being lazy. Most appeared to be trying hard and showing desire to succeed although there were certainly some who were described as without motivation of any kind. The most frequent negative comment of the teachers regarding the work habits of the Indian children was a reference to their lack of self-direction and initiative in academic matters. Given a task, they usually worked with some degree of effort, depending on their ability and motivation to complete it. However, when they finished that task they tended to drift aimlessly instead of looking for other academic activities such as reading or finishing uncompleted work.

In summary then, the Indian children were not seen as discipline problems. They were not ascribed behavioral patterns in the classroom which would be likely to interfere with learning. They did lack initiative generally, and there were some who were quite low in motivation to succeed at any school-oriented task. However, the majority worked satisfactorily at assigned work.

Nevertheless, the actual level of academic success as measured by standardized Achievement Tests, Intelligence Quotient Tests and teacher designed tests was quite low. The marks given each Indian child at the end of the year in the core academic subjects of Language, Reading, Social Studies, Science and Arithmetic were recorded and averaged.

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The same marks were recorded for all the years previously for every Indian child in the school. No one had an average higher than a C+ for either their school career to date or for the immediately preceding year. The median mark for all the Indian children was halfway between C- and C for the previous year and a C- for the career mark.

The average mark obtained for both the entire academic career of the various Indian children and the previous years results are skewed to some extent. For the previous few years a policy of social promotion had been in effect in the North Vancouver School District. Under this policy children were promoted to the next grade whether or not they had mastered the academic material presented during the year, on the grounds that the small gain in academic learning which would be made in the second year in the same grade would be more than offset by the damage done to the self-image of the child by the experience of falling a full year behind through failure. The academic learning could be caught up in the year ahead if the child was promoted. The stigma of being a year or more behind one's social group was much harder to compensate for. This reasoning was particularly appropriate for those children who would be multiple failures. What was the school to do with the child who did not master the academic material the second time through any better than he did the first? Several of the teachers commented that while they agreed with the policy of social promotion, that policy definitely made the marks for the children at the lower end of the mark scale to appear better than they were in strictly comparative terms. Since the child was going on to the next grade anyway, and since the marks were permanent ones lasting his whole school career, there was

a strong tendency to give higher letter grades than were deserved when measured by an absolute scale of achievement. This rise in marks was not large--some D's and E's would have become C-'s and D's--but the overall result would be noticeable.

The results shown in the average for all previous years are also skewed by another factor. These averages contain marks from early grades some of the children took in the Federal Indian schools, St. Pauls and the Capilano Indian Day School. The average marks of these thirteen children dropped in all but four cases when they transferred to Norgate school. Of those four, two children got higher marks in Norgate and two remained at the same level. Of the other nine, one student dropped one mark, three students dropped two marks, two students dropped three marks, one student dropped four marks, one student dropped five marks and one student dropped six marks.

The picture of the marks, then, shows a heavy preponderance of marks around the C- level with nothing at all above a C+ and very few at that level, and an average mark of just above C-. A strictly accurate figure based on the level of achievement as measured against all other children at the same grade level probably would be lower than that.

TABLE XIV DISTRIBUTION OF MARKS OF ALL INDIAN CHILDREN

Average Mark Received	Number of Marks Given (Percentage)							Ave
	A	B	C+	C	C-	D	E	
Previous year	0	0	8(20)	17(41)	9(22)	3(7)	4(10)	C-
Career average	0	0	5(12)	15(37)	17(41)	4(10)	0	C-

The reasons given for this lack of academic success were many and complex. The one which stood out in all the interviews with the teachers was lack of desire--poor motivation--on the part of the Indian children. School success was just not that important. The effort necessary to overcome the lack of pre-school preparation and the continuing disadvantages of the home and Reserve environment was simply not forthcoming. In reference to one child who had a very poor record of progress and seemingly very little motivation, his teacher said,

Today they had a sheet which involved cutting and pasting. This appealed to him so he'd do it. He'd do this for years. And you can't let a kid go ahead and do this for years. But what will happen to a child like that? It's going to take a real ball of fire to ever get anything going in \_\_\_\_\_. He's not going to go unless someone constantly motivates him. I really think he's going to need a teacher who's going to motivate every lesson, every day in a very exciting way. This is almost something superhuman that he'll require before he's ever going to do anything. He's gifted enough, but he just doesn't use it because of this same attitude as his mother's got. 'Sit back and let things come to you or go to me, I don't do anything about it.'

The reference to the mother in the above quote is most significant. There is no question where the blame was attached as far as the teachers were concerned. The children were seen as products of their environment. This environment was not seen by the large majority of the teachers as conducive to either preparation for school or support for the children while they were in school.

It is worth stressing that the children were not seen as a troublesome, disruptive element who did not belong and were resented by the rest of the school population. Discipline was no harder and

many would say easier where Indian children were involved. Social relationships varied considerable in the different classrooms but were not seen by any of the teachers as a major problem. As stated earlier, the Indian children were seen as a group of children with more learning problems than the other children in the room, caused primarily by the different environment from which they came.

#### The Expectations of the Teachers Regarding the Future Performance of the Indian Children

The teachers' comments on their pupils' daily performance and their comments on their expectations regarding future performance are bound to express similar themes. Teachers who do not see high performance are not likely to express high expectations for the future. However, comments regarding performance tend to refer to the particular, while comments regarding expectations tend to refer more to the general. All the teachers but one discussed each child in his or her class individually. Each teacher discussed Indian children as a group. From these comments in both areas a picture can be drawn of what the teachers expected in the future from the pupils in their classes at that time and what they were likely to expect from the classes coming to them in the following September. Although the teachers necessarily had expectations regarding all aspects of the children from their physical appearance and capabilities to their behavior patterns, as well as their academic capabilities, and in spite of the fact that these expectations are all interrelated, we will emphasize the academic expectations in this study. They are most easily and accurately measured and, while interrelated with the rest, can stand alone in

terms of the influence they can have on the child's progress.

Of the eleven teachers, one had come to the school quite recently with very low expectations. She had found these almost completely unjustified and revised them considerably. She had two Indian girls in her class which she referred to as ". . . nice little girls. You know, they are nice children. They are not the [other] type. You know, they never have colds or runny noses or [are] dirty or tired. They are always spotlessly clean." Her expectations for these children, then, were that they would continue to perform as their peers in the classroom. She expressed few comments regarding her expectations for Indian children in general because of her lack of experience with them.

One teacher gave very little indication of her expectations for the children in her room at that time. Her expectations for the academic levels to be expected from the Indian children in the future, however, were quite high. She stated that the readiness tests given to all children prior to their entry into Grade one had Indian children in the top three places that year, and showed that some children from Worgate Park area were more in need of pre-school experience than the Indian children. She felt that as the younger generation of parents on the Reserve brought their children to the school, a clear and substantial improvement would be seen with the level of Indian achievement equalling that of the White.

Three of the teachers had higher, or at least positive expectations. In their discussions of the individual Indian children they commented on the improvements each had made and on the improvements

they expected each child to make in the future. Where academic problems had occurred previously, they spoke of progress made and of the likelihood of changed patterns in the future, with the problems being solved or at least their impact lessened.

The other six teachers tended to have lower expectations. That is, they tended to see the Indian children as a group, or as individuals, who had consistently performed at levels below that of their White counterparts and who could be expected to continue at that level in the near future at least. The problems caused by limited pre-school background and a low motivational level from both the student and the home, plus all the other problems we have mentioned previously were simply too great a hurdle for any but the most exceptional student. These were rare and there were none in their classes at that time.

Only one teacher made statements which suggested any other cause for the Indian children's performance level. While these statements indicate her expectations quite clearly, I do not feel that they should be taken too literally, in the light of her other comments. She said, "They have a tendency to approach something they don't know with suspicion. You've got to prove whatever you say about things. I don't know if they are naturally slower than we are but generally they are slower. I've had some wierd and wonderful examples of the impossible to teach. They are slower."

Another teacher saw an age and grade element in the level of performance one could expect from some Indian children. The teacher, referring to two families in particular, said, "They have the true Indian philosophy, never minding about tomorrow. 'If it's a nice day

we'll skip school unless it's raining. Then we'll go; unless it's raining too hard.' The children in school, when they're young, are very bright, very helpful, very cheerful. But when they get to about Grade five they start to turn off. They become mean to themselves and their neighbours, bitter, hostile. It's probably about this time that the father becomes an influence. They begin to realize how much they don't have and how much of a loss they are."

### Research on Expectations in the Literature

The data presented in this study on the expectations of the teachers has more significance than simply filling out the picture of the way in which the teachers saw their Indian pupils. During the last twenty years a considerable amount of research has been done on the effect of one person's expectations on another person's performance. Before looking at some more data on the expectations of the teachers at Norgate, let us examine some of that research.

There is a certain basic logic to the idea that one person's expectations have an effect on another's performance. An early sociologist, W. I. Thomas, said, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." (quoted in Merton 1948: 193) Stotland (1969: 36) states that the effects of self-perception and the expectations of others are parallel. He also says, "Other people are not merely relevant to an individual's expectations about his own actions; their very actions may determine the individual's potential for obtaining his goal."

One of the ways in which the effects of expectations is often seen is that of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Merton (1948: passim)

explains the self-fulfilling prophecy as a false definition which brings on behavior which tends to make the definition come true. The actual chain of events is then pointed to by the prophet as confirming his earlier definition, thus perpetuating the error. The use of the words, 'error' and 'false' by Merton was unfortunate because they tend to give a negative direction to the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy. In the field of education, it can occasionally happen that a teacher, on the basis of what he sees as evidence, will prophesy that a student will do better. As a result of the teacher's subsequent behavior toward the child and the child's realization of the higher expectations he must meet, the child's performance does improve. This is certainly a positive, self-fulfilling prophecy.

To most of the writers in the areas of the education of minority group children and children from socially or racially disadvantaged backgrounds the presence of negatively directed self-fulfilling prophets is an inescapable and damaging fact. K. B. Clark (1963: 147-148) says,

One may assume that if a child is not treated with the respect which is due him as a human being, and if those who are charged with the responsibility of teaching him believe that he cannot learn, then his motivation and ability to learn become impaired. If a teacher believes that a child is incapable of being educated, it is likely that this belief will in some way be communicated to the child in one or more of the many forms of contacts inherent in the teacher-pupil relationship.

Neimeyer (1963) and Ravitz (1963) also emphasize the same basic idea as Clark; that is, that some children are seen by their teachers as either ineducable or, at best, educable to a limited extent only, and that this belief in itself is markedly damaging to the



child's achievement record. Frank Reissman sees many teachers' expectations as being incorrectly based as well as low. He sees disadvantaged children as being quite verbal in their own informal language as against the nonverbal characteristic they are labelled with. He claims that if teachers would recognize this verbal ability, "They might abandon the prediction that deprived children will not go very far in the education system and predict instead that they can go very far indeed because they have very good ability at the verbal level." (1967: 131)

Deutsch (1960) also sees the expectations of teachers as being misdirected as well as low. Where Reissman sees the misdirection as caused by a lack of understanding of the different but strong verbal abilities of lower-class and minority group families, Deutsch sees middle-class teachers having expectations concomitant with their background and, therefore, inconsistent with the expectations of children with other social and cultural backgrounds. He says,

This inconsistency between the lack of internalized reward anticipations on the part of the Negro child and his teacher's expectations that he does have such anticipations, reflect the disharmony between the social environment of the home and middle-class oriented demands of the school.

(Deutsch 1960: 9)

As was pointed out at the beginning, it seems logical to assume that expectations do affect outcomes. It has not been easy, however, for the researchers to empirically prove this assumption. Isolating the conditions and the methods under which expectations are either transmitted or received effectively has proven to be a difficult task. Cordaro and Ison (1963) attempted to show that students observing

planaria tended to see the actions they expected to see whether or not the planaria actually moved appropriately or not. The experimenters gave three groups of undergraduates greatly differing expectations regarding the response they could expect from different planaria undergoing conditioning. The conditioned response of the planaria was a turning of the head and a contraction. The group with the high expectations reported seeing 15% of the planaria perform contractions and 49% make the expected head motions. The group with low expectations reported 0.9% contractions and 9.9% head motions. A group with one planaria for which they had high expectations and one planaria for which they had low expectations reported 15.4% contractions and 30% head turns for the planaria with the high expectations but only 4.8% contractions and 15.4% head turns for the planaria with low expectations. (1963: 787-789)

This looked like quite positive evidence until Ingraham and Harrington (1966) demonstrated in a similar experiment that when the experimenters were familiar with the animals under observation, any bias tended to disappear after the first day. It would seem then, that observer bias was most apparent when the observers were naive and tended to disappear with increasing experience rather than remaining constant. In commenting on the experiment done by Ingraham and Harrington, Rosenthal points out that in another five day experiment, the same length as the one done by Ingraham and Harrington, he and Fode found that the apparent effects of the expectations of the observers also fell off after the first day but started to rise and continued to do so after the third day. He suggests that only further research will

explain the difference between the findings of Fode and himself and Ingraham and Harrington. (Rosenthal 1968: 42-43)

Rosenthal does point out one more very interesting experiment done by Burnham who gave his experimenters twenty-three rats which had either been brain-lesioned or had undergone sham surgery so that they appeared to be lesioned. The students were given a rat and then told whether it had been lesioned or not. They were then asked to run the rat through a T-maze discrimination problem. The effect of the expectations of the experimenters was measured in that while some of them had been told that their rats were whole, the rats had actually been lesioned and, while some of them were told that their rats were lesioned they had, in fact, only undergone sham surgery. The results showed, as expected, that the rats which were intact and believed to be whole performed very well, and the rats which were lesioned performed poorly no matter what the experimenter believed. However, the rats which were actually whole but whose experimenter believed to be lesioned, performed just as poorly as those who actually were lesioned. (Rosenthal 1968: 43-44)

Robert Rosenthal, the contributor of the term, 'experimenter bias effect', has performed many experiments and written many articles which attempt to define this effect and its parameters. He has met with considerable success. Barber and his associates, however, tried first to explore some of the controls which Rosenthal claimed were operating on this effect but could not produce any results at all. That is, in any experiment they set up to demonstrate the influence of the experimenters' expectations they failed to find any significant evidence

of such an influence. They then tried to replicate Rosenthal's original work, and in five separate replications they found no pattern of results which could be traced to the expectations of the experimenter. Barber does not attempt to reject the whole concept out of hand, but he does arrive at the conclusion that the influence of the expectations of the experimenter has not yet been proven to be as pervasive as Rosenthal's research seems to suggest. (1969: passim)

Even though some of his findings have been closely questioned, Rosenthal's major work is of considerable importance and value to our study here. The book, Pygmalion in the Classroom, which he co-authored with Lenore Jacobson, (1969) tells of a large scale experiment they conducted in a 500 pupil, eighteen teacher, lower class school they called Oak School. The purpose of their experiment was simple. From his research and from that of others in the fields of psychology and other related disciplines it seemed well established that animals believed genetically more intelligent by their trainers actually became brighter.

If animal subjects believed to be brighter by their trainers actually became brighter because of their trainers' belief, then it might also be true that school children believed by their teachers to be brighter would become brighter because of their teachers' beliefs. Oak School became the laboratory in which an experimental test of that proposition was carried out.

(Rosenthal 1968: 174)

All children in the school were tested in May with a standard non-verbal test of intelligence. At the same time, however, the teachers had been told that a measure of intellectual development was being developed and this test given to the children would indicate which of the children could be expected to show spurts in their intellectual growth during the next year. The test was purported to be a test of

intellectual blooming.

At the beginning of school in the next September, the names of a randomly selected twenty percent of the children in the school were placed on lists and given to their new teachers. These twenty percent were described as those whose performances could be expected to improve on the basis of the "blooming" or "spurting" test. There was, of course, no patterned difference between the children selected and their classmates.

When the children were tested a year later, the children in Grades one and two showed impressive gains. Where the Grade one and two control children gained 12.0 points and 7.0 points respectively, the experimental group children gained 27.4 points and 16.5 points respectively. Again, in Grades one and two, 19% of the control group gained 20 points or more, whereas 49% of the experimental group gained as much. In Grade four the experimental group also gained more than the control group but the results were less dramatic. In Grades three, five and six, there were few signs of difference between the experimental and control groups in this measurement of intellectual growth. Within the parts of the tests which measured growth in reasoning ability, there was a marked rise for the experimental group at every grade level.

Rosenthal's experiment does seem to lend empirical backing to the supposition that the teachers' expectations are significant in affecting performance. The way in which these expectations are communicated and the way in which they affect the students' performances are still very poorly understood. The apparent selectivity of the effect of the teachers' expectations has not yet been satisfactorily

explained either. In the Rosenthal study, there was little overall improvement in the grades from three to six, but selected aspects of the testing did show definite and significant gains. Rosenthal explained the fact that only the lower grades seemed affected by expectations in a number of ways. On the negative side he suggested that the difference may be a sampling error with the children in these grades coming from backgrounds which systematically differentiated them from the others. He also suggested that the teachers may have differed from the others in a significant way. More in keeping with his overall findings are the positive interpretations he made. He suggested that younger children are more malleable, that is, are more affected by ". . . the special things the teacher says to them, the special ways in which she says them, the way she looks, postures, and touches the children from whom she expects greater intellectual growth." (Rosenthal 1968: 83) He also suggested that the younger children are actually not more malleable perhaps, but merely thought so by the teachers. This would certainly be in keeping with his main premises. His final suggestion was that the younger children do not have the well-established reputations the older ones may have gained and thus may be more capable of sudden intellectual growth in the eyes of their teachers.

The thing Rosenthal and his associates have succeeded in doing is giving some empirical proof to the intuitively logical conclusion shared by most people that the expectations of others, particularly those seen as more expert, (Stotland 1969) can have an influence varying from minimal to considerable on the behavior and performance of a given individual.

In an article on the effects on achievement of children's perception of their teachers, Davidson and Lang sum it up nicely. They say that the basic incentives the teacher has are her acceptance of the child and her approval of his efforts. These feelings are communicated to the child and likely encourage him to seek further approval. This situation can also be reversed with the pupil behaving very positively, thus winning teacher approval and starting the self-reinforcing circle. To say all this, however, is not to imply causality, but rather to suggest that self-perception, perceived teacher feelings, achievement and behavior are all interrelated. (Davidson 1960: 107-118)

#### Data on the Measurement of Expectations of the Teachers

The data which follows is the result of an attempt to measure more precisely what the expectations of the teachers were. There is no attempt to measure or even show the effect these expectations had or any change which may have taken place. The purpose here is to simply show what the expectations of the teachers were at two different times for two different groups of children.

In September of 1968 and in May of 1969 each teacher was asked to fill out a question sheet giving information on each of their Indian pupils. In September of 1968 they were asked to answer concerning the children they had had the previous year; in May of 1969 they were asked to answer concerning the children they had in their class at that time.

TABLE XV THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In order that I may fill out and finalize my picture of the Indian children who were in your room last year would you please give me the following information.

Each question can be answered in the appropriate section indicated below.

Question 1. What grades do you expect each student to get this year?

Question 2. How far do you expect each student to get in school?  
Grade 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, further?

Question 3. What kind of a program would you expect the child to select in Junior High School? Academic, Vocational, Occupational?

Question 4. How would you estimate the child's basic ability in terms of a comparison with children his age? Higher, Same, Lower?

Name	Question 1						Question 2						Que.3			Que.4			
	A	B	C+	C	C-	D E	7	8	9	10	11	12	F	A	V	O	H	S	L
	7	6	5	4	3	2 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	3	2	1	3	2	1

As can be seen in Table XV, Question 1 referred to the academic success the teacher expected the child to have in the coming year; Question 2 referred to the grade at which he was expected to leave school; Question 3 referred to the program he was expected to select at the Junior High School level; and Question 4 referred to an estimate of his probable ability level when compared to other children his age. The figures used in Table XV are the values assigned to each answer for the purpose of calculating arithmetic averages.



Using a computer and a program set up by Dr. A. More of the University of British Columbia, a number of arithmetic means and correlations were calculated which will be discussed in more detail shortly. It should be noted first, however, that in Rating 1, the question sheets which were filled out in September of 1968, there are a total of fifty Indian pupils. This number is five short of the actual number of Indian pupils who were in the classes to which the teachers are referring. However, two of those five had arrived so recently that the teachers involved did not feel capable of making predictions at the time. The other three pupils were simply missed due to some confusion between myself and some of the teachers as to whether or not enfranchised Indian pupils (children of parents living on the Reserve who have surrendered their legal rights as Indians) should be included. The sixty-seven Indian pupils of Rating 2 is an accurate figure.

#### Presentation of the Data

Table XVI consists of an analysis of the data broken down in terms of the teachers. Of the eleven teachers on staff, nine filled out and returned the form for Rating 1. One teacher did not complete it and the kindergarten teacher was excused on the grounds that she did not assign grades and the distance from kindergarten to Junior High School was too great to make Question 2 and Question 3 meaningful.

TABLE XVI RATING 1 ANALYSIS OF DATA BY TEACHER SHOWING MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Teacher	Expected Grade		Expected Level		Expected Program		Comparative Ability	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1	5.00	0.89	4.17	2.79	2.00	0.89	2.33	0.52
2	3.00	2.00	4.50	1.23	1.83	0.75	1.17	0.41
3	2.50	0.71	6.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.50	0.71
4	2.75	1.04	4.38	1.41	1.50	0.76	1.63	0.74
5	2.60	1.52	5.60	0.55	2.00	1.00	1.60	0.54
6	3.00	0.76	4.25	1.49	1.50	0.93	1.25	0.46
7	3.20	1.30	3.80	2.05	1.60	0.89	1.60	0.55
8	3.00	1.23	4.20	1.10	1.20	0.45	1.40	0.55
9	2.80	1.10	3.20	0.84	2.20	0.84	1.60	0.55
Grand Mean	3.14	1.42	4.34	1.55	1.72	0.81	1.56	0.56

RATING 2 ANALYSIS OF DATA BY TEACHER SHOWING MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Teacher	Expected Grade		Expected Level		Expected Program		Comparative Ability	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1	4.00	1.23	6.00	0.87	2.78	0.67	2.22	0.44
2	3.56	1.90	4.00	2.58	1.86	1.07	2.00	0.82
3	4.25	1.58	5.63	1.41	1.63	0.92	1.75	0.46
4	4.67	2.08	6.33	0.58	2.00	1.00	2.33	0.58
5	2.00	1.00	4.67	1.15	2.00	0.26	1.33	0.58
6	4.25	0.96	4.75	1.50	2.50	1.00	2.25	0.50
7	3.29	1.07	4.71	1.20	1.36	0.50	1.71	0.47
8	2.67	1.51	3.67	1.51	1.50	0.55	1.83	0.41
Grand Mean	3.56	1.42	4.94	1.35	1.87	0.77	1.91	0.56
9	2.60	1.52	3.80	1.48	1.80	0.45	1.80	0.45
10	2.88	1.25	3.75	1.67	1.38	0.52	1.63	0.74

\* Teachers 9 and 10 joined the staff during the second year. They filled in question sheets but their means are not used in the Grand Mean.

In May of 1969, nine of the same teachers were there and eight of these filled out the form. The two new teachers also filled out question sheets but, while their results are shown, only the data of the eight teachers who returned have been used in the calculating of the grand means.

In the Expected Grade Achieved (EGA) of Rating 1 the range of means was from 2.5 to 5.0, which is from a very low C- to a C+. The grand mean for the grades given out by all the teachers was 3.14, a C-.

In the EGA of Rating 2 the range was from 2.0 to 4.7 which is from a D to a low C+. The grand mean was 3.56 which is a very low C.

In the expected Level Achieved (ELA) of Rating 1 the range was from 3.2 to 6.0, which is from grade nine to grade twelve. The grand mean was 4.34 which means grade ten.\*

In the ELA of Rating 2 the range was from 3.7 to 6.3, which is from grade nine to grade twelve. The grand mean was 4.94 which means grade ten.\*

In the Expected Program (EP) of Rating 1 the range was from 1.2 to 2.2. As can be seen from a check of Table XVII (Pr. 1-7) the majority were on the Occupational Program with the remainder of the students split a little unevenly favouring the Vocational Program. The mean for all the teachers was 1.72.

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\* The use of the word 'get' in Question 2 on the question sheet was somewhat ambiguous since it does not clearly indicate whether the child was expected to finish that grade or merely be in it when he finished his schooling. Since either interpretation is possible the procedure followed here is that of taking the rounded ELA back to the nearest whole number. This is the number representing the last whole grade finished.

TABLE XVII EXPECTED PROGRAM PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE BREAKDOWN RATINGS 1 AND 2

Program	Rating 1			Rating 2		
	Gr. 1-7	Gr. 1-3	Gr. 4-7	Gr. 1-7	Gr. 1-3	Gr. 4-7
Academic	22%	26%	19%	29%	50%	11%
Vocational	28%	35%	21%	31%	20%	40%
Occupational	50%	39%	60%	40%	30%	49%

TABLE XVIII COMPARATIVE ABILITY PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE BREAKDOWN RATINGS 1 AND 2

Comparative Ability Scale	Rating 1			Rating 2		
	Gr. 1-7	Gr. 1-3	Gr. 4-7	Gr. 1-7	Gr. 1-3	Gr. 4-7
High	8%	13%	4%	10%	17%	5%
Average	46%	39%	52%	66%	63%	68%
Low	46%	48%	44%	24%	20%	27%

In the EP of Rating 2 the range was from 1.4 to 2.7. The grand mean for all the teachers was 1.87. Again checking with Table XVII, it can be seen that the Occupational Program has dropped in percentage but is still the biggest with the other two Programs closer in their split of the remainder.

In the Comparative Ability (CA) scale of Rating 1 the range was from 1.2 to 2.3. Checking with Table XVIII (Gr. 1-7), it is evident that the 1.56 grand mean indicates that almost half of the children were seen as having a lower ability than their counterparts of the same age.

In the CA scale of Rating 2 the range is from 1.3 to 2.3.

Checking again with Table XVIII it can be seen that the higher mean of 1.9 indicates a strong swing to the "same" reading with more than half the children having this score and only half as many having a reading of "lower" as was the case in Rating 1.

The means and correlations were also calculated using the various grade levels as the division lines.\* This was intended to be the main source of means and correlations with the calculations done in terms of the teachers as a check to explain any wide divergences in means which might occur. As can be seen from Table XIX, no wide divergences occurred, there was no statistically significant difference between any of the means, and the grand means parallel those of Table XVI very closely.

Calculating with grade levels as the determinant then, the range of means of the EGA of Rating 1 was from 2.5 to 4.0, or from a veryvery low C- to a C. The grand mean for all the grades was 3.12, a C-.

The range of means of the EGA of Rating 2 was from 2.0 to 4.6. This means from a D to a very low C+. The grand mean was 3.4, a high C-.

The range of means for the EIA of Rating 1 was from 3.2 to 6.0, or from grade nine to grade twelve. The mean was 4.3 which means grade ten. In Rating 2 the range was from 3.67 to 5.78 which means from

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\* In Rating 1 there was one teacher who did not complete the form. In order to keep the numbers complete and the calculations as straight forward as possible, the children in her room were given an expectation rating by the teacher who had taught them the year previous.

TABLE XIX RATING 1 ANALYSIS OF DATA BY GRADE SHOWING MEANS  
AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Grade Level	Expected Grade		Expected Level		Expected Program		Comparative Ability	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1	4.00	1.41	4.33	2.06	1.92	0.79	1.75	0.75
2	2.50	0.71	6.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.50	0.71
3	2.67	1.41	4.89	1.27	1.78	0.97	1.56	0.73
4	2.92	0.67	4.42	1.44	1.50	0.80	1.42	0.51
5	3.20	1.30	3.80	2.05	1.60	0.89	1.60	0.55
6	3.00	1.23	4.20	1.10	1.20	0.45	1.40	0.55
7	2.80	1.10	3.20	0.84	2.20	0.84	1.60	0.55
Grand Mean	3.12	1.19	4.34	1.55	1.70	0.81	1.54	0.63

RATING 2 ANALYSIS OF DATA BY GRADE SHOWING MEANS  
AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Grade Level	Expected Grade		Expected Level		Expected Program		Comparative Ability	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1	3.78	1.44	5.22	1.93	2.28	0.96	2.11	0.58
2	4.56	1.74	5.78	1.40	1.78	0.97	1.89	0.60
3	2.00	1.00	4.68	1.16	1.00	0.26	1.33	0.58
4	3.18	1.26	3.91	1.58	1.64	0.81	1.73	0.65
5	3.40	1.12	4.80	1.21	1.47	0.64	1.80	0.56
6	2.67	1.51	3.67	1.51	1.50	0.55	1.83	0.41
7	2.60	1.52	3.80	1.48	1.80	0.45	1.80	0.45
Grand Mean	3.43	1.38	4.72	1.44	1.81	0.72	1.86	0.57

grade nine to grade eleven completed. The grand mean was 4.7 which means grade ten.

For both the EP and the CA scales the ranges differ only slightly from those of Table XVI. This difference reflects only the

slight change which occurs when these figures are looked at from these particular different angles. None of the differences between the ranges or between the differing grand means were close to statistical significance.

#### Interpretation of the Data

An examination of this data leads to several interesting observations. When the ranges of the EGA's of Table XVI and Table XIX are compared it is noticeable that the range of Rating 1 in Table XVI is a full letter grade higher than the range of Rating 1 in Table XIX. This illustrates the situation in which some teachers did see individuals in their classes who were considerably higher than the individual students seen by the rest of the teachers. Thus, the range of at least one teacher went a full letter grade higher than the range established by grade levels. Because this difference exists between the two ranges, however, it is important to note that there was no remarkable difference between any two means in any Table in any scale. That is, the teachers did not see the spread of marks within their individual classes somewhat differently but the average marks they assigned were very close to each other.

In Table XIX it should be noted that there is no trend or pattern to the means of either the EGA's or the ELA's. That is, there is no evidence to show that the average marks, or the average grade at which school is finished, rise or fall in any pattern related to the present grade level of the pupils. Again, within the grade there are differences as to how the average is achieved but there is no pattern to the means themselves.

Correlations were calculated between all columns or scales for both the analysis in terms of grades and the analysis in terms of the individual teachers. All correlations were consistently high. This indicates a high degree of inner consistency in the data submitted by the teachers. That is, the teachers would seem to have a clear concept of the relationship between the grades they expected the children to receive, the grade level at which they expected the children to leave school, the program they expected the children to be on at Junior High School, and the comparative level of ability of the children. This is not to say that the teachers had a realistic or accurate view of what these children actually would or could do. It simply states that, right or wrong, they had a coherent picture of the relationship between these variables and filled in their information sheets consistently.

The most significant Table of all, however, is Table XX, which shows the actual distribution of marks behind the averaged EGA's. If only the means are looked at the picture is quite incomplete. If the C range is interpreted as meaning average, then every class where the students are ranked by comparison with the others in their class, must have the majority of those students in the C range. Thus, a mean of C- for a group of students is low but not disastrously so. It could be argued that the overall means of both Rating 1 and Rating 2 are within the acceptable average limits.

In Table XX it can be seen that on an overview of all seven grades the teachers expected better than two-thirds of the students to get a C-, D, or E at the end of the next year. This was four times as



TABLE XX EXPECTED GRADE ACHIEVED PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE  
BREAKDOWN SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF MARKS GIVEN

Grade Levels	Rating 1			Rating 2		
	A-C+	C	C- -E	A-C+	C	C- -E
Grades 1-7	16%	16%	68%	27%	12%	51%
Grades 1-3	26%	17%	57%	40%	13%	47%
Grades 4-7	7%	15%	78%	14%	32%	54%

TABLE XXI EXPECTED LEVEL ACHIEVED PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE BREAKDOWN  
SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS EXPECTED TO FINISH  
AT EACH GRADE LEVEL

Grade Levels	Rating 1			Rating 2		
	Gr. 1-7	Gr. 1-3	Gr. 4-7	Gr. 1-7	Gr. 1-3	Gr. 4-7
7	2%	4%	0%	2%	3%	0%
8	10%	9%	11%	13%	7%	19%
9	26%	17%	33%	6%	3%	5%
10	16%	5%	26%	31%	20%	41%
11	10%	22%	0%	2%	0%	5%
12	32%	34%	30%	34%	40%	30%
Further	4%	9%	0%	12%	27%	0%

many as were expected to get an A, B, or C+. In Rating 2 the breakdown of marks in terms of the seven grades was spread more evenly. However, more than half of the pupils were expected to get a C-, D, or E, which was still twice as many as were expected to get an A, B, or C+.

The sharpest and most interesting division of all can be seen in the second section of Table XXI. In the primary grades in both Ratings 1 and 2 the percentages of those receiving an A, B, or C+ is considerably higher than those receiving the same marks in the intermediate grades. In fact, in Rating 2, the percentage of those in the primary grades receiving a C-, D, or E drops below 50% and is only a short 7% away from the group receiving an A, B, or C+. This is in sharp contrast to the breakdown of the two groups of marks for the intermediate grades in Rating 2. It is also the only time the lower marks were not given to at least 50% of the children in the grades and the only time the size of the two groups was close. We will discuss the implications of this shift in the summary at the end of this chapter.

In Table XXI the data for Rating 1 for all grades combined showed two peak grade levels at which students were expected to leave school. One was at the grade nine level where 26% of those in school were expected to leave. The other peak was at grade twelve where 32% of those who had entered Junior High School were expected to finish. In Rating 2, the lower peak shifted quite strongly one grade up with grade nine being a low year for numbers expected to leave.

When the primary and intermediate grades are separated the same separating is shown as was evident in Table XX. In Rating 1, 35% of the Indian pupils at that time in the primary grades were expected to finish their schooling by the end of grade ten; 9% were expected to go on to further education after high school. In the intermediate grades in Rating 1, 70%--double the primary figure--were expected to

finish their schooling by grade 10. In Rating 2 the same trend is clearly evident with parallel comparisons between the primary and intermediate grades, except that a quarter of those in the primary grades at that time were expected to go on to further education.

In Tables XVII and XVIII, those illustrating the percentage assigned to various programs and the spread of ability in comparison with children of the same age, the same patterns and trends are continued which show up in the tables discussed earlier. That is, in the overall picture the Occupational Program is expected to receive the much greater percentage of the pupils in both Rating 1 and Rating 2. The usual differences between primary and intermediate grades are not as sharp but are still there. The same is true for Table XVIII. The higher percentages given by the primary grades are still there although less distinctive than in the other Tables. It should be noted, however, that in Table XVIII, showing the comparative ability of the Indian pupils, Rating 2 does differ somewhat from Rating 1 in one significant respect. That is, while the percentage of those estimated to have a higher ability does not change very much, the percentage of those seen as having the same level of ability as those around them does increase sharply, and, as a consequence, those seen as having a lower comparative ability represent a lower percentage of the whole.

### Summary

It is interesting that Rating 2 shows generally higher results in every column than Rating 1, and that the split between the Primary and Intermediate levels becomes even sharper in Rating 2. The simplest interpretation is that the teachers in the Primary are the ones with the

highest expectations based on better performances by their pupils, with these performances being the result of the higher level of pre-school preparation which some of the primary teachers saw coming from the homes of the younger parents and the Indian kindergarten. This assumption is not warranted, however, strictly on the basis of these figures. One of the groups in the primary did have the best results of the entire school, but another had one of the worst. Several of the children from this second group left Norgate school at the end of that year so that their results which affected Rating 1 are not included in Rating 2.

The second factor to be kept in mind when observing the differences between the primary and intermediate grades is that with a population of this size, one group with consistently high marks can have a clear and strong effect on percentages. The entire population being considered here is quite small and generalizations based on this set of figures must be very carefully examined.

In Rating 2, however, there is a definite improvement in almost every area. This could suggest that the same children were seen differently by the teacher who evaluated their progress in the second Rating. This is not the case. Of the fifty children who were discussed in Rating 1, forty-two remained in the school and were discussed in Rating 2. Of these forty-two, twelve retained the same mark (29%), sixteen went up one mark (38%), thirteen went down one mark (31%), and one went up two marks (2%). The teachers showed no particular patterns in these changes. That is, if a teacher put two children up one mark he usually put two others down. There were two exceptions. One teacher

marked all four students in her room down one grade and another teacher marked seven of the nine Indian pupils in her room up one grade or more. These changes refer only to the Expected Grade Achieved column but they reflect the consistency between the teachers with regard to the same children for all the other columns as well. In Rating 2, then, the difference and improvement must be attributed to the twenty-five new Indian children who came into the school during that year. Their impact was not sufficient to shift the mean Expected Grade Achieved to any great extent but the level of Compared Ability is quite sharply higher in Rating 2 over Rating 1.

The net result of all the columns, looking at all the grades, is that the expectations of the teachers on these four measurements were low. Both Ratings were similar in their overall results. The mean Expected Grade was a C-, the average grade at which the Indian pupils were expected to be on the Occupational Program and between one-quarter and one-half were seen as having a lower level of ability than the children around them while only one-tenth were seen as having ability above the average of those of the same age.

How do these expectations compare with the spoken comments on the same children? If the spoken expectations are high but the marks given, and more significantly the program the children are expected to be on, the grade at which they are expected to leave and the comparative level of ability are low, does this indicate a conflict with one of the expressions of expectations being false?

There is not necessarily a conflict here. Other factors in the situation have to be considered. For the teacher receiving new

children at the beginning of a school year, as was shown in the section on performance, the past record of the Indian children was not particularly good and the preparation for the new work in the new year could be expected to be in line with the marks given. The records show that for the fifty children of Rating 1, thirty-four standardized Achievement Tests had been administered and their results put into letter grades adjusted to British Columbia standards. Table XXII shows the results. Similarly, Intelligence Quotient tests had been done for twenty-one of these children and the results of these are also in Table XXII. Thus, the marks and other expectations of the teachers may, in fact, reflect the realistic picture.

However, the kinds of expectations which are of most concern here tend to be somewhat independent of performance as measured by marks. The teachers whose comments showed higher expectations were not by any means all in the primary grades where the higher ratings were noted. Expectations such as were reflected in the comments refer to the anticipation of change or the lack of that anticipation. This is the impact of the research done on the effects of expectations. If change is anticipated and expected then it still may occur, but the probability and the extent of the change is likely to be lessened.

TABLE XXII ACHIEVEMENT AND INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT TEST RESULTS

Tests	Numbers of Marks							Total
	A	B	C+	C	C-	D	E	
Achievement Tests	0	0	1	1	4	23	5	34
Intelligence Quotient Tests	0	0	2	1	4	11	3	21

There is no data in this study to indicate whether the expectations of any one of the teachers was any more realistic than that of any other of the teachers or whether these expectations--positive or negative--had any effect at all on the performance of any of the Indian children. However, if the attempts of the researchers to show that the expectations of the teacher has a profound effect on the performance of his pupils turn out to be conclusive as I expect them to be, then the relationship between the low verbal expectations, the low written expectations and the low performance of the Indian pupils will have to be carefully examined.

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Chapter 4      The Qualities Needed in the Teacher and the  
Purpose of the School in Worgate Park

One of the questions asked the teachers was whether special courses were either necessary or useful for teachers assigned to Worgate School. The special courses were usually defined as courses in anthropology, or ones in education dealing with the educational problems of minority groups.

Of the ten teachers who discussed this question, three came out flatly in the negative. Such courses were neither useful nor necessary. One of these three teachers felt that the situation at Worgate simply did not warrant any treatment not needed elsewhere because the school itself could not be distinguished in any way from any other middle class suburban school. The other two took the diametrically opposite tack. The school was certainly different and had its own peculiar problems but experience was the only useful teacher. One teacher stated that courses of this nature could be harmful. "You have to take these people as they are. No one can teach you. You shouldn't absorb what other people think about minority groups."

The other seven teachers were not at all enthusiastic but did feel that, under the right circumstances, extra training could be useful. However, those circumstances were quite particular. In-service training was the only useful kind; or course work after the teacher had had some experience in the classroom with Indian children. If the course work was taken prior to the experience and was theoretical

it was quickly forgotten. If it was taken prior to the experience and was practical it could start fears in some teachers which would interfere with their actual ability to cope with the situations when they finally appeared. The course work also had to deal with the present day situation on local Reserves and be presented by someone who was clearly well acquainted with the people whose children were coming to the school. Someone who had "read a lot of books was of no use."

Nine of the teachers also discussed the kind of teacher required in a school such as Norgate. Two felt that anyone who had the usual qualities of a good teacher was all that was required. The situation, once again, did not require any special characteristics or abilities. The other seven disagreed, expressing the opinion that the teachers should definitely be specially picked for that school. The qualities the teachers were to have were not in any way dependent on their training, although one mentioned that training in a school with Indian pupils would be valuable in that the new teacher could see how Indian children worked when there were no White children around to make comparisons inevitable.

However, course work on the education of minorities or special education of any sort was not a necessity and in no way was it to be construed as a requirement. The main qualities a teacher did require were a definite desire to teach in a school with Indian pupils, a willingness and an ability to recognize and handle problems related to these pupils, an openness to new ways of solving problems, and compassion. The same qualities as could be expected in any good teacher were sufficient, but more of each of them.

If this was the kind of teacher required, then what was the role of that teacher in the school, and what were the aims of the school as a whole? There is no question that the teachers saw instruction in basic skills, an explanation of concepts, a development of independent thought, the nurturing of a love of knowledge and a joy in learning-- there is no question but that the teachers saw these as basic and primary aspects of their job. But when the question was asked in order to explore their concept of what their job in the school was, and what the school as a whole was trying to accomplish, only one of the eleven mentioned any of these aspects. This matter was brought up late in the interview and it is quite possible that the subject matter discussed up to this point had their minds operating in other channels, and thus it is also quite possible that they were simply taken for granted as understood--that these were integral parts of the school's job. However, it was clear that there were definitely other things to be done by the school as well. From here on, as usual, there was considerable variance. But on this the teachers were agreed, particularly for the Indians, school was more than a place to learn to read, write and do arithmetic.

Two of the teachers shared strong feelings that the school was to provide the Indian pupils with the basic tools they needed for decision making, but it was to interfere with the present cultural life of the Indians as little as possible and to work as hard as possible to ensure that what was taught was as free as possible of subtle or open attempts to inculcate White, middle class values. They saw the Indians as a people who had many things in their favour; a culture which

the Indians felt was as good as the dominant White culture, and an unbounded and unchanneled enthusiasm to discover things. The job of the school was to provide the means by which the decisions could be made as to what kind of life they wanted and what aspects of the dominant White culture could be fitted into that way of life. They considered that it was not the job of the school to decide that the White culture was better, that the middle class values represented the best of the White culture and that Indian people either did or should want these.

Neither of these two teachers felt that the school was doing the job it should have been doing. On the contrary, both felt that the school was moderately successful in teaching that the White culture was the best, in inculcating middle class values, and in weeding out those that did not fit in with the resulting pattern. One of these two said,

If we have an aim, it's just for them to fit in and be no different from the middle class idea that we have. They just have to fit in nicely and not be a sore thumb sticking out. That's what we're doing to them. Whether that's our aim, I don't know. I don't think people have sat down and thought, 'What do we do? Why are we here? What are we trying to do? Are we trying to make them into middle class, ordinary citizens that fit into society? Or, are we trying to make them what's best for them?' I don't think anyone's considered it.

The rest of the teachers had considered this question and had one theme in agreement. Their job was to help the children in a way which would enable them to make a better life for themselves than their parents had at the present.

For one of the teachers this aim meant simply that he was trying to make the Indian child into a better Indian and definitely not into a better White man. He saw the school as wanting to play an

integral part in the life of the Indian community, as wanting to be an avenue for expression of the Indian culture and by this help the Indian children and their parents to have more pride in their cultural heritage. However, he also felt that the school was not succeeding in this. Worgate school was a White school with Indian visitors. A large display of Indian artifacts in the library turned it into an outpost of the Reserve, not a showcase for members of the school. He said,

With the White community we seek to find out what they want as far as their children are concerned because we can't push them. We have to follow in some areas. We can't push them in all areas. But as far as the Indian is concerned we simply assume that we know what is best for him. It is perhaps here that we are making the fundamental error. We think we are giving him something he needs but maybe we aren't doing this. Maybe we aren't teaching him what he needs to know at all. We assume we are doing this but we may not be doing it at all. We are simply trying to make him into a better White man.

Two of the other teachers were also concerned about what decisions were being made and by whom. One simply said, "We are doing all the suggesting, aren't we. I don't know if that is right." The other stressed that the aim of the school was not to break down the Indian culture with education. The school was trying to integrate the children without separating them from their cultural heritage. However, he felt that the message of society in general to the Indians was to come and join that majority by changing, and thus improving their life style to a level comparable with that of the White majority. With regard to the success the school was having in attempting to integrate the children and not assimilate them he said,

... we are not telling them to leave their art collections to the museum. No, I think we are trying to help them preserve what we think is good in their culture. In other words, 'Come be our neighbours. Don't

live next door, but be our neighbours. Bring your carvings. Bring your beautiful art work. Leave your dance behind. Live in a house a couple of blocks away. Have the luxury and comforts we have. Be an up-right and hard working member of our society. Leave your boozing and so on behind. Have two or three children, what you can afford. Dress your children properly. Bathe your children.' All this sort of thing. I think the school is perhaps trying to educate the young child so that the young child will get away. I think we are definitely trying to do this. Maybe not consciously, but sub-consciously . . . I think that sub-consciously we feel that the job we are doing is going to cause assimilation and integration. It's going to happen through time.

The other six teachers were faced with no such complexities.

The help that was needed was clear and the way to it was clear as well.

One teacher summed up the feelings of this group quite nicely.

I think we are trying to produce children who are better than their parents, for the most part, not all of them. Like for the \_\_\_\_\_ and the \_\_\_\_\_, we are trying to produce better than their parents. We are trying to make them want more than their parents seem to want. We are trying to help them achieve goals which will help them through life rather than sitting back and being content with their \$4,000.00 a year or \$2,000.00 a year for the rest of their lives. [That means to] want more of everything. More education, more learning, more food, nicer clothes, just better through life.

When these teachers were asked if they meant that the teachers were to encourage the children to accept middle class values, one said,

I wouldn't say that. I don't think these are middle class values. What I am trying to do is just to open their eyes to see what they really do want around here. We were talking about different occupations. \_\_\_\_\_ wants to be an airline pilot in the worst way. \_\_\_\_\_ wants to go to University. I don't know if they really realize what this means.

Another teacher said that, in her opinion, most of the Indians were themselves choosing not only middle class goals and values, but middle class ways of obtaining these goals and thus they themselves were

giving up and losing whatever differences they had which they might under other circumstances wish to keep. A third teacher said, "Well, if it's an improvement, why not? If you can go further, all right then go further."

From the discussion of this question with the teachers, one thing stands clear. The aims and policy of the school with regard to its Indian pupils were not a carefully worked out pattern of goals and methods. The teachers who most sharply disagreed with the job they saw the school doing, were also the ones who mentioned this lack of consensus and were the most concerned about that lack. The majority, quite likely because it felt itself to be the majority, did not comment on either the lack of aims for the school or the lack of discussion concerning such a matter.



## Chapter 5 Summary and Conclusions

What are the schools supposed to do? What are the aims and purposes of education? This has been a popular topic for debate since the time of Plato and Aristotle. Every educational system and the institutions which comprise it, whether highly adventurous in policy or conservative, or a happy or uneasy mixture of both, have been sitting targets for any group with reform in mind or complaints to make. Peter Schrag, in his book, Voices in the Classroom, (1965) makes this point very perceptively. Although the examples he uses are from the American scene, Canadian counterparts are easy to find.

The problems of modern technology, the increasing mobility of the population, the social, moral and cultural consequences of affluence, concentrated power and de-personalization of community relations, all these factors are making their impact on American education. At the same time the schools are being asked to win the cold war, stop tooth decay, restore the national fibre, prevent communist brainwashing, warn about the evils of alcohol and tobacco, close the missile gap, entertain the community, open the college gates, teach 'spiritual values', save the cities and promulgate cleanliness. When the Russians beat the United States into space with Sputnik, the schools were blamed. When the Chinese Communists brainwashed prisoners in Korea, the schools were blamed. And when someone detects a shortage of doctors or dentists or engineers, the schools are blamed for that, too. It's a great old American tradition. The first Massachusetts School Law, 1647, was written to combat a public meance known as, 'ye ould deluder, Satan.'

(Schrag 1965: 2)

From these statements and the interest in education they demonstrate it is clear that the nation considers education to be very important. For every person or group who criticizes education there is another person or group who is formulating aims. Ravitz (1963: 6)

expresses these aims in sociological terms. He sees the educational system as the means by which knowledge, skills and values are transferred from one generation to the next, thus ensuring continuation of a way of life of a people. Some writers see education as the prime weapon, and the schools as the battleground in the fight to guarantee democracy. Clark (1963: 145) says,

The most compelling argument for providing the maximum stimulation for all American children without regard for the social, economic, racial or national background of their parents is the fact that the effective functioning of a dynamic democracy demands this . . . The substance rather than the verbalization of democracy depends upon our ability to extend and deepen the insights of the people. Only an educated people can be expected to make the type of choices which assert their freedoms and reinforce their sense of social responsibility.

Any writer on the subject of disadvantaged children stresses the significance of education as a primary agency of social mobility. Musgrove (1966: 133) uses terms which suggest rather extreme views, but the basic idea is shared by many writers. He says, "It is the business of education in our social democracy to eliminate the influence of parents on the life chances of the young." This elimination includes the pressure from parents of high social status on their children to succeed only in certain socially approved ways as well as the debilitating effects on educational progress of parents with social, cultural, and economic disadvantages.

Very few writers see educational systems and their schools as coming even close to accomplishing the goals they set for them, but they do accord them the potential. A few writers claim that it is not within the capabilities of an educational system to initiate the kinds

of reforms necessary either in itself or in society. In his book titled, Education for Alienation, (1966: 1) Hickerson says,

There is little evidence to support the contention by many leaders in professional education that . . . the public schools take the lead in effecting social change. In reality, history indicates that in all societies where public education developed, it has served as a reflector of the existing social order.

Numerous studies exist which show that educators are generally conservative in their attitudes toward tradition and change and tend to be followers of the main roads rather than trailblazers. George Spindler (in Raths 1965: 128) puts an explanation of this characterization of teachers in anthropological terms which clarifies it somewhat. He says, "And that teachers, as cultural transmitters, . . . are the agents of their culture . . . Teachers are a special group. They are not selected at random as official culture transmitters; they are trained and accredited to that status and role."

Leaving for the moment the question of whether or not the educational system is capable of initiating change, let us examine the aims of education in Canada and the relationship of these to the social order. In line with the purpose of this study we will concentrate on the aims of education as they are related to Indian education. R. M. Connelly, at that time Regional Supervisor in the Department of Indian Affairs in Manitoba, discusses many criticisms of the denominational schools and their long association with Indian education. However, he then says, "However apt these criticisms may be . . . the church-oriented schools were not shaped solely by religious hierarchies. Rather they embodied the opinions of most Canadians, particularly of the people

in any way concerned with the education of Indians, except possibly the Indians themselves." (1965: 21)

The opinions to which he refers formed a concensus that the prime aim of education for the Indians was assimilation into the dominant, White, Canadian culture. In 1668 Louis XIV of France wrote Bishop Laval to encourage him in the task of persuading the Indians to give up their way of life and adopt that of the French. Only forty-six years ago the Superintendent of Indian Education for Canada wrote to the various principals of Indian Residential Schools asking for their views on the best purposes and methods of educating the Indian child. The views of the Reverend Father H. Delmar are so clear an example of the thinking of some educators of only forty-five years ago that they are worth quoting at some length.

Our Indians here in the West [Central Saskatchewan] own an immense tract of land and in many cases the best land in the country. It seems to me that it is for the land that we should prepare our Indian pupils in such a way that they may live comfortably by its products. Consequently, they should be taught the uselessness of travelling, hunting and roaming aimlessly. They should be taught to love the land, to cultivate it thoroughly, to make a real home thereon, and to find happiness in the possession of a good wife and the raising of a family. A boy should learn how to run a drill, a mower and a binder and understand their mechanisms, how to fix them and how to keep them in good working order. He should be well acquainted with the way of building a proper haystack. He should be trained how to take care of livestock and have a general idea of some carpentering, harness-mending and, if possible, of some simple black-smithing. Therefore, I advise strongly that during the last year or two the big boys should be kept steadily at work. I may add that during the winter months when the work is somewhat slack, they might still be given an hour or so of class work.

As for the girls, they have to be trained to be good housewives, knowing how to cook, wash clothes, mend them, keep a neat house and to take care of a small vegetable garden.

(quoted by Connelly 1965: 19-20)

While somewhat modified, these views are common today. In the Indian and Eskimo Education Bulletin of the Summer Session at the University of Alberta in 1956, page 3, the following aim of Indian education is set forth. "The long term goal of education in Indian and Eskimo schools should be the integration and acculturation of Indian and Eskimo peoples into Canadian society while adding some elements of their culture to ours and accepting some of our cultural patterns so that finally both cultures will be enriched." In his 1958 report, Hawthorn says that schools have been important in relations between the dominant Canadian society and Indians for several generations with "the Whites in general . . . expecting the schools to lead each new generation of Indians across social and economic bridges to a state of identity with the majority culture." (1958: 619)

Having looked at the views of Canadians over the last three hundred years let us look at the views expressed by some of the Indian parents on these topics. When the subject of the purpose of the school was raised there was no outcry for courses on Indian history to be included or Friday afternoon classes in Salish Ceremonial Dance or the Salish language, or more books in the library concerning Indians. The closest comment to these ideas was the concern expressed by a few that the history books used by the children be revised to give a true version of the role of the Indians in Canadian history. In later interviews one mother gave general approval to an afternoon optional activity class at the school in which one option open to all was Indian beadwork. She, however, had enrolled her daughter in track and field because she was good at it.

I got the feeling from almost all I talked to that the school was not seen as an appropriate vehicle for instruction on matters pertaining to Indian culture to either Indian children or White children or both. It was quite explicitly stated by about one-third of the parents that this was the job of the people on the Reserve and had nothing to do with the school. If there was time after the academic matters were learned then it was good that the children should learn traditional cultural matters, but this was something for the old people to keep alive. No one felt that education in general or the school in particular had a damaging effect on the child's likelihood of retaining his cultural values.

The role the school was supposed to play was that of the instructor in the use of the tools needed to "get somewhere." The three R's were the tools needed and instruction in these, reading, writing, and arithmetic was what the school was for. The belief expressed by all with whom I talked that Norgate school could and would, and in fact was doing this job, was quite noticeable. There were individual teachers who some people did not like, although there was nothing close to unanimity here, but no one, when asked specifically or in the course of the interview, suggested that Norgate was not educating their children satisfactorily. This statement does not in any way suggest that everyone was quite happy with what the school was doing with their children. Undoubtedly there were many complaints which I would not be told. But, as far as the level of instruction was concerned, there was no feeling so strong that it overcame what seemed to be a minimal reticence to speak freely in this area. Unfortunately,

this lack of negative comment also suggests that the low marks many of the children were getting were simply accepted by their parents as an expected or unsurprising result.

This assumption that the parents accepted the evaluation of their children from the school was borne out by the frequent comments made to the effect that academic decisions were the business of the school and would generally be accepted without questions. Very few parents indicated that if their child failed at the end of a year they would require any more explanation than that offered by a telephone call from the teacher and the report card. Even if the failure was a quite unexpected shock and seemed at variance with the performance reports received at home during the year, only a few suggested they would push to the point of strongly requesting the principal and teacher to reconsider the decision.

The emphasis on the practical functions of the school is not to suggest that the Indian parents were unaware of the effects of the school on integration. During each interview there was a question where the respondent was asked if he would prefer to send his or her children to a school for Indian children only, run by the government and guaranteed to have as good or better equipment, teaching staff and standard as any public school. No one took this choice. Their reasons were simple and uniform. "They're going to have to mix with Whites later. The sooner they start the better."

A few of the parents thought that Indian teachers in a school like Horgate would be a good idea but several said that the important thing was that the teacher was qualified and that being Indian was

incidental.

If a prime job of the school as the executor of the educational aims of society is to give out the keys, if not open the door to the dominant society, and provide the match and wick, if not actually light the lamp to guide us all to those doors--if this is the job, and it is, then what stands in the way of its accomplishment? That question takes us full circle to the never ending debate mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The question is a true Gordian Knot and no Alexander has yet appeared. There is only one thread upon which I would like to comment. Assuming we can overcome the reluctance of educators to innovate and the uncertainty of society as to whether it wants to permit innovations even if they are willing to try, a problem we must deal with then, is the potential ethnocentricity of the teaching staff.

A long series of writers have hit out at the discontinuity between the life style, value system, problem solving techniques and speech patterns of the child from the lower class background and that of the school room organized by and around a middle class teacher. Where the teacher and the students share backgrounds, they also share ways of thinking, speech patterns and vocabulary, the recognition that some things are more valuable than others and the designation of those things. Teaching is certainly easier and usually more effective. The teacher is much more apt to be aware of and sensitive to the emotional climates, pressures and tensions which might be operating on the child and be able to use or modify them. Where the teacher and the student do not share a common background the job of creating a good learning situation is complicated. That it is not impossible has been amply



proved by many excellent teachers. However, it is more difficult simply because the teacher must consciously work out the factors operating on his students in many different situations. Pressures and tensions which they themselves may find it difficult or impossible to discuss or explain, must be identified by the teacher if they are, once again, to be used or mitigated. Occasionally as well, the actions which the teacher and the student think appropriate for a specific situation may differ; interpretations of each others' actions may also differ because of the disparity between backgrounds. The resulting attitude of the teacher toward the child and his resulting teaching style will have tremendous influence on the self image of the child and on the quantity and quality of the successful experiences of the child in the school setting. The responsibility for making the appropriate response to such a situation lies quite clearly with the teacher and the school and not with the child. Deutsch puts this very important point as bluntly and as forcefully as it can be put. He says,

The responsibility for devising methods of teaching children from discontinuous environments rests solely with the school. If the children are not learning in school--as has been made abundantly clear in many studies--then the fault lies with the curriculum, organization and methods of the school, not with the children or their parents.

(1967: viii)

The ethnocentric teacher is aware of the differences which exist between the behavior patterns of the children and his own. However, his interpretation of their actions is in terms of his own background and he is either unaware of their own interpretation or assumes they are using the same standards as himself. He is wearing glasses which either give everything a colour from a very specific range or blot it

out completely.

The term Deutsch uses to designate the children he is referring to in the above reference is 'disadvantaged'. Another writer, Havighurst, defines this term as follows: "... those who lack the knowledge, skills and attitudes which enable people to maintain themselves and to achieve economic and personal security in the contemporary urban environment." (1965: 5) It is most important to realize that the majority of the children on the Capilano Reserve do not come from culturally or socially disadvantaged homes. There are some who do come from homes where unemployment, alcoholism, and poverty act as interrelated and disintegrating forces on family morale and cohesion. There are a few, from environments like these, who could be called socially and economically disadvantaged. However, using the terms of reference supplied from Kahn on page four of Chapter 1 of this study, the residents of the Capilano Reserve could be described as lower class on the economic scale. Thus, the problems mentioned before caused by the difference in background between teacher and pupil are a part of the Norgate scene, even though the majority of the children do not suffer from the severity of the difficulties described by writers like Havighurst and Deutsch.

While the residents of the Capilano Reserve have been ascribed a lower class status using the measures of income and education, the significant matter in their relationship with the teachers at Norgate is that they are Indian. Hawthorn warns against confusing the characteristic value system and social behavior patterns of the lower class and the Indians. At times there is an obvious surface simi-

larity. However, the rationale behind the actions of the two groups may be entirely different making the similarity quite superficial.

Not only do Indian children share some of the discontinuity experienced by children from lower class homes when they meet the middle class teacher and classroom, they also suffer from a sharper discontinuity and occasional clash because the teacher is from the dominant culture as well as being middle class. Let me stress again that it is the responsibility of the school and the teacher to make school a successful learning experience for the child. Where the teacher does not see or cannot understand this discontinuity, this job becomes more difficult. This is the ethnocentric teacher.

Before we discuss the situation at Norgate in more detail one point must be made. During the twelve months I shared a staff room with them, the teachers at Norgate demonstrated clearly that they were professional teachers with the best interest of their pupils at heart who did their jobs conscientiously. They were pleasant people with the usual mixture of human strengths and weaknesses such as can be found in any staff room, board room or lunch room anywhere. A statement such as this is necessary so that no caricature is made up by the reader from any combination of statements taken from the earlier chapters. There was no caricature of a teacher present in that school. No attempt has been made to link together viewpoints on the various topics. There are three reasons for this. First, being human, the teachers were inconsistent and while they acted upon a stated conviction in one area they would express views and actions at some variance to the previous ones in another area. Second, in terms of the overall theme of the study there was

no useful purpose to such a linkage. Third, with any linking together of viewpoints the identities of the various teachers could more easily be established. This was to be avoided, since, again, it could serve no useful purpose and would certainly be unethical.

Having said that, it must be stated that the ethnocentricity of the majority of the staff was related to the low expectations and was one of the significant contributing factors to the low academic performance of the Indian pupils. Not all of the staff was equally ethnocentric. Some were only mildly so in some areas. One teacher did not come under that definition at all. The degree to which the staff was ethnocentric is best judged by looking at the breakdown of views in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. However, where it occurred, this lack of knowledge of the cultural and social backgrounds of the children, the effects of the contrast of those backgrounds with their own, and the outcome in terms of behavior of both the backgrounds and the possible conflicts--this lack of knowledge was an undoubted hindrance to the creation of an effective learning situation for the individual Indian student.

I will use three examples to illustrate the ethnocentricity to which I refer. Cleanliness was mentioned voluntarily by all but one of the teachers during the course of the interviews. For the majority it was used as a handy measuring stick; those who wore light clothing and obviously sought after cleanliness were attributed greater drive and desire than those who tended to wear heavy pullovers and sweaters and more frequently had dirt on their hands, behind their ears, etc. The significance of all this is not whether, in fact, this relationship existed. The significance is in the choice of measurements used. By

my own personal assessment of the quantity and the unending nature of the pressure from the media--a pressure which must indicate sales volume--the aversion to a lack of cleanliness including the presence of every smell except an artificial one from any source close to home or person has got to the level of a mild phobia. According to the advertisements, which indicate the class expected to buy, all the middle class success symbols are won or lost according to the presence or absence of the right smell and the appropriate hair condition. For individuals to ignore or be blind to the non-ending blandishments of the purveyors of the aids to cleanliness, evidenced by their non-use, is to proclaim a rejection of those goals and the means of attaining them. This is an ethnocentric viewpoint.

Most of the teachers did not understand the effects the schooling of the older Indian parents had had on their attitudes toward the academic problems of the children or the job of the school. Even though all of the teachers would have known that the amount of schooling these parents had received was limited and in all probability in a boarding school, they still tended to interpret the parents' words and actions in the light of reactions they could have expected from someone with a middle class educational experience. This is an ethnocentric viewpoint.

All of the teachers saw the pre-school experience of the Indian children as one of the major sources of difficulty for those children. A considerable majority of the teachers tended to see the gap in preparation for academic subjects as a year missing from the child's experiences; that is, he was a year behind. Now there is no

question that many, not all, of the Indian children were clearly not as well prepared for many of the skills taught in grade one as most of the White children. However, this is being behind in a special sense only. First, the increasing emphasis on treating the child as an individual means that the teacher takes the child from wherever that child may be at the point of contact. If this is the professed purpose of the teachers, then it is illogical in the broad sense to say that a child is a year behind. Second, in the early primary years the child was expected to adapt to the school's methods and reasons for learning, all of which were designed with the majority of the children in view--the middle class White children. There was a very limited attempt, if any, past the level of the kindergarten to utilize the child's background. It certainly did not fit into the standard approach to learning with the same ease as that of the children from Norgate Park, but that was the school's problem, not the child's responsibility.

To be taught most effectively, pupils must be handled individually. This is an impossible, or at best irrelevant aim unless as many factors as possible impinging on the child's performance are known and this knowledge utilized.

The teachers in this school were in this situation through no refusal to learn about their students or through a lack of concern, but because those of them who were ethnocentric were unaware of the fact. None of the teachers had the appropriate backgrounds to make them aware of the inherent dangers of ethnocentrism in culture contact situations.

Three of the teachers had had previous experience in teaching Indian children but none felt that this was a factor in their selection

for a position at Norgate. This view was confirmed by an official at the School Board who explained that there was no policy of selecting specially qualified staff for any elementary school in the district for standard teaching positions with the exception of the traditional areas of specialization, art, music, and physical education. He stated that the School Board did not see Norgate as a special or different school to the degree that it required special attention.

This view may seem curious in the light of the usual academic records of the Indian pupils in both the elementary and secondary schools of the District, however, as is true in any medium-sized school district, they were simply one of a number of groups of children from various areas who seemed to be behind the majority. This view was also based on information supplied by the principals of all the schools in the district which registered Indian pupils. The principals' generalized view was that integration was the long term solution to the educational problems and it had to happen naturally and that meant slowly. Special treatment for Indian children would tend to isolate them as a group and thus aggravate the problems rather than alleviate them. The parents of the Indian children were the main source of the problems in school in any case, so that unilateral efforts by the school to help the children would have little effect. Most of the problems were also not seen as related to the cultural background of the Indian children but were the same problems as those suffered by others in the same economic background.

What can most clearly be seen from the situation involving Norgate school is that when policy is formulated and then continued on the advice of those put in under that policy, a self-reinforcing circle

is formed. The circle is legitimately no one's fault and is only damaging when the policy is incorrect. Nevertheless, the circle is there.

I believe that teachers must be matched in terms of skills and abilities with the positions which have to be filled. Worgate requires teachers who, like any good teacher, are sensitive to the needs of the individual pupil, but, as well, have the training, pre-service or in-service or both, to utilize most effectively that sensitivity to guide students whose cultural and social background give them certainly different, and at times greater problems than the children around them from Worgate Park.

It is true that education is the vital key to the padlock on the door of equal opportunity in the dominant society. However, singling out the Indian children by selecting teachers equipped to turn the key is not the same as providing the Indian child with a push through the door. The extent to which the child and thus the adult of tomorrow wishes to integrate is a decision exclusively his. Hawthorn spells out the balancing factors and forces very neatly.

Although the school necessarily teaches techniques and values from the White culture, it need not create a dilemma in which it must line up its objectives exclusively either with the values of the White or those of the Indian cultures. In a number of ways the family and the child must make choices between cultures. The school, however, need not try to make this choice for them. Its most useful role is giving the child the equipment so that he has a real possibility of choice in jobs, in speech, in associates and in community. The school can best achieve this by emphasizing individual growth rather than cultural change.

(Hawthorn 1958: 639)

The aim of education then, is broader than the democratization of opportunity, or even the training needed for decision making by



citizens in a democracy. The following words express the aim of all education, Indian education included, with a rare clarity and beauty. They do not give a point by point program to success; rather, they give the fundamental direction with which all successful programs must be aligned.

The underlying aim of education is to further man's unending search for truth. Once he possesses the means to truth all else is within his grasp. Wisdom and understanding, sensitivity, compassion, and responsibility, as well as intellectual honesty and personal integrity will be his guides in adolescence and his companions in maturity.

This is the message which must find its way into the minds of all . . . children. This is the key to open all doors. It is the instrument which will break the shackles of ignorance, of doubt and of frustration; that will take all who respond to its call out of their poverty, their slums, and their despair; that will spur the talented to find heights of achievement and provide every child with the experience of success; that will give mobility to the crippled; that will illuminate the dark world of the blind and bring the deaf into communion with the hearing; that will carry solace to the disordered of mind, imagery to the slow of wit, and peace to the emotionally disturbed; that will make all men brothers, equal in dignity if not in ability; and will not tolerate disparity of race, colour or creed.

(Ontario 1968: 9)

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