SOCIALIZATION AND SYMBOLIC INTERACTION IN AN INDIAN - WHITE COMMUNITY

by

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ABSTRACT

Although the Pacific Northwest Coast is perhaps one of the most studied cultural areas in the history of anthropology, there are gaps in the literature regarding day-to-day interactions, family life and child rearing. This particular information had to be obtained first hand regarding those aspects relative to a study of Indian identity.

The purpose of this study was to examine the development of self-concept among Indian children. It was assumed that some aspects of the traditional Kwakiutl culture might continue to effect self-image. An examination was made of relevant aspects of the traditional culture, especially the relationship of the individual to the extended family unit.

It was assumed that development of a coherent self-image would be more difficult in a heterogeneous (Indian - White) community and thus Alert Bay, British Columbia, was chosen for the study. It was examined in detail as a social environment in its human and regional ecological context.

Most authors have examined the contemporary Indian situation in terms of social institutions. Emphasis has

been placed on economic factors, such as unemployment. This has led to emphasis on job preparation--or education. Problems in school by Indian students such as underachievement and early dropout have been analyzed. Since the earliest learning occurs in the home, the family has been examined as a possible factor in poor school performance. We have examined these institutional aspects, and other factors in the socialization process, and then taken the analysis to the level of symbolic interaction. The social psychology of George Herbert Mead was employed to elucidate the dynamics of the development of mind and self from the social context.

Mead speaks of the development of the "generalized other" as a step in the development of mind and self: without development of the generalized other, the individual remains a member of a community of narrow diameter--and the mind and self are similarly restricted.

Two four-month periods were spent in Alert Bay doing field work. The children chosen for study were those who were in grade one in the 1968-69 school year, and their families. Five families from this group were studied specifically, through participant-observation, tape recordings of children's conversations, and interviews with the mothers.

Our hypotheses are: (1) that the concept of self, developed by the Indian child, is in conflict at the point of transition from home to school; (2) that significant others provided as models within the extended family are in conflict with those models generated in the schools in a variety of aspects; (3) that the full development of mind and self is difficult, if not impossible, in the Alert Bay situation. All hypotheses were found to be supported by the data. It was determined that the attitudes and values inculcated in the Kwakiutl home were at variance with those expected of the student. As there is no coherent social environment, and no developed social identity remaining in the Indian culture, the development of the "generalized other" in Mead's terms is impossible for most if not all Indian children.

The concepts of social psychology appear to be central in explaining the behavior of the Indian students studied.

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INTRODUCTION

The Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast, and particularly the Kwakiutl, are one of the most studied groups in the history of anthropology, with Franz Boas alone contributing ten thousand pages of ethnographic material. One of the major problems of any contemporary student of the Kwakiutl is that in his studies Boas emphasized the leaders, the ceremonies, especially the Potlach, the language, mythology, art and material culture. That is, he concentrated on the formal aspects or cultural life of the people, and included very little of the informal day to day interactions. Much of the subsequent work on the area drew solely from Boas, with no new field work, and conclusions drawn by such authors as Benedict and Goldman were thus similarly one-sided. Field work by Clelland Ford, Helen Codere and James Spradley again focused on the leaders and the Potlach.

This emphasis on the formal structure and leaders of the society has left virtually untouched further significant aspects of this culture, especially information about the general run of persons that backed up and supported the family heads. Family life and child

rearing practices have been virtually ignored. There is a gap in the literature that covers the relationship of what Boas called numaym members to the leader in day to day interactions. The leader of the extended family held a status in the system of ranked numaym or lineage positions. We know that he represented the numaym position and his extended family in the potlach--that is, in relationship with other groups; and we know that the totem pole was a symbolic representation of the extended family history, as a branch of the numaym, but we do not know how the "commoner" related to the leader, or what meaning the numaym unit, symbolized by the leader and the totem pole, had to him. From statements in the literature regarding the necessity of giving gifts to "wipe away the shame" caused the numaym by the misdeeds of one of its members, we know that the extended family group did exert some control over the behavior of its members, but we know little of the extent of this control or the means of its implementation. The mistake is often made in the literature of attributing more political unity to the twenty Kwakiutl tribes which consisted of several numayms resident at the same village, than was in fact the case, according to Boas, and in this context it is important that the household group and numaym,

reflecting the views of other such groups, was the major institution of social control, in so far as it provided the social identity of the individual.

Tremendous changes have occurred in the culture since the establishment of the Anglican mission and school in Alert Bay. The establishment of White businesses enabled individual Indians to earn money outside the traditional system, and sometimes led to persons trying to use this wealth to achieve potlach positions they were not entitled to through the system of inheritance. With the outlawing of the Potlach by the Canadian government, and the eventual jailing of Potlach leaders, the system of traditional social structure broke down. What then is the source of the individual's social identity contemporarily?

We are unable now to rectify this deficit in material about the traditional culture, but we can examine the interaction in a contemporary Kwakiutl village, and its effect on the development of identity by the individual. Do aspects of the traditional Kwakiutl culture have an effect on the present Indians' situation which is seen as problematic by the Indian? There has been an attempt in Alert Bay by some of the Indian leaders to re-awaken interest in Indian culture and

language as a possible solution to what they see as the problems of their people. The reactions to this resurgence movement have been mixed, with not all Indians interested in a return of traditional cultural forms. Some of the areas of concern by both Indians and Whites include poor school performance by children, neglect of children, poor health, abuse of alcohol, and economic dependency. To what factors can these symptoms be ascribed?

Most authors have examined the contemporary Indian situation in terms of social institutions. Emphasis has been placed on economic factors, such as lack of employment opportunities. This has led to emphasis on job preparation--or education as a prerequisite to employment opportunities. The scholastic problems of not only the Indian but of the American Negro and other minorities have received major attention from writers in a number of fields. Early literature in this area dwelt upon scholastic underachievers from minority groups as being "empty vessels" who needed, through Head-Start, nursery school and kindergarten programs only to be filled with more and more of what they were expected as first graders to have learned in the home. More recent work has asserted that the child from any minority group is

very well versed in the language, attitudes, values and realities of his own culture--which may well be at variance if not in conflict with what is taught in the school.

Since the earliest learning occurs in the home, students have examined the family in order to gain information about the poor scholastic performance. Many studies have determined that values and attitudes inculcated in the home are at variance with those required for successful school performance.

What then are the factors contributing to the "Indian problem?" Poverty and deprivation are factors, through lack of jobs, seasonal work, and low income; Indians hold little power over decisions affecting their lives; child training practices are different; another language or non-standard English is spoken in many homes. Based on an examination of this institutional structure, is it not possible to arrive at another level of analysis by examining interaction and self-concept?

George Herbert Mead's contribution to social psychology, although it has been superseded in some areas by more recent work, remains the most comprehensive treatise on the interaction of mind, self and society. Using what information we have from Boas on tribal

identity and Mead's concepts, we will examine the development of identity in a contemporary Kwakiutl village. Mead speaks of the development of a "generalized other" as a step in the development of mind and self: without development of the generalized other, the individual remains a member of a community of narrow diameter--and the mind and self are similarly restricted.

We have chosen Alert Bay, B.C., for this study because it combines factors relevant to an examination of Mead's concepts. First of all, it is a small, isolated island of about sixteen hundred population, over nine hundred Indian and seven hundred White. Secondly, because it has been a main service center for the area, many Indians from other tribes have joined the resident Nimpkish tribe so that the Indian population is heterogeneous. In this mixed-Indian and Indian-White situation, we would expect that the problem of identity would be more critical than in a homogeneous village, and that an examination of this situation would throw the problem of identity into sharp relief.

One of the major reasons we have chosen to deal primarily with the children is that Alert Bay has been the focus of many social science studies, and the adults are fairly sophisticated at replying in the way they

think is expected. Since the children have not learned the "proper" answers to questions about their identity, the underlying dynamics of the quest for identity are more readily visible. It is important to get at the process of identity in its formative stage--both in the growing mind and in terms of the structural situations in which this growth process is occurring. In adults, the process is more static, and the situational variety is greater.

We will examine the traditional Kwakiutl culture as reconstructed from the literature, the social institutions and special attributes of Alert Bay as a social environment, and the interactions in a child's life as they contribute to his self image. We will reverse the order of Mead's concepts to society, self and mind which more accurately reflect Mead's view of the priority of society to the development of self and mind. It is our contention that the full development of Mead's mind and self is impossible in the Alert Bay situation.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature pertinent to this study embraces the following areas: sources of the historical foundations of Indian behavior, sources of the historical foundations of Kwakiutl behavior, institutional analysis of Indian behavior, institutional analysis of Pacific Northwest Coast and Kwakiutl Indian behavior, sources of social psychological concepts on the development of identity. These are discussed in the following pages.

I. Sources of the Historical Foundation of Indian Behavior

The best introduction to the tribes and cultures of Canada, although references to the present situation are far out of date, is Diamond Jenness' *The Indians of Canada* (1963) which is in its sixth edition, and has been published continuously since 1932. Clark Wissler's *The American Indian* (1950) is still a useful reference. A.L. Kroeber's Cultural and *Natural Areas in Native North America* (1939) only outlines the culture of each area, but also summarizes material on habitat and native

population. The 1913 work by Hodge, Handbook of the Indians of Canada is encyclopaedic in nature and details group names, persons and topics as well as treaties and reserves. The twenty volume work by Curtis on The North American Indian has been recently reprinted and contains excellent photographs as well as ethnographic data.

Leechman's Native Tribes of Canada (1956) is a simply written introduction to the tribal areas and is instructive as a statement on the popular view of tribal cultures. Eggan's Social Anthropology of North American Tribes (1960) and the anthology by Owens, et al, The North American Indians (1967) are good sourcebooks. The most recent survey of the ethnography, and probably the best, is Harold Driver's Indians of North America (1961).

McNickle's Indian Tribes of the United States (1962) offers a general survey of the past, the current situation, and some insights into the probable future of American Indians. He points out that across all tribes common psychological traits can be identified. Fey and McNickle in Indians and Other Americans (1959) have analyzed the contributions of Indians and review the treatment they have received in their governmental relations. Simpson and Yinger in American Indians and American Life (1957) also present useful articles on

modern legal, demographic, economic, health, educational and political conditions of Indians today. Loran and McIlwraith in The North American Indian Today (1943) and Washburn in The Indian and the White Man (1964) provide information on the acculturative situation of Indians. The most instructive pan-tribal works on acculturation are Linton's Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (1963) and Spicer's Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change (1961) which includes a section on the Kwakiutl.

For a general background on the Pacific Northwest Coast, work by Drucker (1950, 1955, 1965) is the most comprehensive. The British Columbia Heritage Series--Our Native Peoples--contains simply written volumes on each of the tribes in British Columbia. McFeat's Indians of the North Pacific Coast (1966) contains a collection of useful articles on the culture area.

II. Sources of Historical Foundations of Kwakiutl Behavior

Franz Boas began field work among the Southern Kwakiutl in 1886 and continued working with them until 1930 when he was seventy-two years of age. It has been

estimated that he spent a total of twenty-eight and a half months doing field work on the Northwest Coast, and on eight of the twelve trips he made to the area, he visited the Kwakiutl.[1] He published over five thousand pages of ethnographic data on the Kwakiutl alone and in conjunction with George Hunt, a native informant, he trained and worked with from the first field trip in 1886. Codere analyzes Boas' work as follows:

> The outstanding feature of Boas' Kwakiutl and Northwest Coast work is the emphasis upon the symbolic aspects of the cultures. Most of Boas' major works on individual Northwest Coast cultures and on comparative Northwest Coast cultural contexts deal with mythology, language, and art, in that order....As early as 1900, according to a statement he made some years later, he was planning 'a general ethnological discussion of the Kwakiutl material contained in these volumes' (1921:45). It is not certain that his unpublished <u>Kwakiutl Ethnography</u> would be the work he planned, as its contents do not form a 'general ethnological discussion' in the fullest sense of the phrase.[2]

Because information on any topic is scattered throughout such a large body of work, piecing together a coherent picture of any particular topic is difficult as "there is no substitute for the entire body of Kwakiutl ethnographic materials. The serious student can be satisfied with nothing less."[3] Boas has been criticized for not doing a general ethnography--and for omitting material that would be of use to contemporary students,

as has been mentioned in reference to the present study, but he recorded on the formal aspects of the culture in sufficient detail to enable an analysis, to some extent, of the historical foundations of social identity, although there is no information on day to day interaction.

Boas states in the Preface to Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology that his discussion of tales was an attempt to summarize those features of the tales

> that reflect the mode of life and thoughts of the people. The underlying thought of this attempt was that the tales probably contain all that is interesting to the narrators and that in this way a picture of their way of thinking and feeling will appear that renders their ideas as free from the bias of the European observer as possible.[3]

An examination of this material as it relates to the parameters of social identity is instructive.

Although many details about the House are found in the mythology, "The village is not often described. In many cases there is reference only to the single house of the ancestor....In a larger village the chief's house stands in the middle of the row of houses."[5] From this we can assume that the household is more important to the individual than the village, an assumption that further evidence from Boas will support.

Evidence on tribal organization from the mythology is worth quoting at some length.

> The tales refer both to the tribes and to the tribal sub-divisions called numaym. Ancestor traditions refer only to the numaym, but the tribes as such are also recognized.... The chief of each numaym is conceived as the descendant of a mythical ancestor. The tale referring to him is called 'the house myth'. The ancestors are called fathers or grandfathers. The ancestor is also designated as root, or chiefroot, also as first chief.... His story or he himself is also called 'myth at the end of the world'. All this is implied to descend through the male line.
>
> The various numayms composing a tribe are sometimes conceived as quite independent in origin and are assumed to have originated in distinctive localities, not all necessarily in close proximity....In other cases the chiefs of the several numayms of one tribe are definitely described as related....
>
> The chiefs of the numaym descend in the paternal line. In the texts it is not often stated in so many words that the son takes his father's place, but it is implied in the term 'prince' which designates the eldest son.... The crests and privileges which the ancestor brought down from heaven or from the depths of the ocean are inherited in patrilineal line....
>
> The members of the numaym excepting the chief's family are not necessarily conceived as descendents of the ancestor. An ancestor... transformed gulls' eggs into men and shells into women. These became his tribes. Another ancestor of the same tribe carved human figures, two men and two women, out of the bark of elder trees, released them and they became his tribe....
>
> The crests are used in decorating the house, as house dishes and masks. The chiefs of the numaym have for their crests, the animals whose forms they had while in the sky....
>
> The remark...that a cannibal was feared because he devoured the people of his own numaym indicates the solidarity of these units and the duty of each member to protect the interests of the whole group....[6]

Boas states that the most valued stories of the Kwakiutl refer to the origin of the numaym and the crests.

Thus the existence of the numaym as a social unit is fundamental to any discussion of social identity among the Kwakiutl. Rather than continue with an exposition of Boas' work on the Kwakiutl at this point, we will turn to a discussion of the other literature on the area, and the various criticisms of Boas' work. A comprehensive picture of the social organization of the Kwakiutl will be drawn in a later chapter.

One of the major problems in doing library research on the Kwakiutl is that a popular image of them has developed from the work of people who have examined Boas and done no field work. La Violette reports as follows on a survey he made in 1955:

> Forty-five books well known to sociologists and social psychologists were found to use Northwest Coast materials. Of all the major tribes of the area, the Kwakiutl group and its potlach were the most generally known. Five authors made comparative use of Kwakiutl materials; seven authors described their social organization, all using potlach data and several limiting their selections to it; eight authors cited data or interpretations from Ruth Benedict. Twenty-five authors referred to Patterns of Culture or presented the idea of 'themes' or 'patterns' as developed by Benedict. The work of Boas, through Benedict, led social scientists to an interest in those materials. In forty-five books analyzed, the authors used the basic ideas for: (1) the formulation of a hypothesis of cultural themes-patterns in social organization; (2) the development of a typology competition-co-operation; (3) evidence of culturally-based abnormalities, such as found in megalomania, acquisitiveness, competitiveness,

> and egotism; and (4) description of unique aspects of a cultural system. The diffusion of Northwest Coast interpretations of social scientists and psychiatrists throughout Canada and the United States has become extensive; the Boas - Benedict work has become classic in character.[7]

Boas cannot be blamed for misinterpretations of his ethnographic material, although perhaps there would have been less misinterpretation if he had put the material in proper perspective. For example, in his descriptions of the formal ceremonials, many references are made to the main actor and his numaym. "The blankets were again placed in charge of the groom's father, who called his numayma to request their consent to the proposed marriage."[8] This one, of many possible examples of numaym co-operation, is at variance with the interpretation by Benedict. A statement such as, "Each individual, according to his means, constantly vied with all others to outdistance them in distributions of property"[9] is an incorrect interpretation of the data from Boas. Codere states that Boas criticized Benedict for overlooking "the amiable qualities that appear in intimate family life."[10] She goes on to say that,

> It is clear, however, that Boas presented relatively little material to work with on the more amiable side of Kwakiutl life, that Benedict ignored such materials as were present as perhaps being far out of the range

> of the norms of behavior, and that both Boas with his 'atrocious but amiable' Kwakiutl and Benedict with her 'paranoid' Kwakiutl took the structural material at face value for purposes of determining the meanings and qualities of the culture.[11]

Barnouw states that, "Ruth Benedict's way of phrasing things in extreme terms makes it easy enough to refute some of her statements."[12] But he takes exception to Codere's criticism of Benedict.

> Admittedly, then, 'Dionysian' is not an adequate or particularly helpful characterization for this culture; and the terms 'paranoid' and 'megalomanic' also seem extreme although Kroeber has defended their use. But instead of dismissing Benedict's picture for its apparent exaggerations, it might be better to see if statements of the sort quoted by Codere cannot be restated in more acceptable terms. For Benedict and Boas may have been on the track of something valid. I feel, for example, that Benedict convincingly showed that the motifs of rivalry and self-glorification appear not only in the potlach, but also in connection with marriage and shamanism. And surely the boastful speeches of Kwakiutl chiefs quoted by Benedict are striking evidence for the attitudes she describes.[13]

To turn to another anthropological controversy regarding Boas' work, Codere says, "That Kwakiutl society was, as Boas said, a classless society in which social rank was the organizing principle."[14] Ray counters with this:

> A major deficiency in Boas' work with the Kwakiutl was his neglect of the patterns and behavior of the lower classes: his nearly

> exclusive concern with the nobility and his presentation of this picture as representative of Kwakiutl life.....Boas' picture of the Kwakiutl is not only deficient because he failed to heed the cautions which he enumerates for others but also because he allowed this one-sided portrait to stand, not only for all Kwakiutl culture but for the Northwest Coast generally. His over-generalization for the Kwakiutl and his failure to speak out in correction of the errors of his students, such as Benedict, has had the result that the ethnographic picture for the Northwest Coast as visualized, taught, and accepted by many anthropologists is that which in fact applies only to the nobility of the southern Kwakiutl.[15]

Codere, who is perhaps the most thorough student of Boas' manuscripts, and who has also done field work among the Kwakiutl,[16] injects some sense of perspective into the ethnographic picture. She states in particular that, "The Kwakiutl economic year of about nine months of industrious production followed by three months of winter vacation from most production continued throughout this period." [1849 - 1921].[17] Thus, if we can accept that the voluminous data on the potlach and the winter ceremonial represents at most one-quarter of the life of the Kwakiutl, we can better assess this overemphasis in the literature. Codere, in the study of the Kwakiutl which was part of a symposium on culture change, gives the most complete and coherent history of the Kwakiutl available in the literature. She states that the

establishment of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Rupert, and the cessation of warfare must be seen

> as the exuberant development of a larger social world in which there were peace, security from physical violence, and an opportunity to establish social worth among all the people rather than among only those of close kinship or the immediate locality.[18]

This involved closer relationships between the independent tribes.

With the development of Alert Bay as the locale of non-Indian service agencies, and thus as the focal point for Indians of the area, came even greater inter-tribal interactions. Codere states that,

> The contact community in which the Kwakiutl now live is the total White Canadian - American cultural world. The Kwakiutl live with that part and version of the White world that is represented locally, and with the extended experience of it that is offered by the mass media, visits to Vancouver and other cities to the south, and an ever increasing number of years spent in school.[19]

She also states that,

> Kwakiutl relations with other Indian peoples have not been extended...into any pan-Indianism....The Kwakiutl have, however, made common cause with the other coastal Indian people who, like them, are dependent on the commercial fishing industry.[20]

In regard to these inter-tribal meetings she says that,

> some of the recent meetings of councilors from the different Kwakiutl bands with councilors from all the Indian groups of the province will result in important

> cross-cultural education as well as in clarifications in 'Indian' - White relations and in 'Indian' policies and attitudes.[21]

She perhaps makes the same mistake in this as La Violette[22] does in assuming that these pan-Indian activities have an effect on any but the chiefs who participate. This point will be discussed further with reference to the institutional analysis of Indian behavior.

Codere states that the younger people are no longer interested in the potlach as a way to social status. Although patterns of consumption may reflect Kwakiutl values, there is no clear method of achieving status.

> In the old days social and political leadership were integrated in what was also a fairly well-integrated community. Nowadays there only remain remnants of the earlier situation.[23]

> Alert Bay had more problems to solve than any other Kwakiutl village in recent times, and too much was somehow left to the agency located there. The result in the largest and more important Kwakiutl village is lack of community planning, cohesiveness, leadership, and achievement....Social leadership seems even more dispersed and unorganized than political leadership. Such as it is, it seems to be in the hands of the more assimilated and the more prosperous.[24]

> There are still some ceremonial performances, but they take place in new contexts and have new and different meanings in Kwakiutl society.[25]

Thus Codere, in her study of culture change, has given us useful information relating to the contemporary problems of the development of identity among the

Kwakiutl in Alert Bay. We will turn now to an examination of the contributions of other authors to a more coherent picture of Kwakiutl life.

Edward Curtis spent "a portion of each field season from 1910 to 1914 among the Kwakiutl tribes."[26] To our knowledge of the culture he contributes a fairly comprehensive general description, plus material on shamanism, warfare, social organization, ceremonies, mythology and songs. Of particular interest are the many fascinating photographs, including portraits, pictures of houses, boats, totem poles, and masked ceremonial figures.[27]

Curtis says that, "among the poor, marriage is unaccompanied by formal rites, but people of rank are betrothed and wedded with considerable ceremony."[28] If Curtis is correct in this, then what has been accepted and detailed in the literature as the "normal" marriage practice is an anomaly reserved only for the nobility. The people had a term for marriages not validated by ceremony which meant "sticking together like dogs,"[29] but we have no way now of determining how frequent these liaisons were.

It will be instructive to examine at some length a passage from Curtis regarding the social organization

of the Kwakiutl.

As elsewhere on the North Pacific Coast, society was divided by closely drawn lines into three classes; the nobility, the common people, and slaves taken in war. Slavery has been abolished by law, and the depletion of the population has practically eliminated the common people by reducing the number of tribesmen below the number of hereditary titles. The principle of inherited rank is much more evident in Kwakiutl life than in the life of coast Salish. Scarcely a phase of their activities can be discussed without reference to this idea, and in fact their entire existence is an endless scheming and striving to enhance their individual standing in the tribe and the tribe's standing among all Kwakiutl tribes.

In each gens is a definite number of 'seats,' which closely correspond to the hereditary peerages of civilized society in that they were constituted in ancient times, and that to each pertain certain names, crests, special ceremonial privileges, and territorial rights as to fishing and gathering vegetal food. The seats of the aristocracy were created (so the legends relate) at the time of the founding of the gens, since when none others have been created. That nobility can be attained by personal prowess or that new ranks can be constituted by an agency, is to the Kwakiutl quite unthinkable. For these tribes have high regard for precedent and the customs established by their ancestors.

Succession is strictly hereditary, and the eldest son succeeds to the father's rank. In its earliest years the child has no part in the tribal life; technically he is not a member of the tribe. When he has arrived at what the father considers a fit age (from six to fifteen years), the latter at a feast announces that on a certain day he will make his son his heir, and give him such and such a name. On that day the people assemble in his house, each having been invited by name....The boy now has a 'feast name' by which he will be personally invited to every public assembly, in other words, he is now a member of the tribe and the tribal

> council: for all public business is transacted at feasts. Common people of course had no part in the feasts and ceremonies, except as spectators.[30]

Curtis is self-contradictory in some of his statements. For example, he says that "society was divided...into three classes: the nobility, the common people, and slaves....". He then says about the child, that "technically he is not a member of the tribe." If we look at John Work's census for 1836 - 41, printed in Curtis, we see a population of 23,587, (omitting five groups as not certainly Kwakiutl) which may well be an exaggeration.[31] However, after a smallpox epidemic, the population was estimated at seven thousand.[32] Boas has named twenty tribes, one hundred numayms and six hundred and fifty-eight positions.[33] Even if we take ten thousand as a modest estimate of the pre-contact population, this would mean that less than one in fifteen persons had a named position. Are we then to believe that only one person in fifteen was a member of the tribe? To re-engage this argument in the light of Curtis' work, Boas himself makes the same mistake when he says,

> If the greatest chief in the tribe steps down from his head position but retains his position in the last seat of his numaym, he is either a 'commoner' solely by comparison with what he had been, or because the nearest he could get to membership in a class of commoners in

> Kwakiutl was by holding one of the more lowly noble positions.[34]

Although the Kwakiutl population about this time was only 1,134[35] it seems inconceivable that Boas could have made this statement with reference to a general discussion of Kwakiutl culture.

Curtis is at times aware of the differences in the lives of nobles and commoners, but he, along with the other authors, makes no attempt to examine the life of the common people.

It is instructive, particularly in a study of social identity, to examine those works expressing the attitude of the Whites toward the Indian.[36] William Halliday, in Potlach and Totem, recollects his experiences as Indian Agent for the Kwakewlth Agency from 1906 to 1932. An example of his attitude is expressed in the following quotation:

> The apathy of the Indians themselves has a great deal to do with the decrease in population, and to the want of progress. They are careless and indifferent about anything that does not directly affect their pocketbook....The potlach with its attendant evils keeps down any desire on the part of individuals to launch out for themselves, as they would practically ostracize themselves, until the movement became general. This required more strength and stability of character than is common to the Indian.[37]

As Mr. Halliday had moved to the area in 1895, to

homestead with his brother on the Kingcome River, and had relatives in the area, his attitude is probably an accurate reflection of the White attitudes toward the Indian at that time. Because of his enforcement of the potlach law, "for several years he was a much-hated man by the Indians."[38]

To turn to a less biased account of Kwakiutl life, Clellan Ford's biography of Charley Nowell, a Kwakiutl chief, provides a valuable picture of family life and social interaction. Although in this again, the emphasis is on the nobility, sufficient detail in the accounts allows us to draw some inferences regarding the total picture of Kwakiutl life. Ford, in his introduction, speculates on the reason that so much of ceremonial life was bloody and violent. He suggests that a possible reason is that their daily life required strict control over aggression. The fear of sorcery he also attributes to the suggestion that the Kwakiutl often hated his fellows but dared not attack them.[39] Being hostile to but afraid of one's fellows has far-reaching effects on one's view of the world--and in determining the parameters of social relationships from which a view of one's social identity can arise.

Charley Nowell gives some evidence on the attitude

toward social status in describing the advice his father gave him when he was twelve years old (just before his father died).

> 'In giving potlaches,' he says, 'is the only good name you'll have when you grow up, but if you are careless and spend your money foolishly, then you'll be no more good. You'll be one of the common people without any rank.' Those that has no standing and no place in the clans is the common people. They are not chiefs. In my time, they all had positions, but they was lower down. It is only the first four positions, when my father was talking to me, that was considered the chiefs, but now it is different.[40]

In discussing children's play, Charley said that the boys took turns in giving play potlaches. A boy was sent home to get something from his family to give to his friends.

> Some of the boys couldn't get anything and had to stay away. We call that 'never return,' and when we finished and when we see this boy who never returned, we clap our hands and make fun of him....And sometimes he is so ashamed he runs into his house and hides. I always used to get something.[41]

Charley gives other examples of social control, regarding fighting among children and adults; these mechanisms also involve loss of social status or isolation from one's peers. In speaking of a man who will not acknowledge his responsibility for his father's debts, Charley says, "Everybody is afraid to loan him anything, and nobody will borrow from him either. Nobody trusts him."[42] Ford

comments on this. "Here are sanctions that enforce payment of debts. One who does not pay what he owes is economically ostracized. Unable to lend or borrow, he cannot participate in Kwakiutl social life."[43]

Charley also mentions a measure of social control aimed at keeping the group unified. When invitations are made to a feast,

> every man has to be there whether you like him or not. Even if you and he are fighting for a position, you have to call him to the feast.... But there was a chief...who had done something which the other people didn't like, and so he wasn't called to any feasts or to any dances.... That is the greatest punishment that they have among the Indians for the wrong that they have done or spoken. There isn't any way to get out of it, if they feel that way about you.[44]

That is, personal animosities must be controlled, but a person who is disliked by the social unit is ostracized.

In another story Charley illustrates both the solidarity of the kin group, and the principle of non-interference in the affairs of others. He visited a man from his village, but from another numaym, in the mental hospital near Vancouver. The nurse tells him that the man can go home if one of his relatives comes to get him. Charley tells the relatives, "and nobody seems to care to go and get him out. He was there until he dies."[45] Ford comments, "Charley has done all that his culture demands. It is up to Young Paul's kin group to help him

out. If they do not, it is none of Charley's business."[46]

Charley's story is particularly interesting in that it covers the period from 1870 to 1940 and he mentions many of the changes that occurred during this time.

In summary, we have examined the main books giving information on the Kwakiutl culture, and some of the problems involved in library research in this area. We will, in a subsequent chapter on the Southern Kwakiutl, present a coherent picture of the main factors involved in an understanding of Kwakiutl life as it applies to the problem of social identity.

III. Institutional Analysis of Indian Behavior

In this section we will examine the studies already done on Indian groups in North America--if not to arrive at an understanding of Indian life, at least to examine those areas that have been chosen by others for study. These studies have concentrated on the institutional structure of Indian society, including especially politics, the economy, education and the family. Although many studies have been done on the acculturation of North

American Indians, we will present only one aspect of them here. The essence of these studies is that because of contact with the dominant White majority, changes have occurred in the native societies which have led to various degrees of social disintegration. This disintegration can be examined as changes in the institutions of the people in question. There is no doubt that any Indian group in North America is in an acculturative situation, particularly if we accept the definition that, "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."[47]

The contemporary Alert Bay scene is one of interaction among White and Indian where the dominant institutions--schools, commerce, health services, church, etc.--are White dominated, and have been for decades. The Indians resident in Alert Bay have been subjected to an acculturation process of considerable intensity due to historic, geographic, and other considerations. However, the prevalent attitude of Whites is to view the Indian as responsible for his situation. This applies to the person on the street in daily interaction with the Indian, no less

than the professional and leadership groups. There is a stereotyped group image. There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the difficulties of the Indian are in some measure a consequence of the Whites' attitude towards the Indian as person and group, and of the expectations of professionals, such as educators, that previously determined norms and standards should be met by persons irrespective of the cultural traditon from which they come. This is typified in the White value that law and public services should be equally available to all. We will be examining the evidence on these issues.

The Canadian Corrections Association, in a report for the Department of Indian Affairs, states in concluding an examination of the major aspects of Indians and the law, that,

> Underlying all problems associated with Indians and Eskimos in this country are the prejudice and discrimination they meet in the attitude of non-Indians. The result is a conviction on the part of Indians and Eskimos that they are not really part of the dominant Canadian society and that their efforts to better themselves will fail because they do not have an even chance....
>
> It is most important that Indians and Eskimos exercise greater self-discipline than they have in the past. The rebuilding of a sense of self-respect and pride-in-race will be possible only if Indians, Eskimos and non-Indians alike make a real effort....
>
> It has been stressed throughout this report that there is little point in trying

> to solve the conflict with the law on the part of Indians and Eskimos without a parallel effort to solve the economic and social problems that exist among these people. The difficulties associated with liquor require special attention, but the misuse of liquor is itself associated with these basic economic and social problems.[48]

The problem of Indians and the law has long been a concern in Canada.[49] Associated with this is the Indians' lack of information on the repercussions of legal statutes, and his political impotence. This situation, however, seems to be changing. An example is provided by Harold Cardinal, a young Alberta Indian. In his book, The Unjust Society, he says,

> If the present [Indian] leadership is unable to come to terms with the non-Indian society, unable to win respect for Indian rights and dignity, then the younger generation will have no reason to believe that the existing democratic political system has much meaning for them. They will not believe that the present system can work to change our situation. They will organize and organize well. But, driven by frustration and hostility, they will organize not to create a better society but to destroy your society, which they feel is destroying our people.... Controlling our choice of a path--the realization of the full potential of the Indian people, or despair, hostility and destruction--is our belief that the Indian must be an Indian. He cannot realize his potential as a brown white man.[50]

Cardinal's plea for resurgence of Indian pride, and for development of effective pan-Indian organizations to mediate change is perhaps in advance of the attitudes

of most Indians in Canada. However, the same sort of movement is achieving momentum in the United States. Vine Deloria, a Sioux Indian, expressed it this way:

> 'Indianness' never existed except in the mind of the beholder. Tribal social forms have always existed but they have been buried during past years by the legal entanglements of the federal government. Consequently, Indians have come to believe that their problems were soluble by conformity to White culture (if there is one). Now that Indian people have realized that their problems are legal and not cultural, legal solutions will be found through political action, and Indian people will not only be free to revitalize old customs, but also to experiment with new social forms.[51]

In Deloria's chapter on anthropologists, he says, "They are the most prominent members of the scholarly community that infests the land of the free, and in the summer time, the homes of the braves."[52] He goes on to discuss the amount of research done on the Oglala Sioux, of the Pine Ridge Reservation, a discussion which will assume more significance in the light of the heavy representation of this research in the rest of the present review of the literature.

> The tribe became a favourite subject for study quite early because of its romantic past. Gradually theories arose attempting to explain the apparent lack of progress of the Oglala Sioux. The real issue, White control of the reservation, was overlooked completely. Instead, every conceivable intangible cultural distinction was used to explain lack of economic, social, and educational progress of a people who

> were, to all intents and purposes, absentee landlords because of the government policy of leasing their land to Whites.[53] [emphasis ours]

From another point of view, R.W. Dunning contends that "a more meaningful way to analyze present day Indian contact society is perhaps in terms of social interaction, social sanctions and social organization rather than by accounting for cultural phenomena."[54] He discusses the Pine Tree Ojibwa, who are not generally thought of as being a society with status differentiation. His comments are thus even more relevant to a discussion of the North West Coast.

> Present day society is made up of both the descendants of the high status and the low status persons, and consequently a discussion of present society must take into account these people, who were closely integrated into the status system as well as those who were less interested and perhaps less successful.[55]
>
> In consequence therefore of these two phenomena, a differentiated traditional society as a differential in the degree of acculturation or adjustment of individual persons or groups in the modern world, assumptions about society deriving from a so-called homogeneous aboriginal unit are inadequate.
>
> A further disadvantage in viewing the Indian population unit as a unit of culture lies in the implicit assumption that the national socio-economic system is internally differentiated in a horizontal (e.g., various ethnic groups including Indians and Eskimo, etc.) rather than a vertical (individual) way. This would tend to reify the Indian population into a unified entity when perhaps it is merely a segment of the larger society.

> If, however, we think in terms of social interaction and structural-cultural systems, a rather different view of the population emerges. According to Aberle et al. society is 'a group of human beings sharing a self-sufficient system of action which is capable of existing longer than the life-span of an individual, the group being recruited at least in part by the sexual reproduction of the members.' And further, the authors list the functional prerequisites to a society as: (a) provision for adequate relationship to the environment and for sexual recruitment, (b) role differentiation and role assignment, (c) communication, (d) shared cognitive orientation, (e) a shared, articulated set of goals, (f) the normative regulation of means, (g) the regulation of affective expression, (h) socialization, (i) the effective control of disruptive forms of 'behavior' (1950).[56]

Dunning says that the Pine Tree Ojibwa do not qualify, under this definition. Since it is our contention that Alert Bay also does not qualify as a society,[57] we will follow him in his discussion. We shall abridge his quotation of Leighton's concept of the Collection as follows:

> In the Collection there is by definition no sociocultural integration. Instead there are numbers of individuals occupying the same geographical area having nonpatterned encounters with each other. Such unity as exists is based on sharing physical space, on frequency of interaction (even if unpatterned), and on the absence of current membership in any of the communities that may lie adjacent to the collection. The boundaries, in short, are largely boundaries of exclusion.
>
> ....
>
> The main point it is desired to make is probably self-evident--namely, that in a Collection there are circumstances conducive

to psychiatric disorder. Children born in a Collection would have a sociocultural environment in which they could develop basic urges, unconscious processes, cognition, and affect into coherent sets of sentiments, and hence there would be defect in personality formation.

....

The position of spontanaeity is equivocal. In some respects the situation would be conducive to this trend in personality since there would be no conventional barriers to any form of originality of expression. On the other hand, there would not be a cultural heritage to provide inducements and guide lines for the definition of objects. There might be opportunity enough for the expression of spontaneous physical activity, but little for progressive and developmental spontanaeity of thought.[58]

Dunning continues as follows:

If it appears logical to conclude that this population isolate is neither a cultural unit nor a social entity, then how can it be conceptualized? The most fruitful approach might be to consider it as a part or sub-system of the national socio-economic or structural-cultural system. My hypothesis therefore is that much of the behavior of the Indians in the contact situation though judged or pre-judged by others to be Indian behavior, is in fact normal behavior of the class (in the national socio-economic system) in which the actors are.[59]

Judging from their extremely marginal economic status, it is therefore my hypothesis that this grouping is more closely identifiable with lower class behavioral patterns of the national society, whose identity otherwise is merely based on a permanent legal attachment (registered with Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa) to Indian band land.[60]

We will return to a discussion of Dunning's hypothesis in the light of our data on Alert Bay.

Another continuum of acculturation has been proposed by George Spindler and Louise Spindler.[61] Although they take membership of their five categories primarily "on the basis of religious identification and participation,"[62] and then proceed to psychological dimensions of the persons in each category, it is interesting to examine these categories for a possible comparison with the Alert Bay situation.

The first category, in a progression from least to most acculturated, is called the Native-oriented. This group is said to most clearly resemble the traditional Menomini in attitudes and behavior. The second group, the Peyote Cult, are said to be a special category of the transitional group in that their activities are a response to the White influence, but in a very nativistic form. The Transitional category consists of those persons who have taken part in both native-oriented and Catholic activities marginally, but are not clearly identified with either. The Lower Status Acculturated are persons who are marginally Catholic with no participation in native activities. The Elite acculturated group is composed of persons who are active in the Catholic Church and belong to a high prestige Indian - White Church group. Spindler states "that certain items indicative of status

in Western culture are very highly associated with the posited continuum of segments..."[63] That is, there is a relationship between acculturation and socio-economic status. This situation will be discussed further in the light of Alert Bay data.

As we have stated earlier, many authors have looked at the Indians' economic problems as resulting from lack of preparation for employment or education. That education is a problem in Indian communities is indicated by the fact that a special study has been done on grade failure in Federal Indian schools.[64] In Grade One from ten to seventeen percent of the students failed in 1965. The totals for grades one to four ranged from twenty-five percent in Manitoba, to forty-five percent in British Columbia. An average of forty-three percent of girls, and forty-nine percent of boys enrolled in grade six across Canada were behind the grade in school for their age, some by as many as five years. Seventy-one percent of the children have failed by grade four in British Columbia. Thirty-nine percent of the children in British Columbia are said to fail because they are "slow learners" and seven percent because of a language handicap. The author states that,

> Failure rate attributed to the language handicap factor is comparatively lower than

> would be expected from a school population where sixty percent of pupils come from non-English speaking homes or homes with limited English command.[65]

Thus, the problems in Indian education are severe.[66]

One thesis that has had much influence in a discussion of education for minority groups is that of "cultural deprivation." Riessman identifies five characteristics of the culturally deprived, as follows:

1. The lack of an "educational tradition" in the home, few books, etc.
2. Insufficient language and reading skills.
3. Inadequate motivation to pursue a long-range educational career, and poor estimate of self.
4. Antagonism toward the school, the teacher.
5. Poor health, improper diet, frequent moving, and noisy, TV-ridden homes.[67]

From this vantage of the things the child lacks that the school expects, Riessman goes on to discuss what changes can be made in the schools to improve the learning process. However, this does not take into account what the child has learned in the home. A more useful approach is to recognize that the child is "culturally different" and to know wherein this difference lies, and begin the process of education "where the child is" rather than where the teacher wishes he were.

An attempt is being made to identify and find solutions to this problem. At the 16th Annual General Meeting of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee,

"it was suggested the greatest barriers to the Indian pupil's educational progress may be deeper and more subtle than inferiority in ability or intellectual capacity." The report goes further to state:

> In order to improve the educational life of the Indian child, it is necessary to recognize there is a difference in Indian and non-Indian values, attitudes, and way of life, and that one is not necessarily better than the other.... In addition, there is a great need that teachers and teachers-in-training be provided with accurate, adequate information on Indians.[68]

As stated in this report, undoubtedly a large part of the problem in Indian education can be attributed to the attitudes of the teacher. A study done by Harvard psychologist Robert Rosenthal shows the effect of teacher attitude on pupil performance. Students from kindergarten to grade five were given intelligence tests. The following September teachers were told that five or six of the students in their class (who had been chosen randomly by Rosenthal) would be 'spurters' and would progress rapidly. At the end of the year the designated students had made rapid strides, with increases on an IQ test from fifteen to twenty-seven points. The teachers described them as "happier than the other children, more curious, more affectionate and having a better chance of being successful in later life." And yet the only difference between these and the other students was the

teacher's attitude toward them.[69]

Numerous studies have shown the effect of the teachers' attitudes on the education of Indian children. For example, Ruth Hill Useem says,

> The value system of the teachers stems from middle-class White ideals and often clashes with the orientation of the students. Thus teachers stress cleanliness, the ideal sex standard of the Whites, honesty, ambition, hard work, saving money, competition and aggressiveness, time-consciousness, proper grammar and English, and from their students expect (although they seldom get) quick responses and immediate conformance to requests. Most of the teachers have little insight into the Sioux child, his cultural background, his dilemmas, and his aspirations.[70]

In a theory they entitle Cultural Disharmony, Wax et al state:

> To children reared in a conservative Indian fashion, the atmosphere of a normal, American school is painful, incomprehensible, and even immoral; whereas, to teachers of (normal) lower-middle class American background, the behavior of these students is often undisciplined, lacking in scholarly initiative, and even immoral.

This study, "Formal Education in An American Indian Community," focussed on the school in the community. They have examined teachers, students, parents and community interaction. Their summary is of particular relevance to a study of Alert Bay.

> Isolation--lack of communication, social distance--is the cardinal factor in the problem of Indian Education on the Pine

> Ridge Reservation. Because the isolation affects so many contexts--the community as a whole, the school within the community, the pupil within the classroom, and the teacher within the education system--its effect is greatly intensified.[72]

A more recent study of the Pine Ridge Sioux asks "is it fair to expect the schools to counteract all of the negative aspects of the socio-economic milieu?"[73] They go on to exhort Indian parents to take more interest in their children's education, and teachers to learn about the students and use more realistic examples in teaching.

A study of scholastic failure and personality of the Pine Ridge Sioux students concludes that the concept of alienation is the key to an understanding of these students who are underachievers or drop outs.[74]

A study involving administration of several psychological tests to Canadian Indians and Eskimos as follows:

> Our first major finding in the variation of scores (relative to English standard) on different tests, even on tests which might superficially seem to be 'culture fair.' It is impossible to infer that these aboriginal groups differ in genetic general intelligence from Whites....At the same time, while the most serious deficiencies occur in individual vocabulary, arithmetic and several of the Piaget concept-development and the verbal creativity tests, where linguistic difficulties are obviously operating, it would be equally unjustifiable to claim that these groups have the same educational and vocational potential as Whites. The whole

> pattern of their culture, including health conditions, isolation from and suspicion or apathy towards intellectual stimulation, the stress on immediate gratification and generosity rather than internalized controls and planning, and the lack of any clear and worthwhile vocational future, all combine to reduce their effective intelligence....[75]

A.D. Fisher in a study of Indian education, refers to the school system as a ritual for passage into an urban, middle-class world.

> In conclusion, these studies show that the expanded educational opportunities for Canadian Indians are not really opportunities at all. For what the school offers is an irrelevant set of values and training. Moreover, the school often comes into direct conflict with certain moral and cultural values of the student. Thus, it is the educational system that fails the student and not the student who fails the system. In trying to be a good and successful Indian, the Indian student must often be a bad and unsuccessful student.[76]

The foregoing discussion of the literature on Indian education has not been exhaustive, but has rather tried to point out the main areas of concern. That there are differences between the school and the Indian home is evident. A look at the specific differences will be instructive. In <u>A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada</u>, a contrast is drawn between the Indian child's situation and that of the White middle-class child. The author states that in Indian housing there is over crowding, lack of privacy, scarcity of furniture,

sometimes the house is dirty, often unattractive, unpainted and uncared for. They indicate that food is generally inadequate for good nutrition, and that clothing is generally insufficient and in poor condition. With regard to objects, they state that there are

> few toys; sometimes T.V.; seldom books or magazines available for child to read; sometimes records available; seldom any use of scissors, crayons and paste in making objects for play; meagre household furniture and objects useable for variety of experiences.[77]

The statement by Hawthorn et al. on the psychological environment of the Indian child is applicable to Alert Bay and worth quoting at length.

> Any child who is deprived of stimulation is likely to be deficient in development of various abilities. Indian children do receive stimulation but the variety is limited to a narrow spectrum in comparison with that available to most non-Indian children. Such deprivation has an effect on perception, attention span, patterns of learning and relationships with adults who normally provide corrective feedback, set up expectations for task completion, rewards and punishment and who provide reinforcement in a variety of ways. The language-symbolic system is also dependent on relationships with adults. Attitudes and set toward learning are established through interaction with adults from infancy on. Indian and non-Indian children have different psychological environments....At age of mobility child is considered a person and left relatively free to create and explore his own environment. He develops a sense of independency and autonomy. He has limited stimulation and feedback from adults.
>
> Parents have little background in formal education and are not oriented, nor do they have

time to teach their children specific skills. Little time is spent on teaching the child to walk and talk; some time may be spent in encouraging child to imitate father or mother in activities related to life on the reserve.

Conversation between child and adults limited; questions often answered in monosyllables; custom sometimes demands silence from children in presence of adults; English spoken by adults often inaccurate in vocabulary. Some children have the opportunity to hear stories and folk tales which have colorful image and language. No one reads to the child.

Child is permitted to do things which interest him when he is ready. Seldom is he rewarded or punished for specific learning attempts although he receives approval when he does the task correctly after trial and error learning. Time is not a factor; he can take all morning to get dressed if he needs it. If child attempts a task and can't complete it, he is not urged to stay with it.

Routines are flexible and often non-existent. Meals are served on demand; bedtimes vary with sleepiness and family activity. Life is adult-centered and child is fitted.

Discipline is primarily protective and loose. Seldom is child punished. Age-graded behavioural expectations are minimal in early childhood; as child grows older, he is ridiculed if he fails to meet expectations but he has plenty of leeway. The concept of autonomy allows him his own decisions.

Children often involved in economic routines and pursuits of parents which sometimes mean frequent mobility for seasonal labour, babysitting while mother works, helping on fishboats, and with fruit picking. Illness of mother often means older siblings care for whole family; economic level of reserve may involve children in wood and water hauling and similar tasks.

Family patterns: Often unstable and father may be absent for long periods of time; in some cases, there is a great deal of conflict and disruption within the home; drunken periods may mean children are left on their own for days at a time; care of children tends to diminish with periods of drinking.[78]

We will turn here to an examination of the family. Many of the authors cited here have given attention to the family, including George Spindler, Louise Spindler, Wax, et al., Maynard and Twiss, and Hawthorn. A more specific study of the family posed the problem of "whether the persistence over time of some adult personality characteristics, or the change in others, can be traced to personality formation in childhood."[79] It is mainly Boggs' method we are interested in at this point. He postulated four types of behavior on the basis of previous studies of the Ojibwa and theoretical formulations, and then observed and recorded parent child interactions, and coded them according to his scheme. He found that interactions in the less acculturated homes more nearly approximated those patterns posited for the traditional personality. We do not have specific data to compare with Boggs' rather fuzzy categories, but feel that his method suggests possibilities for a more objective study of development.

In summary, we have examined those areas of Indian life that are of most concern to students, as expressed in the literature. This material provides useful insights for a study of interaction, social life, and the development of identity in Alert Bay.

IV. Institutional Analyses of Pacific Northwest Coast Indian Behavior

The Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast, from California to Alaska, form a culture area. The main difference between these tribes and other Indian tribes are, first of all, that they had a very rich environment, which made acquiring the necessities of life relatively easy. This led to a second factor, the very complex social development and proliferation of arts and crafts. Thirdly, there was far more status differentiation than among most other tribes. Because of the similarities in the culture area, many of the institutional analyses are of the area rather than of specific tribes.

La Violette says of his work:

> The emphasis in this study has been on the processes of institutional origin. It is well known that in areas where significant cultural change is under way, there is considerable personal disorganization which can also contribute to institutional organization and development.[80]

He examines the lack of treaties with British Columbia Indians, and the legal battles this has involved. Because of this differential situation, reserves in British Columbia were allocated on the basis of what land was being used, rather than on an "acres per capita" basis. The

Indians generally have small scattered reserves of very little economic value, and feel strongly in some cases that they have not been paid for lands ceded.

La Violette also examines very carefully the disagreement between the Indians and the government over the Potlach Law. In his examination of The Struggle for Survival, he concludes that the lack of a viable economic base on the reserves, and the breakdown of the Potlach as a force for social cohesion, is the basis of the Indian problem today. He expresses some optimism that Indian organizations are having an effect in unifying the Indians and providing them with a modern mode of identity, but in this he is basing his opinion on interviews with Indian leaders, and does not examine the effect of these organizations on the many Indians who take no active part in pan-Indianism. Although there is some reason to believe these organizations may one day involve more of the Indian people, there has been little evidence of change in the decade since La Violette examined the situation.

Another comprehensive study of the Indians of the province is that of Hawthorn, et al.[81] They have done a thorough survey of the Indians of British Columbia, and have made recommendations as to changes in policy regarding Indians. Their study is useful as an overview of Indian

life, and for comparisons between different tribal areas.

A thesis by Thompson[82] on the employment problems of the Indians examines statistics and the effects of prejudice and lack of education on Indian economic status. The emphasis on education by Hawthorn and Thompson as a factor in the economic situation is expressed by other authors in a more specific examination of the school system as it affects Indians.

Lester Peterson, in an examination of Indian education in British Columbia, states that part of the problem in the schools is one of the language. Of the older Indians, five percent cannot speak English, and five percent of children learn no English at home, while seventy-five percent of the children speak their own language. He examines the history of Indian education in British Columbia, and predicts that the policy of integration which started in 1951, will have an ameliorative effect on the situation.[83]

Barbara Lane examines "the education of Indian children." She examines the poor school record of Indian children, and examines some of the causes. Some of the causes not exclusive to Indians are poverty, with ill health, alcoholism, family instability and emotional stress, and cultural deprivation. It is useful to examine

some of the cultural factors involved.

> The first six years of the white child's life are preparation for school, whereas the Indian child's training has fostered qualities almost diametrically opposed to those desired in the grade one classroom.
>
> In the first year of school the teacher is concerned with socializing the child to school routine--teaching him to be prompt, attentive, and obedient--to hear instructions the first time and to follow them immediately....
>
> The Indian traditionally operates from quite different premises. Each individual--regardless of age--is regarded as a separate and inviolable entity. The notion of allowing or prohibiting another individual to do something is quite alien--and frequently incomprehensible. Child training involves a minimum of restraints and directives--and an effort is made by parents and siblings to accommodate to the comfort and desires of new members of the family.
>
> The white child is told what to do and what not to do--'for his own good.' In his early years he is supervised and protected. The Indian youngster is allowed pretty free rein to explore, to experiment, and to learn by error: His training involves more personal risk, but results in greater self-reliance, resourcefulness, and independence of thought and action. Unfortunately for the Indian child, independence of thought and action are the last things desired of him in the grade one classroom.[34]

Lane goes on to discuss language. She says that even if the child has learned English at home, he may not have learned the standard dialect used in the school.

> Indians do not particularly admire loquaciousness--conversation for conversation's sake--and an Indian family can quite companionably spend long hours together with little being said. As a consequence, Indian children have far less experience in listening to speech or in verbally expressing themselves than do their non-Indian schoolmates. There is also evidence that some Indian children find the constant speech of their

> teachers and classmates distracting and fatiguing--and periodically 'tune out' to avoid what to them is an intolerable ear-battering.[85]

Lane states that because of their limited use of language, the ability of Indian children is often under-rated by their teachers, and that this often creates a self-fulfilling prophecy. Because the children come to school ill-equipped--or equipped with the wrong skills, they find school demoralizing. Because the child has few models who have benefitted from education, he is not encouraged to continue his education.

Wolcott, in a study of one of the underlying Kwakiutl villages, presents contemporary ethnographic material, as well as a comprehensive study of education in Blackfish Village, the relationships between the parents and the school, the students in the school, and an assessment of educational needs in a cross-cultural setting. His work is essential for any student of the Kwakiutl, and of immense value to anyone interested in Indian education. He states that his original research problem was "to investigate what it is about village life that makes Indian pupils so refractive to formal education and why Indian pupils fail in school."[86] As his study progressed, he asked the complementary question, "How do schools fail their Indian pupils?"[87] He concludes as follows:

> Members of the dominant society charged with instructing ethnically--different pupils may recognize that their challenge is not usually stated in terms that imply that the school is also part of the problem in the education of minorities....Instead of placing upon the teacher the responsibility for changing a people's whole way of life, it asks the teacher to focus his effort on his own classroom.[88]

In another recent study of an isolated Kwakiutl village, Rohner has presented a comprehensive ethnography of a contemporary village, with particular emphasis on education. He states that the major problems of the Indian in education are

> (1) the cultural context of the children which is inconsistent with the assumptions of the Canadian-American educational system, and (2) the teachers and their relationship with members of the community.[89]

In connection with the first factor, he draws the following comparison between family and school:

TABLE I.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIAL-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF CHILDREN AND EXPECTATIONS OF SCHOOL [90]

SOCIAL-CULTURAL BACKGROUND	SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS
Time units not important	Time units important (punctuality assumes a moral value)
Little formal structure	School structured
Permissive	Authoritarian

Language: Kwakwala and English	Language: English
Learn by observation, manipulation, and experimentation	Learn through language skills including verbal instruction
Forms of aggression rewarded	Aggression punished
Independence rewarded	Compliance rewarded

We will make extensive use of the work of both Wolcott and Rohner in this paper for purposes of correction, confirmation, and comparison between Alert Bay and outlying villages.

There are no specific studies on the Kwakiutl family to date, although both Wolcott and Rohner present a great deal of information on family life. A study on childhood in a Coast Salish village by Joanne Schriver and Eleanor Leacock gives a great deal of useful information on family life in the area. The authors were part of a research team studying various aspects of life among the Harrison Lake Indians prior to 1949.[91] They visited alone with the children of these families, as has been done in the present study. The major emphasis in their report, as has been noted of studies mentioned earlier, is that Indian parents are generally very fond of their children, very warm, very indulgent, very casual, and very non-directive, from the perspective of the observers.[92]

Part of the problem arising from indulgent, casual,

non-directive parents, especially those parents with little knowledge of nutrition, is that children from Indian families often suffer from malnutrition, even though the aboriginal diet has been analyzed and certified as nutritionally adequate.[93]

A study of the diet of children in Alert Bay revealed that both Indian and non-Indian school children suffered some dietary deficiencies. The Indian children were lower in two essential nutrients and higher than the white children in two. Both groups were "below the Canadian standard"[94] in Vitamin A and calcium intake. Since the author contends that nutrient intake is probably lower than the figures presented in the study, due to overestimation, it is obvious that family leniency and lack of information is to some extent responsible for malnutrition, and the consequent proclivity to illness, school absenteeism, and poor school performance noted in previous studies.

Edwin Lemert, in a comprehensive study of the use of alcohol among the Northwest Coast Indians,[95] presents the thesis, first of all, that because the Indians are not able to spend surplus cash meaningfully due to the demise of the Potlach, they spend it on alcohol. Secondly, he says that those members of the community who are

traditional "chiefs" are unable to drink with the "commoners" without losing status, and that they are expected by their people to maintain traditional decorum. This has particular relevance to the present study of identity in that it clearly indicates the different social position of the chief, even in the contemporary situation, and will be discussed further in the light of information obtained from a chief's family during field work.

Another problem, closely related to that of the abuse of alcohol is that of accidental deaths. The Indians of Canada generally have a higher mortality rate than that of whites. In 1959 accidental death was the leading cause of mortality among British Columbia Indians. Since 1952 either accidents or pneumonias have been the leading cause of death in this group. From 1957 to 1959, the accidental death rate was five times as high for Indians as for whites. "In 1959, in the age group one to thirty-nine, accidents claimed more lives of British Columbia Indians than all other causes combined."[96]

Drowning was the principal cause of Indian accidental deaths in 1959, and was responsible for twenty-eight percent of the total. Of these drownings, 46.4% occurred in the age group one to nineteen. Motor vehicle accidents ranked second with eighteen percent; and

house fires and burns, third, with seventeen percent, and of these, two-thirds were children from one to nine. Although Indians were only two percent of the population of the province, they contributed ten percent to accidental deaths, 19.4% to deaths due to drowning, and 20.5% to deaths due to house fires and burns. The author concludes as follows:

> We have little doubt that the high accidental death rates of the Indian population of British Columbia, complex as the causative mechanisms may be, are first and foremost related to below average educational, economic and social standard, and to a much lesser degree, if at all, to racial factors. Whatever the cause, there is no doubt in our minds that we are dealing here with an "accident prone" ethnic group, who, although a relatively small population segment contribute a substantial percentage of the total accident mortality of the Province.[97]

Heather Robertson, in a journalistic account of Indian life, contends that the accidental deaths of Indians are in many cases actually passive suicide.

> A person can drink himself to death, and he can also use alcohol as a means of assisting himself to a more direct, quicker form of suicide. There is only a slight difference between a person who throws himself under a train and one who becomes so paralyzingly drunk in the middle of a railway track that he would be killed if a train comes along. Menninger calls this second type "indirect suicide."[98]

Rohner makes the same point:

> The rate of accidental deaths through drowning may not be so high as reported.... This is true to the extent that suicide takes

> the form of drowning.
>
> [An informant said that] ...his father had been drowned as had his father's father, and so would he, probably. Continuing, he said that his half-brother probably wanted to die at the time of his drowning. The latter had "fallen" overboard five times shortly before the final incident.[99]

This brings us to a discussion of social control as it operates in a contemporary Indian community. As an introduction to this discussion, we will step outside the culture area and proceed with a quote from R.W. Dunning.

> Social Sanctions. Sanctions might be considered as of two types, external and internal. The first would consist of supervisory controls exercised by the Indian superintendent as general administrator including band council meetings, government school teacher in the form of educational discipline and instruction which extends into the area of values and moral behavior; the clergyman whose advice would be in the same direction; police supervision including occasional visits from RCMP representatives to attend dances and generally control potentially illegal behavior; the game warden exercising jurisdiction over fishing regulations; senior Indian Affairs Branch officials with welfare workers who admonish the people to raise their moral and health standard; and finally in the event of police court proceedings the supervision of the magistrate and court social workers who "treat us like children." In general therefore the characteristic external sanction is one of paternalistic control superimposed on the band population by non-Indian persons, in addition to personal contact by administrators toward a few individual persons.
>
> Internal sanctions would consist of indigenous informal controls on the individual by fellow band members. In this area there appear to be few sanctions which are operative. Several times during fieldwork persons spoke in

a derogatory way against another to the ethnographer. They would complain that they could do nothing and the chief and councillors were either away from the reserve or did not want to question anyone's behavior for fear of losing popularity. There appeared to be few occasions except random meeting in the shops or meeting for the ferry when adult peers would meet socially or otherwise at which time the use of gossip and discussion could become operative as sanctions to individual behavior.[100]

Wolcott describes social control as follows:

> The indigenous and informal means of social control effective within the village do not ignore either the formal organization of the band council or the external sources of control like the RCMP. Villagers did confer with the chief councillor, particularly to complain about other villagers. Threats to "tell the chief" rolled as easily off some tongues as threats to "tell the agent" or to "call the cops" even in intrafamily squabbles. Such threats are usually, although not always, idle ones.
>
> Gossip, subtler and less dramatic than a spoken threat, is a more pervasive and more important mechanism of social control among villagers. Gossip is the consequence of misbehavior, and uneasiness and worry are the consequences of gossip.[101]

Rohner goes deeper into the dynamics of social control in Gilford:

> An indication of the effectiveness of control mechanisms within the village is found in the fact that outside intervention is seldom sought. Problems of conflict and deviance are manageable within the village through standardized control mechanisms. The interaction process itself is one of the most powerful mechanisms of social control.
>
> A sense of security and insignificantly, identity among most of the villagers is firmly anchored within the village. Because of this sense of identity and security within the village, special control devices are not usually

> needed. In the first place, through a long socialization period individuals have internalized most of the normative standards in such a way that they are able to evaluate the behavior of others and to agree that a norm has been violated, and similarly the offender is aware of the legitimacy of the evaluation against him. For most members of the village, the community has become the primary reference group, that is, the group with which they identify themselves and in relation to which they think about themselves. Through this reference group an individual establishes his frames-of-reference through which perceptions, experiences, and ideas about himself are ordered. To this extent members of the village are in a position to give positive social rewards and punitive sanctions. Any threat to one's position within this system, such as the withdrawal of acceptance, favorable recognition, or approval, poses a personal threat to the individual....It is often communicated to the individual through such media as gossip, indirect criticism, and constrained social relations. Shame--and guilt--control techniques are also used.[102]

We will show, in a discussion based on our data, that this method of social control is less effective in the Alert Bay situation.

We will turn now to a discussion of the bases of social identity. Frederica de Laguna, in an article entitled "Tlinglit Ideas About the Individual," examines concepts of the soul, the body, the supernatural self, life after death, reincarnation, and the social self. We will examine her remarks on the social self.

> The social aspect of the Tlinglit individual is defined by his place is moiety, sib, and lineage; his social status or being is in part revealed, in part determined, by the names,

> ordinary or honorable, that he bears. Rank is important and is expressed by a variety of terms....
>
> Social status depends not only upon ancestry, but upon the actions of one's living relatives, especially in giving potlaches or feasts at which one is honored; it also depends upon one's own actions, character, and fortune. Industry, intelligence, good luck in amassing wealth, generosity towards others, forbearance "kindness" are all marks of the aristocrat. Their possession or attainment may raise a man of mediocre ancestry in public esteem and in social status, so that he may even become a chief. Conversely, laziness, quarrelsomeness, arrogance, and stinginess debase a person of unblemished descent, as would, in former times, capture or enslavement without subsequent reinstatement through a potlach, or becoming so poor that one was dependent upon the charity of others....Lying, stealing, unjustified homicide, intimate association between sib or moiety "brothers and sisters,"...and witchcraft, all bring disgrace not only upon the guilty individual but upon all his relatives. Good looks, physical strength and endurance, courage, wit, eloquence, skill in hunting, in crafts and in composing songs, expertness as a dancer or singer, etc., are all admired personal qualities by which individuals are distinguished.[103]

This has relevance for our understanding of the development of social identity. In a study of Village migrations of the Kwakiutl, Peter Pineo states that there is preferential marriage, amalgamation, and migration between villages which were close in the potlach ranking system. More persons from the top tribes have migrated to Alert Bay, and they participate more equally in social interaction. He presents evidence of social discrimination by the "Nimpkish" against people from tribes low in the

potlach order. He says of an informant, "she said no one outside of the native population could be expected to distinguish between (the criminal element) and the genuine Nimpkish and lay the blame where it should be."[104]

In his comments on the autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl chief who lives in Alert Bay, James Spradley discusses the problem of identity. His comments are worth quoting at length.

> Missions, schools, and Indian agent all began to exert a powerful influence upon the Kwakiutl, and with their introduction, the Europeans, because of their status and power, became an important reference group. An Indian's very life came to depend upon how seriously he considered the White man's evaluation of Kwakiutl practices. Individual Kwakiutl had maintained their sense of identity and well-being from the knowledge that their values, beliefs and behavior were appropriate and were thus recognized by other members of the society. Since the Kwakiutl shared the same cultural definition of the situation, there had been a high degree of concensus on such matters. But now they began to experience culture conflict as European attitudes came to be considered significant. The Europeans, on the other hand, did not feel their culture was being called into question even though it was to some degree scorned and disapproved of by the Kwakiutl, because they were politically, numerically, and technologically in control of the contact situation. This conflict, which James Sewid experienced along with the rest of his people, may be considered in three areas of life.
>
> First, the Europeans held a stereotyped definition of the Indian as inferior....It posed a constant threat to the Indians' sense of identity and security and was one of the reasons for Indian avoidance of Whites. While some Indians accepted this loss of status and respect or sought escape from the resultant anxiety, others denied or rationalized the loss. Both in action and thought, James Sewid sought to

understand and correct this definition of the Indian.

Second, James Sewid was confronted with different beliefs, practices, and values which Whites considered good for everyone. A great many features of his own culture were condemned as evil. This seriously called into question the daily behavior of the individual and further undermined his security and positive sense of identity....Role expectations and the use of money and material possessions were the most significant and illustrate this conflict.

An important function of every human culture is to structure interpersonal relationships so that interactions between members of the society become predictable as a result of the shared definitions of cultural roles....

....

The roles an individual enacts within any society may be assigned to him at birth or they may be achieved through some action. Most roles in Kwakiutl society tended to be assigned on the basis of sex and birth order, whereas roles in White society were based largely on achievement....

As these differences in role definitions began to pervade the life of the Kwakiutl, anxiety, stress, and insecurity became part of every human interaction. The traditional basis of village and tribal membership was torn between the criteria of kinship and a vote by village members....

....

The third area of life where James Sewid experienced culture conflict resulted from his activities directed toward the achievement of Western goals....He found the pursuit of Western goals for himself and the Indian community a difficult venture. Not only were these goals foreign to his Kwakiutl heritage, but pursuing them meant conflict with more tradition-oriented Kwakiutl.

James Sewid did not adapt to culture conflict by being committed to Kwakiutl values to the exclusion of Western values. He did not reject his traditional heritage and move into the dominant society, nor did he seek to escape from the conflict through passive withdrawal from the goal-directed activities of both cultures in spite of the contradictions in these two ways of life. Although he was more Western-oriented and

> participated in Western institutions more than most other Kwakiutl, at the same time he was more committed to the traditional culture and social institutions than many of his peers. His way of adapting to the conflict was to become <u>bicultural</u>.[105]

James Sewid's autobiography is essential to any study of the contemporary Kwakiutl, and especially to a study of identity. Here again, in a study of a leader, we will be able to examine the differential development of identity between "chiefs" and commoners. As Spradley stated, James Sewid has been very active in maintaining traditional culture, and his efforts have not always been appreciated by other Indians. His oldest daughter expresses this from her own point of view.

> I had never taken much interest in the traditions or culture of my own people. Now I began to listen to the old people. I had my father's example in front of me. He had always been active in work to help our people and he encouraged me.
>
> These last few years we have really been studying how to help our people improve themselves and their living conditions, how to help them understand the non-Indians and the non-Indians understand us.
>
> I think the schools are perhaps the most important way....[106]
>
> Of course, not all our people agree with what we believe in. We run up against suspicion, just as the non-Indians do, because they think we have sold out to the Whites.[107]

In summary, we have examined in this section the various analyses, and information available on the Pacific

Northwest Coast Indians, and specifically on the Kwakiutl, and especially, that information bearing on development of identity in a contemporary Kwakiutl Village. We will make use of this information, after presenting our data, for a discussion of the problems confronting the modern Indian.

V. Sources of Social Psychological Concepts on the Development of Identity

In this section we will proceed first with a brief discussion of the social psychology of George Herbert Mead as it relates to our thesis. We will then examine more recent authors whose work is directly relevant to those of Mead's concepts we will be using to elucidate social processes in Alert Bay.

> Mead adds little or nothing to the corpus of facts of the social sciences as determined by distinctive methods of investigation; to the ideational and conceptual structure he adds much.[108]

One of the first aspects of Mead's work we will examine is that of language and communication.

> There is a question whether in identifying mind with the operation of symbols it must be held that such symbols are all language symbols of a social-vocal origin. If this is not so there may be individual aspects of mind in men and animals that do not come within the scope of Mead's terminology.

Mead argues that there is a progression in social intercourse from non-significant to significant symbols in communication:

> According to this view, conscious communication develops out of unconscious communication within the social process; conversation in terms of significant gestures out of conversation in terms of non-significant gestures; and the development in such a fashion of conscious communication is coincident with the development of minds and selves within the social process.[110]

But Mead was not thinking in terms of any but his own culture, with its exaggerated emphasis on words on books on defining every symbol verbally. What is the situation in a culture where symbols are accepted without being defined, where verbal communication plays a lesser role in the transactions of the community? Mead's view that "the development of minds and selves within the social process"[111] is perhaps an overstatement in the context of Alert Bay. Since conscious communication is limited, in the Indian population, largely to those of the Indian population, we can assume that in some way the social process is limited as well, in that it is less varied than that extant in Western culture.

What then does Mead say about the social process and its relationship to the development of minds and selves? First of all, the basic unit of the social process is the gesture. The social act, made up of a series of gestures,

or truncated acts is the process of adjustment of one actor to another. These gestures include the inner attitude of the actor making them.

When the gesture means the idea behind it, and this arouses the same meaning in the other actor, then it is a significant symbol. The social gesture, when it is a significant symbol, becomes "language." The gesture makes possible adjustment of the actors involved. When the gesture has the same meaning for both it facilitates adjustment, because the actor attaches the same meaning to his gesture as do his co-actors, and he is then conscious of their attitude toward his gesture, and is able to modify future behavior in the light of this knowledge.

> The internalization in our experience of the external conversation of gestures which we carry on with other individuals in the social process is the essence of thinking; and the gestures thus internalized are significant symbols because they have the same meanings for all individual members of the given society or social group, i.e., they respectively arouse the same attitudes in the individuals making them that they arouse in the individual responding to them: otherwise the individual could not internalize them or be conscious of them in their meaning.[112]

We cannot assume that gestures have the same meaning for Indian and non-Indian in Alert Bay. Aside from the fact that there is interaction, and business is done, the attitudes toward the transaction are not necessarily the same. In our discussion of language we will discuss

the fact that words do not mean the same thing to the Indian and the White. But there are aspects of behavioral interaction where great differences in meaning and attitude are also evident. Although Indian and White are engaged in a conversation of gestures, it is not necessarily true that these gestures are significant symbols in that they mean the same thing for both actors. Mead speaks of significant symbols as though it were an all or nothing situation, without taking into account differential socialization, and the resultant differences in meaning imputed to the gestures by people who are in interaction. This is an age old problem of the meaning of words, and their connotations, and is certainly not unique to the Indian in Alert Bay.

What is the social reference or "community" in Alert Bay? Mead says that,

> A common world exists only in so far as there is a common (group) experience....The very universality and impersonality of thought and reason is from the behaviorist standpoint the result of the given individual taking the attitudes of others toward himself, and of his finally crystallizing all these particular attitudes into a single attitude or standpoint which may be called that of the 'generalized other.' [113]

He goes on, in his discussion of the social foundations and functions of thought and communication, as follows:

> The very organization of the self-conscious community is dependent upon individuals taking the attitude of the other individuals. The development of this process is dependent upon getting the attitude of the group as distinct from that of a separate individual--getting what I have termed a 'generalized other'.... In so far as a man takes the attitude of one individual in the group, he must take it in its relationship to the action of the other members of the group; and if he is to fully adjust himself, he would have to take the attitudes of all involved in the process. The degree, of course, to which he can do that is restrained to his capacity, but still in any intelligent processes we are able sufficiently to take the roles of those involved in the activity to make our own action intelligent. The degree to which the life of the whole community can get into the self-conscious life of the separate individuals varies enormously. You cannot build up a society out of elements that lie outside of the individual's life-processes. You have to presuppose some sort of co-operation within which the individuals are themselves actively involved as the only possible basis for this participation in communication.[114]

Although Mead does admit at this point that the life of the society is internalized in varying degrees by individual members of the community, this discussion is in the context of the leader, and the novelist who are better able than most men to enter into the attitudes of their time. His statement about those who are less able to enter into societal attitudes is explained as follows:

> Education is definitely the process of taking over a certain organized set of responses to one's own stimulation; and until one can respond to himself as the community responds to him, he does not genuinely belong to the

> community. He may belong to a small community as the small boy belongs to a gang rather than to the city in which he lives. We all belong to small cliques, and we may remain simply inside of them. The "organized other" present in ourselves is then a community of narrow diameter....In general, the self has answered definitely to that organization of the social response which constitutes the community as such; the degree to which the self is developed depends upon the community, upon the degree to which the individual calls out that institutionalized group of responses in himself.[115]

As there is no common experience among the eighteen hundred people who live on a very small island, what is the "community," what "generalized other" can an Indian child develop? What are the social alternatives available to the Indian child? Mead says,

> In the type of temporary inhibition of action which signifies thinking, or in which reflection arises, we have presented in the experience of the individual, tentatively and in advance and for his selection among them, the different possibilities or alternatives of future action open to him within the given social situation.[116]

The "given social situation" in Alert Bay is, as we will see, a very narrow one, leaving few of the alternatives available for choice. Mead says that the form selects his environment, in that the only environment to which he responds is that which is predetermined by his sensitivity, and finds those characteristics to which he can respond. And as he "selects" certain aspects of the total environment to respond to, and adjusts to these, so

he changes the environment. Thus the Indian definition of the situation in Alert Bay is crucial.

Part of the definition of the situation involves role taking. A factor limiting the alternatives of the Indian child is his inability to take the roles of many of the people he deals with, and incorporate it into a systematic orientation. Mead says,

> It is generally recognized that the specifically social expressions of intelligence, or the exercise of what is often called the "social intelligence," depend upon the given individual's ability to take the roles of, or "put himself in the place of," the other individuals implicated with him in given social situations; and upon his consequent sensitivity to their attitudes toward himself and toward one another.[117]

> The phenomenon of dissociation of personality is caused by a breaking up of the complete, unitary self into the component selves of which it is composed, and which respectively correspond to different aspects of the social process in which the person is involved, and within which his complete or unitary self has arisen; these aspects being the different social groups to which he belongs within that process.[118]

Here Mead is assuming that the person has an awareness of his roles in different social groups. We will look at several relationships in which the Indian is involved, and examine both his ability to take the roles of specific others, and his ability to integrate these into a meaningful whole. Mead states:

> One difference between primitive human society and civilized human society is that in primitive

> human society the individual self is much more completely determined, with regard to his thinking and his behavior, by the general pattern of the organized social activity carried on by the group to which he belongs, than he is in civilized human society....In primitive society, to a far greater extent than in civilized society, individuality is constituted by the more or less perfect achievement of a given social type--a type already given, indicated or exemplified in the organized pattern of social conduct, in the integrated relational structure of the social process of experience and behavior which the given group exhibits....[119]

The Indian in Alert Bay does not see himself clearly as an Indian. What is left of his traditional culture does not give him a comprehensive world view or a set of rules and roles for dealing with the White society. Neither is he sufficiently free of traditional views to fully accept the larger society and become an acculturated "White Indian." He lives between the two worlds without any systematic orientation.

Perhaps an organization such as Red Power could give the Indian a systematic set of roles and rules so that he could see himself clearly as an Indian and as part of the larger Canadian society.

An important problem arising from this is that of social control. For Mead, social control "depends upon the degree to which the individuals in society are able to assume the attitudes of the others who are involved with them in common endeavor."[120] But the number of different

responses of different groups involves a breakdown of social control. "Any self is a social self, but it is restricted to a group whose role it assumes, and it will never abandon this self until it finds itself entering into the larger society and maintaining itself there."[121] As we will see, the Indian in Alert Bay does not feel himself a part of the larger society. Among the Indians in a homogeneous setting such as Gilford, gossip and ostracism are effective measures of social control. In Alert Bay this is the case to only a limited extent. The traditional social hierarchies have broken down so that "being ashamed" and giving a potlach to "wipe away the shame" are no longer viable methods of social control. The traditional institutions have broken down, and they have been replaced with, if anything, an incompletely conceptualized lower-class ethic. We will contend that internalized social controls with regard to the laws of the larger society, are largely lacking among the Indians in Alert Bay because it is a "community of narrow diameter."

In so far as we are subjected to less social control, and share less of the "universals" of symbolic interaction, we are less social--in terms of our interactions with others--and the development of mind and

self is correspondingly limited. Mead discusses these limitations as follows:

> Individuals differ considerably in their skill in interpreting the reactions of other persons in their effort to achieve this working relation of self to other. One basis of this difference is clearly physiological. The activity of self-consciousness is one of the most complex of mental operations and is readily impaired by a defectiveness of the nervous system. It is quick to reveal the effects of alcohol for one thing--the suppression of self-consciousness is, in fact, one of the principal bases of the appeal of alcoholic beverages.[122]

The relevance of this will be apparent in our discussion of the use of alcohol in Alert Bay.

Mead is acknowledged by all contemporary writers as having presented the most comprehensive formulation of symbolic interaction to date. The main criticism levelled at him is that he did not write a book incorporating his ideas. The information we have on Mead's work comes from posthumously published collections of his articles and students' notes from courses he taught at the University of Chicago. Bernard Meltzer, in an examination of Mead's social psychology, states that because Mead did not formulate his works, "Many of Mead's major concepts are somewhat vague and 'fuzzy,' necessitating an 'intuitive' grasp of their meaning."[123] Other criticisms are that Mead's work is not easily researchable, and that he failed

to discuss certain things. The list of his positive contributions to an understanding of human behavior is much longer!

In a review of developments in social psychology from 1937 to 1962, Manford Kuhn[124] states that since Mead, there have been only sub-theories developed in the field. There have also been no empirically testable models developed. He states that the reference group sub-theory has been the most useful to date. Shibutani identifies three meanings that have been used for the term reference groups: (1) it may be any group with which the actor is familiar; (2) it may be a group in which one wishes to participate; and (3) it may be that group "whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor."[125] Shibutani argues for the use of this third definition, and says, "In this perspective a reference group becomes any collectivity, real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor."[126] Shibutani goes on to discuss how reference groups are chosen and maintained.

> It has been suggested that choice of reference groups rests upon personal loyalty to significant others of that social world. "Significant others," for Sullivan, are those persons directly responsible for the internalization of norms. Socialization is a product of a gradual accumulation of experiences with certain people, particularly

> those with whom we stand in primary relations, and significant others are those who are actually involved in the cultivation of abilities, values, and outlook. Crucial, apparently, is the character of one's emotional ties with them. Those who think the significant others have treated them with affection and consideration have a sense of personal obligation that is binding under all circumstances, and they will be loyal even at great personal sacrifice. Since primary relations are not necessarily satisfactory, however, the reactions may be negative....
>
> Perspectives are continually subjected to the test of reality. All perception is hypothetical. Because of what is taken for granted from each standpoint, each situation is approached with a set of expectations; if transactions actually take place as anticipated, the perspective itself is reinforced. It is thus the confirming responses of other people that provide support for perspectives. But in mass societies the responses of others vary, and in the study of reference groups the problem is that of ascertaining _whose_ confirming responses will sustain a given point of view.[127]

In reference to social control, Shibutani says that it "refers not so much to deliberate influence or to coercion but to the fact that each person generally takes into account the expectations that he imputes to other people,"[128] that is, his reference group.

Kuhn, in his discussion of reference group, proposes a new term, the "orientational other," which has, he says, four defining attributes,

> (1) The term refers to the others to whom the individual is most fully, broadly and basically committed, emotionally and psychologically;

(2) it refers to the others who have provided him with his general vocabulary, including his most basic and crucial concepts and categories;
(3) it refers to the others who have provided and continue to provide him with his categories of self and other and with the the meaningful roles to which such assignments refer;
(4) it refers to the others in communication with whom his self-conception is basically sustained and/or changed.[129]

> It [the study of the orientational other] would attempt to study the processes by which the self is formed and sustained and to discover if there are regularities in the relation between orientational other and the self which can account for the discrepancies between regularities and social system and the phenomena of individual behavior. It would afford the opportunity for inquiry regarding the possible relation between absence or diversity of orientational others and disoriented behavior.
> ....One has a history in his relations with his orientational others, but he has only spent abstract time in his social categories. When his reference categories have "come alive" for him, they have done so in terms of vivid role events vis-a-vis his orientational others.[130]

Both Shibutani and Kuhn were unhappy with the confusion in the concept of reference group. Both have arrived at a similar concept, Shibutani by excluding alternate meanings from the term "reference group," and Kuhn by devising a new term for the concept. We will stay with Shibutani's term, including Kuhn's formulation on what is essentially the same concept.

It is our contention that reference groups in Alert Bay have two dimensions. One is Indian-White and the

second is Middle Class - Lower Class. In this connection we will present Rohner's classification of Kwakiutl according to orientation.

> Subsisting-oriented is not used in the sense of 'means of support or livelihood.' It implies a present orientation which focuses on continued existence or the condition of subsisting at a day-to-day level. Coping with life in its immediacy, as it actually presents itself, rather than striving to create some new form for an indefinite future is central to this type of orientation. Preparing for the predictable, anticipated, immediate, or known future is characteristic, but planning for the remote future is not....Rarely do the villagers plan, however, if planning is understood as thought and effort given to some long-range goal which is considered to be at least potentially realizable. As a consequence, families rarely save money or goods for some unknown exigency. Thrift and saving are not included in the value system of people in the subsisting-oriented class.
>
> Past-oriented individuals conform to the same set of characteristics as the subsisting-oriented, except that they tend to look to past traditions as being as good as, if not better than, contemporary living.... Characteristics of subsisting--and past-orientation appear to be closely allied to such personality characteristics as passivity and non-interference....
>
> ....
>
> Within each of the Island villages, however, one family or household tends to emerge as conspicuously more acculturated than the others and to be future-oriented. These families may be designated as the elite. Of necessity, to reach this position, they restrict important social relations with other families in the community. They do not involve themselves in the borrowing and sharing pattern to the same extent as others, although even they cannot go beyond a minimum without severing all relations. Frequently these families are in a position of authority, such as chief councillor. They have

> the most material wealth, and they tend to plan for the future; this often includes plans for leaving the village. Many Indian families classed as 'progressive' by local Whites are gradually migrating from their home reserves to larger social and economic centers.[131] [including Alert Bay]

In a study entitled "Reciprocal Exploitation in an Indian-White Community,"[132] Braroe states that both Indians and Whites maintain interaction that serves to validate their concepts of each other (each thinks the other group is stupid) while maintaining a different view of themselves (each thinks itself is smart). As long as this false front is maintained, there is no overt conflict and the interaction remains predictable. The Whites by defining the Indians as "irresponsible," (and the Indians by acting "irresponsible") make it "useless or needless to apply social pressures to the offender."[133] Harding, in his discussion of the social meaning of normality, states that when we can define someone who is different as "abnormal," or "irresponsible," then his behavior does not challenge our own perceptions of correct behavior. He asked whether adjustment of the individual is the only question, or whether we should examine the adequacy of the society to its members. He compares small, undifferentiated societies to those with many sub-groups.

> There is no escape from the more compact, relatively undifferentiated community; its members conform or lose their only opportunity

> for social sanction. In more complex communities, the availability of numberless sub-groups with diversities of value and outlook offers the individual some degree of freedom from the psychological pressure of his community as a whole.[134]

The Indian in Alert Bay has come from the former compact community, and we will examine the sub-groups that he has entered.

Another interpretation of the Indian-White situation discussed earlier, involves the role of the other in self-evaluation. Rose explains it as follows:

> Mead's conception of social interaction quite correctly emphasized the role of the <u>generalized</u> other in the production of self-attitudes. His mistake, I believe, was in not seeing that the person's perception of the attitude of this generalized other is typically quite different from any independent measure of the favorability of attitudes of "others." The person's self-attitudes are a close reflection of what he <u>thinks</u> others think of him. However, lacking unusual empathetic ability, an unusually frank set of others, or an unusual combination of clear and unexcusable failures, he is likely to be happily deceived that the deferential treatment that others accord him as a matter of "good manners" is an accurate reflection of their "real" attitudes.[135]

This perspective will be examined relative to our discussion of "felt" discriminations in Alert Bay.

Another issue in Alert Bay involves perceptions of the Indians' "lack of motivation." Nelson Foote examines this question as follows:

> As Mead has shown, one learns many more roles

> than he ever plays overtly. To interact intelligently with another, he must learn correctly to anticipate the responses of that other--that is, to empathize. But implicit role-taking is no metaphysical transmigration of consciousness. It requires playing sub-overtly the role appropriate to the identity of the other in the situation, as accurately as one can read off that identity. In play or in role-playing experiments, a person may disclose the great range of his latent repertoire. The reason he limits his real or realistic behavior to a selected few of all the roles he has learned is that he knows and defines only these certain ones as <u>his own</u>. And he can only ascertain which role is his in each situation by knowing <u>who</u> he is. Moreover, he must know who he is with considerable conviction and clarity, if his behavior is to exhibit definiteness and force, which is to say, degree of motivation.[136]
>
> When doubt of identity creeps in, action is paralyzed. Only full committment to one's identity permits a full picture of motivation. ...Doubt of identity, or confusion, where it does not cause complete disorientation, certainly drains action of its meaning, and thus limits mobilization of the organic correlates of emotion, drive and energy which constitute the introspectively-sensed "push" of motivated action.[137]

Sheldon Stryker feels that symbolic interaction theory could well be exploited for family research. In discussing congruence of the many roles a person plays, he says that this congruence is fostered "when meanings are widely shared in a society, or among those persons within a society with whom one actually interacts....[138] He says that the result of incongruities in roles or in

the definition of the situation will lead to personal disorganization.

We will examine a typology of socialization, in order to prepare for our examination of socialization in Alert Bay. This typology is based to some extent on Mead's concepts.

TABLE II.

TWO MODES OF SOCIALIZATION[139]

REPRESSIVE SOCIALIZATION	PARTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION
Punishing wrong behavior	Rewarding good behavior
Material rewards and punishments	Symbolic rewards and punishments
Obedience of child	Autonomy of child
Nonverbal communication	Verbal communication
Communication as command	Communication as interaction
Parent-centered socialization	Child-centered socialization
Child's discernment of parent's wishes	Parent's discernment of child's wishes
Family as significant other	Family as generalized other

In summary, we have examined those concepts in social psychology relevant to a discussion of the development of identity. After a brief examination of Mead, we have looked at recent work expanding and clarifying his concepts.

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Gordon Hirabayashi and C.L. French make the same point in a paper read at the Canadian Economics and Political Science Association annual meetings, Montreal, June, 1961:

> We hypothesized that a main factor in the Metis' present situation stems, not from a lack of acculturation, which in this area at least seems quite far advanced, but from acculturation into the lower classes of Euro-Canadian society so that they are able to function only in a manner not markedly different from lower class persons throughout North America, regardless of race or ethnic status. It would appear that the acceptance of disease and other unpleasant life situations which these people show might indicate an internalization of a lower class set of norms and values which would include poor self image, feelings of unworthiness and general apathy toward the environment. "Poverty, Poor Acculturation and Apathy: Factors in the Social Status of Some Alberta Metis." p.2.

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PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESES

The problem as originally envisaged involved a study of family life in order to identify those factors contributing to poor school performance. However, it became obvious as the study progressed that none of the institutional analyses in the literature offered any real insight into the problem, because for each answer provided, the question "but why?" arose anew. It was therefore necessary to take the analysis to another level--that of symbolic interaction.

Our problem then is that no satisfactory explanation has yet been given to enable us to understand Indian behavior, particularly in an integrated community. We will thus examine those factors affecting socialization, and, taking the analysis to a more individual level, the symbolic interaction and consequent development of identity as an important factor in understanding human behavior. We will examine these factors and the development of identity particularly as they affect the child.

Most of this study involves an examination of the "stage" on which this interaction is carried on. This is an examination of the socializing agents, including the school, the family, the church and the peer-group, and the role of communication among the Kwakiutl Indians, in

the context of child-rearing practices, historical and contemporary, and the relationship of these processes to the achievement of identity.

An isolated "community," with little integration, as a unit, or with the larger society, offers few social alternatives to its residents and thus restricts development of universals. The prejudice toward the Indian also operates to limit the range of alternatives open to him. Another factor in the Alert Bay situation is that the Indians are in the process of acculturation into different socio-economic levels of the Canadian society. What is seen as "Indian" behavior is in very many cases lower class behavior which the Indians share with loggers, fishermen and miners of the area.

In so far as communication in the Indian family is largely non-verbal, it provides little basis for the child to conceptualize, verbalize and especially to integrate his experiences into a meaningful whole. He thus experiences the family as a "significant other" rather than as a "generalized other" integrated with the rest of society. It is our hypothesis that the concept of self, developed by the Indian child, is in conflict at the point of transition from home to school, and that significant others provided as models within the extended family are in conflict with those models generated in the

schools in a variety of aspects. Because children have their adult roles before them in the family, they see little value in education.

Because the peer group is closely related to family in Alert Bay and had no institutionalized role in traditional culture, it is guided by norms largely from the family, but also from the church and school. As it has no autonomous life, it plays a minimal role in the development of self-concept. The church also has a minimal role in the life of children in Alert Bay.

There has been a disintegration of the status-conferring functions of the numaym, due in part to the demise of the potlach. Since social control was maintained through social pressure by persons of intimate concern to the individual, and these forces are no longer viable, there is a lack of internal social control.

Due to the limitation of the use of language, the narrow diameter of the community, the lack of universal symbols and a coherent generalized other, it is our hypothesis that the full development of mind and self is difficult, if not impossible in the Alert Bay situation.

As we are not, in most cases, presenting quantitative data, we will not be able to "prove" or "disprove" our hypothesis, but will give evidence demonstrating support for our contentions.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Field work was carried out in Alert Bay, British Columbia, from May through August, 1967, and June through September, 1969. Alert Bay is situated on Cormorant Island, approximately one hundred and eighty air miles Northwest of Vancouver, between Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia. Alert Bay was chosen for field work because several studies were available covering a variety of aspects of life on the island. At Simon Fraser University the Behavioral Science Foundation of the Faculty of Education had been undertaking the study of educational problems in an integrated school. In this study they had been aided in various ways by the Department of Geography, and the Department of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology. This study was originally envisaged as a study of family life and socialization as it effected school performance.

Alert Bay is the service center for the Kwakiutl. Because of this, and because of regularly scheduled transportation, it has also become a popular center for researchers. During the initial four month period of field work, there were at least eight other students of aspects of Indian culture, from musicology to biography, on the island. This fact is of mixed value to the

neophyte field worker, first of all, because the Indians have become so sophisticated that they have ready answers for many questions--and some of them will refer you to Franz Boas for answers to your questions.

In spite of the amount of ethnographic material on the area, information on child-rearing and family life had to be obtained. This, as we have stated previously, is an area of Kwakiutl life that has been neglected. In a study of Boas' field work, White says,

> From these letters and other clues, and from the nature of his publications, we would judge that Boas' principal aim, when in the field, was to sit down with a good informant and fill his notebooks--and then go home. There is no indication whatever, as far as my knowledge goes, that he ever thought of himself as a "participant observer," that he ever tried to take part in their daily life and become personally acquainted with the people.[1]

In our criticism earlier of Boas, Curtis, and other field workers for dealing only with the nobility, we are aware of the difficulty of crossing "class" lines in anthropological research--if a person is to achieve rapport with one segment of society he is often limited to that segment by the social pressures operative in the society. The researcher was warned of this possibility. One high-ranking person said that she could introduce me to mothers, but that it might prejudice my study as the people would say, "Oh, this is another one of the chief's projects," and thus would be reluctant to participate.

The advice was taken and contacts were made through other channels.

It was felt that some consistent basis was necessary for choosing those families studied. As the focus of the study was on the transition from home to school, the group of nursery-school age at the time of the initial field work, and their families, was chosen as a population. The second period of study was done when these children were between grades one and two. General information was obtained on all forty-five families, and will be discussed as the specific environment of children in Alert Bay. Five families from this forty-five were studied thoroughly.

Two of the five families studied in detail were contacted through referral from the first mother, who was asked if she could introduce the researcher to the mothers of children in the same grade at school. The other mothers were introduced by other persons. Although it is often difficult to gain the confidence of respondents, particularly for a study of family life, the mothers could accept the researcher's interest in their families in terms of their having a child in a particular grade in school.

Once contact had been made with the mothers, the researcher was able to visit the homes, observing

informally. Trips to the park or beach were made with the children, and tape-recordings and notes were made of their conversations with the researcher and with each other. As the mothers were still somewhat suspicious, the tapes were played back to them when the children were not there. One mother listened with some amusement to the tape of the conversation with her daughter. The researcher remarked that 'Mary has a vivid imagination, doesn't she?'. To which she replied that she didn't know, 'I never really talked to her.'

When permission was requested to use the children in the study and to tape their conversations the mothers reacted with a slightly bemused attitude: 'Yeh, sure you can talk to her, if you want, but I don't know what she's got to say' that would be of any interest to an adult .

People were at first reluctant to have you find them in circumstances they felt you might not approve. They tended to give the socially accepted response to questions, to put themselves in the best possible light. Rohner had the same experience;

> One of my informants characterized Indians as being masters of making the best impression possible on others, especially Whites. He explained that the Kwakwala term for such behavior is qwilawilsto, 'putting pitch over someone's eyes, blinding them to the truth or real person.' The tendency to tell others what the speaker thinks they want to hear is also involved in this. Certainly this is

> true of Indian-White relations. Important personal details are frequently omitted when an incident is recounted, and the omitted facts are ones whose absence puts the speaker in the most favourable perspective. Not infrequently, however, accounts are outspokenly falsified.[2]

An exception to this normally reticent behavior, however, occurred during drinking parties. Then references were apt to be made to things less favorable to the informant.

The field worker must also work with "Indian time" in contacting informants. On many occasions it took as long as a week to actually make contact with someone for an interview, even when they were willing to help. Most of the Indian people are not comfortable on the telephone, and it was very difficult to get any information or leave any messages. The only way one can count on seeing someone is to go to the places they might be, repeatedly, until you find them.

On the second field trip more systematic research was carried out. Teachers, ministers, hospital officials, the Indian Agent, R.C.M.P., newspaper editor, and village clerk were interviewed for specific information. Focused interviews were recorded with the five mothers, according to a schedule from Sears et al., _Patterns of Child Rearing_, (Appendix A).[3] This information, obtained specifically from the interviews and informally in

participant-observation, was tabulated to show a comparison between the general attitudes of the Indian mothers, and of the lower and middle class American mothers in Sears' study. As a guide to observations and recording of information on socialization, the _Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child-Rearing_ was used.[4]

NOTES

1 Leslie A. White, _The Ethnography and Ethnology of Franz Boas_, (Austin, Texas Memorial Museum, Bulletin No. 6, 1963), p. 49.

2 Ronald Rohner, _The People of Gilford_, (Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 225, 1967), p. 64.

3 Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, _Patterns of Child Rearing_, (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), Appendix A

4 W.M. Whiting, et al., _Field Manual for the Cross Cultural Study of Child Rearing_, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1953); (produced in collaboration with Sears, et al.); See also J.W.M. Whiting, et al., _Field Guide for a Study of Socialization_, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966); and Sister M. Inez Hilger, _Field Guide to the Ethnological Study of Child Life_, (New Haven, Human Relations Area Files Press, 1966).

THE SOUTHERN KWAKIUTL

It is our aim in this chapter to provide a coherent picture of the Southern Kwakiutl culture. We will proceed with a brief account of the environment and of the history of White-Indian contact. We will then deal more specifically with a description of social organization, including units of social interaction, political authority, classes, the potlach, the winter ceremonial, marriage, childhood, education, and social control.

The Southern Kwakiutl consisted of a large number of independent local groups and tribes occupying the bays and inlets around Queen Charlotte Sound and the entire northern end of Vancouver Island, as far north as Cape Cook. The name "Kwakiutl" is a misnomer, as each of the tribes was independent, and they did not regard themselves as one entity. The only term they used was one meaning "Kwakwala speakers," referring to the common language. The name "Kwakiutl" is a mispronunciation of the name of one tribal unit resident at Fort Rupert.

Habitat

> The coastline along most of the Northwest Coast is an intricate and complex fiord mazeway. Hundreds of islands dot the coastline, many of which are nothing more than small outcroppings of rock. Navigation is made difficult and positively dangerous in many places because of the unexposed rock in the shallow water of low tide and because of the rip tides which are created by the opposition of tidal currents as they meet in open areas around larger islands. Most of the islands and mainland coast are densely forested, and there is often an abrupt, precipitous, and rocky drop from the vegetation line to the water.[1]

The climate is characterized by even temperatures and heavy rainfall, which is produced by the Japanese Current. The coast rainfall averages well over a hundred inches a year. There are only minor seasonal variations in the temperature, ranging from the coldest month, January, averaging thirty-seven degrees, to an average of fifty-eight degrees in July and August. The ocean changes temperature less than five degrees winter and summer: it is said that a man cannot stay longer than half an hour in the water before he dies of exposure.

The forests are mainly of a needleleaf variety with dense underbrush. The Indians were in effect perched on a narrow beach with dense forest on one side and the sea on the other. Although they did do hunting and trapping, and now do logging, their mythology indicates an

uneasiness about travel in the forest, as it was the home of supernatural beings.

Although several others of the Pacific Northwest culture groups had commerce with the Indians of the interior through river-fiord passes through the mountains, there are no access routes in Kwakiutl territory, and there is no evidence they did carry on trade inland.

The natural resources of the area included deer, elk, black and grizzly bears, the wolf, the mountain goat at higher elevations on the mainland; and beaver, land and sea otter, marten, mink and fur seal: these latter were formerly used for blankets, and were the main article of trade with the Europeans. Land animals formed only a small part of the Indians' diet. The staple food of the Indians in early days came from the sea. Salmon, especially, fresh, smoked or dried, formed a substantial part of the diet. Clams were an important food item as they could be preserved. Oulachon fish, and particularly its oil, was a major item of diet. A form of seaweed was collected and dried, and served as seasoning or as a vegetable. Crabs, mussels, cod, halibut, fish eggs and other sea food were also collected for food. There were numerous varieties of wild berries in the region. They were collected and eaten fresh, and those varieties amenable to preserving were dried in cakes for winter

consumption. Hemlock bark and a variety of clover were also eaten.

One of the other major resources of the area, and one which played a tremendous role in traditional culture was the red cedar (Thuya gigantia). This was used for houses, boats, carvings and ceremonial regalia, clothing, and basketry. Other trees were used but none were as important as the red cedar.

Because of the abundance of food and material for housing, the Indians had an easy time procuring the necessities of life, and the resultant leisure time is the key to an understanding of the development of arts, crafts, social organization and ceremonial activities.

History

Prior to their actual contact with the white man, there is evidence that the Kwakiutl traded with the Nootka of the West coast of Vancouver Island for European goods. Their first noted European contact was with Captain Vancouver in 1792, when he circumnavigated Vancouver Island.

However, a most important event in the history of the Pacific Northwest was the voyage of Captain Cook in

1778 along the West coast of Vancouver Island. Although he did not meet the Kwakwala speaking people, he picked up sea-otter pelts on this trip, which were taken to China after his death in the Hawaiian Islands, where they were sold for a 'fabulous' price. When the word reached England of the value of these pelts, several expeditions set out for trade. The British, and especially the Bostonians made many voyages for furs, which they traded in China for teas, silks, etc. On one trip the captain could make sufficient to retire. Thus the traders were generally planning only one trip, so they took no pains in developing Indian-White relations. There were many battles, with 'attempted piracy' on both sides. This aspect of contact had little effect on the Indians, as the goods they chose for trade were simply a replacement for traditional items. The Kwakiutl were noted as being especially shrewd bargainers.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the sea-otter had begun to dwindle, and in the decade 1810 - 1820 the few ships that attempted the voyage were taking the less valuable land furs--land otter, mink, beaver and marten. But with the merger of the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, a new type of trade began. The Hudson's Bay Company had already had years of experience dealing with Indians when they began

establishing trading posts on the Northwest Coast. The first established among the Southern Kwakiutl was at Fort Rupert in 1849. The Hudson's Bay Company stocked mainly staple items. Their policy was one of non-interference with native customs. However, the very establishment of a steady source of trade goods had an influence on the Indians. They began settling at Fort Rupert in larger and larger numbers during the winter. Although they did not by this become one political or social unit, there was closer interaction among several tribes than had hitherto been the case.

> ....On confederation of the Crown Colony of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada in 1871, Canadian Federal law, including the Indian Act, went into effect. From that moment, Indians of the new Province were Canadian nationals, subject to the special provisions of the Indian Act, but not Canadian citizens. Indian title to the land was not extinguished, and this fact created problems for years.[2]

The Indians were allowed to remain on their village sites, prior to Confederation, but were not compensated for the land they lost. After the merger of Vancouver Island and the mainland in 1866 Governor James Douglas allocated some large reserves in the Fraser Valley.

> After confederation of the colony with Canada, the Dominion Government assumed responsibility for administration of the Indians and undertook to provide them with adequate reserves. Since such lands had to be taken from the Provincial domain and became Federal property, Provincial

> agreement was essential. Provincial authorities balked at turning over any substantial areas. They held all the Indians needed were the lands in 'actual use,' which on the coast they defined as village sites, fishing stations, cemeteries, and the like, in opposition to the Dominion concept of a subsistence tract of 80 to 100 acres per family.[3]
>
> [In 1912] a Royal Commission was appointed to restudy the Indian land question in British Columbia. In the course of three years this commission accomplished the enormous task of visiting every Indian village or community in the Province, appraising its reserve or reserves, and recommending continuance, additions to, or deductions from the reserves of each group. The findings were eventually accepted by both Provincial and Dominion Governments, and form the basis of the Indian reserve system.[4]

In the Kwakiutl area, the first Europeans to arrive after the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company post were Spencer and Huson. They were pioneer adventurers who arrived in the area in 1865 and at first planned to mine coal at Suquash. There was little sale for coal at the time, so they decided to go into the fish curing business. As the mouth of the Nimpkish River, which was the home of the Nimpkish tribe, was unsuitable for landing large boats, they settled on Cormorant Island, at what is now Alert Bay. They leased the island from the government in 1870 and established a small saltery, salting and mild-curing salmon. Many of their descendents still live in Alert Bay.

The first missionary among the S. Kwakiutl was the Rev. Alfred James Hall, of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) who set up a mission at Fort Rupert in 1877. Fort Rupert was at that time the focus of Indian life because of the Hudson's Bay store. At the request of Spencer and Huson, who wanted education and training for the Indians they were employing, Mr. Hall moved the mission to Alert Bay in 1878. Alert Bay was and is on the waterway for all boats passing up and down the coast, and thus was more central than Fort Rupert.

Spencer and Huson surrendered part of their lease for mission land. Mr. and Mrs. Hall turned their home into a residential school and taught day pupils as well. Thus some form of Western education has been in existence in Alert Bay for ninety years.

In 1886-87 Mr. Hall was able, with funds received from the Church Mission Society to build a sawmill.

> The several aims of the sawmill were that it would serve to teach the Indians a new trade, supply lumber for them to build houses, and to build a new school for Indian boys. Mr. Hall wished to teach his charges to become self-supporting and have homes of their own instead of living in the community houses.[5]

A small general store was also built in connection with the sawmill.

Mr. Hall learned the Kwakiutl language, and transcribed it. He wrote a grammar, and translated parts

of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and Hymns, which are still used in the Anglican church. He worked in Alert Bay for thirty-two years.

The first mission teaching was of the "3R's." Then trades of the western utilitarian type were introduced. No encouragement was given to Indian artistic development or the manufacture of native "trade" articles. Schooling was also aimed at changing the social organization, particularly the domestic unit. Concurrently, efforts were made to convert the Indians to Christianity, that is, education in religion and cosmology.

The Annual Report on Indian Affairs was first published in 1872, and contains a census of the Kwakiutl Indians. These reports also contain comments by the Indian Agent on the 'progress' of their charges. The attitudes of the Indian Agents, as those of the missionaries, were generally censorious of Indian customs.

The 'Kwakewlth' agency was first established at Fort Rupert in 1881, and was moved to Alert Bay in 1890 after Fort Rupert burned down. The first Agent, Blenkinsop, stated in his report of 1381 that the Indians were in an 'apathetic state.' It took only seventy years--from 1810-20 when fur traders came, to 1381 to achieve this condition--in western terms. He meant by this that although they worked hard and were generally industrious,

they bought goods which they then distributed in potlaches, rather than saving them and allocating their resources for themselves over the year. Other reports over the years emphasize that the Kwakiutl are hard-working, and industrious, they 'are adverse to being tied down to anything regular' and 'work hard but not systematically.' They are 'industrious but not progressive,' and 'their adjustment to the new economic conditions was actually or potentially successful but it was not impelled by the proper motivations, goals, or values.'[6] Despite western views, at this point the culture of the Indians was still viable, and was directing their behavior.

Prior to 1871 law and order was maintained along the coast by ships of the British navy. British Survey Boats, Hudson's Bay Company boats, and any others in the area were used to threaten the Indians. In 1858 the Provincial Police were formed, and a small sailing craft began to patrol the coast about 1890. About the same time the first constable, Mr. Philip Woollacott, was stationed in Alert Bay. He had some of the Indians sworn in as special constables to police outlying reserves.

The Kwakiutl area was very sparsely populated, and still is. Some settlers moved into the area in the late 1890's after the opening of the first Canadian railroad, and there was an intermittant increase over many years.

However, for the Indians, the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1849, the missionary in 1877, and the Indian Agent in 1881, were the most important White influences in the early days.

Codere has divided Kwakiutl history into three sections: The first, from the first European contact in 1792 to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Fort in 1849, she terms the Pre-Potlach period; The second, from 1849 to 1921 "and the onset of most unfavorable economic conditions"[7] i.e. the beginning of the depression, she terms the Potlach Period; and the third, the Post Potlach Period from 1921 to the time of her last field work in 1955. We will introduce a further period, extending to the present from 1951 when the Indian Act was revised, so no reference was made to potlaching or the winter ceremonial--which is commonly referred to as the repeal of the potlach. This will be referred to as the Contemporary Period in this study.

Social Organization

The Kwakiutl can be divided into social groups according to four criteria: kinship, locality, rank, and ceremonial position. We will deal first with those based on kinship and locality, and will then discuss groupings by rank, and ceremonial position.

Units of Social Organization

The smallest social unit was the nuclear family, "the man and wife, who usually belonged to different lineages and different villages and who lived together with their unmarried children in a great house in which they had their own quarters and fireplace."[8] Because social status was determined by factors other than nuclear family membership, this unit had little importance for social identity. This will become clear as we proceed with a discussion of the larger units, but of particular importance is the fact that marriage partners were not chosen by the individuals concerned, but by their parents, with the consent of the numaym heads, (although we have no evidence as to whether this held true for all persons or only those of the nobility).

The second social unit was

> the household, which consisted of couples and their children. The household was headed by

> a senior male member of the lineage to which the house belonged and for the most part consisted of male members of the lineage with their wives and children.[9]

The original houses of the Kwakiutl were immense structures, as much as sixty feet long, with high roofs. They did not build other structures for storage but kept many preserved foods, etc., in the house, on the rafters and in boxes. The head of each house lived with his wife and small children in the back corner of the house. The next in rank, his brother or a married son, lived in the other back corner. Other relatives lived along the walls toward the front, with the slaves sleeping near the door. These several families each had a portion partitioned off from the next, with their own fire, provisions, utensils. They generally cooked their own meals, but a large fire in the centre of the house was used for special occasions, and as a gathering place for story-telling and games.

The individuals in the household were divided into distinct family units, but acted both individually and cooperatively in performance of their tasks. Children were cared for by any and all persons in the household. Adoption was very common. Orphans were immediately accepted into a relative's family. Grandparents often adopted a grandchild to raise as their own, even if the

parents were alive. Children had a wide range of caring adults to whom they could turn. Thus the household, which was a lineage group of the numaym, was a cooperative unit. Although Boas states that lineages of the numaym were not necessarily related, we have no further evidence of the relationship of the various branches of the numaym. Thus we cannot fully assess the importance of the household as a focus of social identity.

The third social unit was the descent group or numaym. Boas enumerated one hundred numayms in the twenty tribes of the Kwakiutl. He estimated an average of one hundred members in a numaym, and five to eight hundred residents in a village.

> The numaym is the fundamental unit of the system. It is characterized by having a particular mythic geographical point of origin, an identification with a particular village often coinciding with its mythic location, and by the social differentiation of its membership according to rank and authority, if authority is understood to be qualified at all points by the necessity for co-operation of all its members in their relations within the numaym and with other numayms.[10]

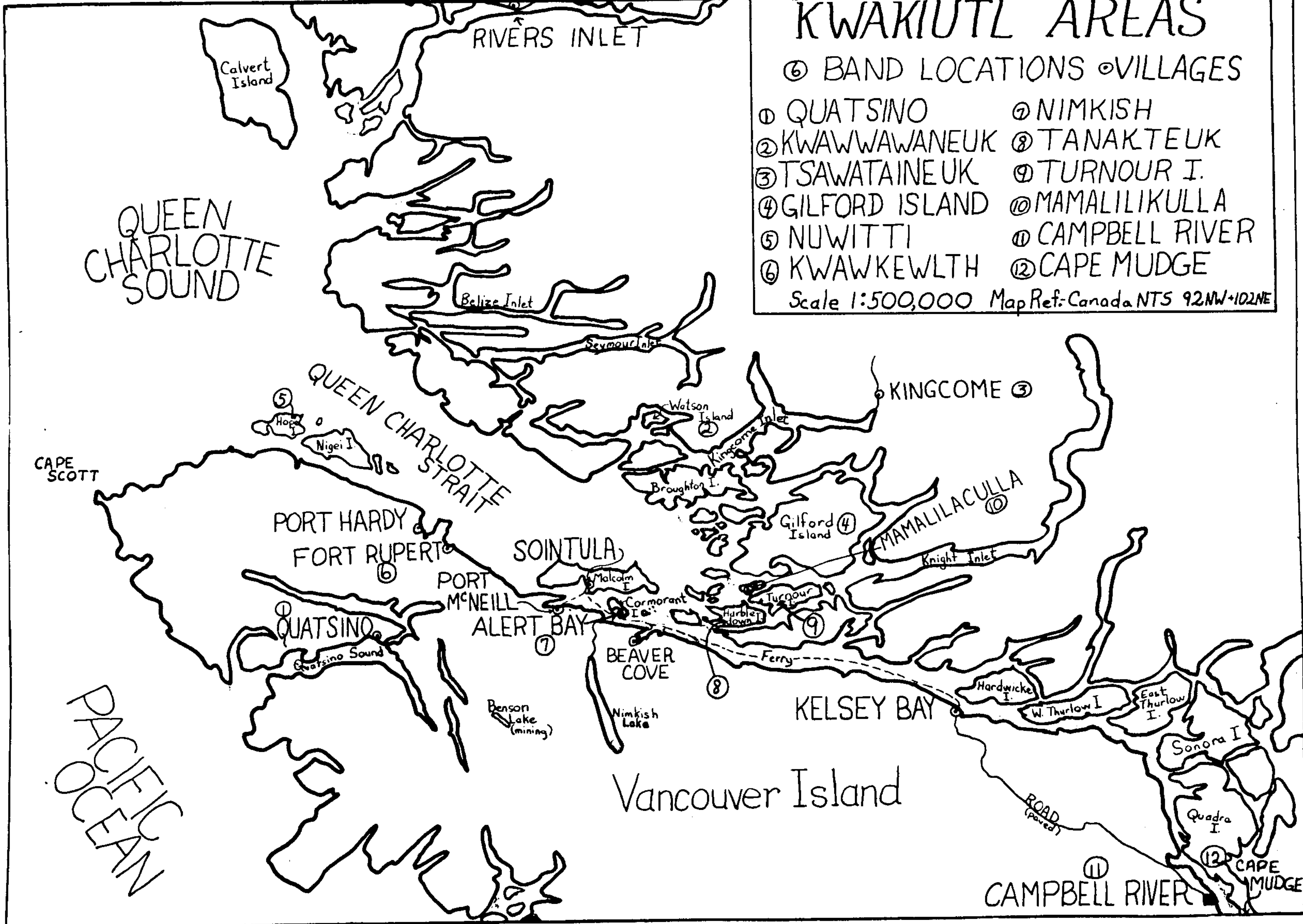
The numaym, which means "of one kind" was the ultimate unit bound together by strict social obligation. It was the main property holding unit. They owned and had rights to exclusive use of hunting, fishing, and berry grounds. Rivers were owned by a specific group, and even

the ocean was marked off from landmark to landmark. This property was nominally owned by the numaym head, for it was his responsibility to protect it and perform rites to insure its continued productivity. All members of the group contributed to the building or maintenance of houses, fish weirs, etc., and all partook of the benefits accruing from these resources. Each fisherman gave half his catch to the chief of the numaym. The chief was responsible for feeding his people when they were in need. The same 'tax' applied to hunting and berry picking. Such property as blankets was used cooperatively in competition with other tribes, but the paraphenalia and prerogatives of the nobility were strictly individualistic. Some of the numayms took their name from the locality of origin, and others from the mythical ancestor. The origin myth generally describes how the ancestor came to a specific locality, in the form of an animal, from the sky, sea, or underground; he took off his animal mask and became a person. Generally the ancestors of different numayms are unrelated in the myths.

Direct descendents of the original ancestor became the nobility, and others accepted as members were the common people. That is, all members of a numaym are not necessarily considered blood relatives, as they were not all descended from the original ancestor.[11] The numaym

was originally a village community which, due to reduction in numbers or for purposes of defence, joined another community, forming a tribe. There are also stories of the division of a numaym--often fighting brothers--into separate groups.

The fourth unit Codere identifies is "the village, which consisted of at least one but more often several affiliated numayms."[12] Boas defines this unit as the tribe: "The tribes are groups inhabiting one winter village and acting on many occasions, as in war or rituals, as units. They are village communities often bearing the name of the locality they inhabit."[13] The numaym retained a certain degree of independence in the tribal unit. Within the village each numaym had its own section of land for housing, etc. The tribes were widely dispersed throughout the Kwakiutl area, and as has been stated previously, the Kwakiutl recognized no political unit larger than the tribe. Language was the only common identity. There are three sub-dialects of the Kwakiutl language in the southern region: Kwakiutl, Nawiti and Koskimo. People from several villages gathered by invitation at one village during the winter, to take part in potlaching and winter ceremonials. Other than taking part in these social events, which served to validate assumption of new social statuses, there was no sense of


KWAKIUTL AREAS
⑥ BAND LOCATIONS ⊙VILLAGES
① QUATSINO
② KWAWWAWANEUK
③ TSAWATAINEUK
④ GILFORD ISLAND
⑤ NUWITTI
⑥ KWAWKEWLTH
⑦ NIMKISH
⑧ TANAKTEUK
⑨ TURNOUR I.
⑩ MAMALILIKULLA
⑪ CAMPBELL RIVER
⑫ CAPE MUDGE
Scale 1:500,000 Map Ref:-Canada NTS 92NW+102NE
RIVERS INLET
Calvert Island
QUEEN CHARLOTTE SOUND
Belize Inlet
Seymour Inlet
QUEEN CHARLOTTE STRAIT
KINGCOME
Watson Island
Kingcome Inlet
Hope
Nigei I
CAPE SCOTT
Broughton I.
MAMALILACULLA
Gilford Island
Knight Inlet
PORT HARDY
FORT RUPERT
SOINTULA
Malcolm I.
PORT McNEILL
ALERT BAY
Cormorant I.
Turnour I.
Harbledown I.
QUATSINO
Quatsino Sound
BEAVER COVE
Ferry
KELSEY BAY
Hardwicke I.
W. Thurlow I
East Thurlow I.
Benson Lake (mining)
Nimkish Lake
Sonora I
PACIFIC OCEAN
Vancouver Island
ROAD (paved)
Quadra I.
CAPE MUDGE
CAMPBELL RIVER

cultural or national identity in a collective sense among the Kwakiutl in early days.

The fifth social unit mentioned by Codere was "the confederacy, which was the uniting of two or more villages to form a new village....We know that confederacies were established in historical times after 1849."[14] She is referring here to the union of the four Kwakiutl tribes at Fort Rupert with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay post. At present in the Kwakewlth Agency there are several bands which consist of more than one tribe, and the special case of the Nimpkish Band at Alert Bay, into which many Indians from various bands have transferred.[15]

> Band amalgamation is in accord with the policies of the Indian Affairs Branch which feels that the administration of Indian affairs would be greatly simplified if all Indians were to live in a single area or set of areas in close proximity.[16]

Thus the numaym is the fundamental unit for social identity, as it is the main unit that owns real estate, and it is the only unit that can transmit crests and names. It is the only unit that confers status, and approval of major undertakings by a member must be approved by the elder members of the numaym. It has control over the establishment of the nuclear family, and thus is of more importance for identity than the family

unit.

Rank

According to Boas there are 658 named positions among the Kwakiutl. Each of these belongs to a particular numaym. In the historical period the numayms were ranked within the tribe, and the tribes were ranked in a pan-tribal hierarchy. The evidence from Boas suggests that this is a recent development.

> The names of the head chiefs go back to those of the mythical ancestors from whom they are supposed to be descended by primogeniture. Those nearest to them in rank are descendents of the younger brothers among the children of the mythical ancestor. The lines are the lower in rank, the younger they are, so that the names of individuals descended from youngest brothers through youngest children are of lowest rank. In one tale, it is even stated that the youngest of five brothers 'was not taken care of by his father and was like a slave or dog.'[17]

> The structure of the numayma is best understood if we disregard the living individuals and rather consider the numayma as consisting of a certain number of positions to each of which belongs a name, a 'seat' or 'standing place,' that means rank and privileges. Their number is limited, and they form a ranked nobility.... These names and seats are the skeleton of the numayma, and individuals, in the course of their lives, may occupy various positions and with these take the names belonging to them.[18]

> At the head of the numayma is the 'head chief' ....All those of lower rank are addressed by courtesy as 'chiefs,' somewhat in the manner of our address 'Sir,' but they are distinguished from the head chiefs, and perhaps those nearest in rank to him, as 'lower chiefs' or 'new chiefs.'[19]

Class

There were three recognized classes[20] of people: the position holders, or nobility; those with no positions, or the commoners; and the slaves. The slaves were generally prisoners of war and were regarded as property: as such they were not part of the social structure. The commoners were of the lines of younger brothers of noble families. As the titles passed down in a line of primogeniture, the younger members received lesser positions, and thus had less to pass on to their children. Commoners were, however, bound to nobility by kinship ties, as well as the ties of common numaym, associated as it was with possession of property.

There was a dissimilar life style between the nobility and commoners. Individuals who were due to inherit high positions were treated differently, and were expected to behave differently from others, even as children. They were instructed from early childhood in the traditions and attitudes proper to a leader, and thereby given the self-image that set them apart, yet made them "of" the numaym.

Political Authority

The man occupying the 'first' position in each numaym, rather than 'chief,' could better be called

'representative' or 'figurehead' for the group, as he had little authority. The ongoing position--descended from the original ancestor--was more important than the incumbent. The 'chief' traditionally was the oldest child of the person previously holding the highest position within a given group. He could be head of an extended family, including relatives of lesser rank, and slaves. He could also be head of his numaym, or, as head of the highest ranking numaym in a village, head of the tribe.

> Congruent with the strongly individualistic tone of Kwakiutl society is the absence of any strongly centralized political authority or any legal structure. The position of chief is mainly honorific and relatively devoid of political authority. A chief, as coming from a noble family in which the chieftainship is hereditary, is the spearhead of intertribal and inter-numaym rivalry because his are the highest names and the most honored prerogatives. At the head of all the numayms is the great chief of the tribe, honored because by birth he is the highest ranking individual in the tribe. His functions, too, are nonpolitical except that he may be instrumental in organizing a competitive potlach with a rival tribe. In general the authority of a chief in legal matters is non-specific. On many occasions, as when a chief wishes to give a potlach to the tribes or to take a wife, he consults the other members of the numaym or calls together the other chief of the tribe. But, the men called together have an economic prestige stake in the transaction.
>
> The numaym, on the other hand, has a number of regulatory powers over its own members since it can refuse to support a projected marriage or a potlach. In addition the members of the numaym can check a chief who becomes overbearing and too autocratic; they can kill him without incurring the vengeance of any united chiefly

> class. The murder of the chief falls in line with the attitudes of the culture, which though permitting the individual great leeway in expressing his personal glory nevertheless draw the line at overdoing.
>
> For disputes within the group, action is taken only by the principals involved. Trespassers on numaym property may be killed by any member of the numaym, the action being individualistic and spontaneous.[21]

The Kwakiutl then are an acephalous people. There is no man or group of men who can dictate. An individual is free to disregard the statements made by the chief, free to go his own way within traditional bounds, responsible for his own actions--and responsible for righting wrongs done him, perhaps with the help of his numaym.

The Potlach

The method of assuming an inherited rank is the potlach, or distribution of property. The underlying principle of the potlach is the interest-bearing investment of property.

A newborn child is given the name of the locality where it is born. When he is ten months old one of his relatives gives a paddle or mat to each member of the clan and he is given a new name. When a boy is about ten or twelve years old he prepares to take a new name. He borrows blankets from older tribe members, which he must repay after one year with one hundred percent interest.

In June the boy distributes these blankets to members of the tribe. After this, whenever a tribe member distributes blankets, he gives three times as many to the boy as he received. The people generally repay the boy within a month. He loans these (say three hundred) blankets out for one year. At the end of the year he collects them (six hundred) and pays his original debt plus interest (two hundred), at a festival in the street when all the numayms he borrowed from are present. Prior to the repayment he is not allowed to take part in feasts, but after this he may distribute property and obtain a potlach name. Usually at this time the father gives up his potlach seat and takes his place among the old men. This 'retirement' must be sanctioned by a numaym council.

> Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavour of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian. As the boy acquires his second name and man's estate by means of a distribution of property, which in course of time will revert to him with interest, the man's name acquires greater weight in the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each subsequent festival. Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property. Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indians is to outdo his rival. Formerly feasts of bravery counted as well as distributions of

> property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, "rivals fight with property only." The clans are thus perpetually pitted against each other according to their rank. In intertribal rivalry.... [different tribes have specific rivals].[22]

The Winter Ceremonial

There were several secret societies among the Kwakiutl. A person inherited the right to be initiated into a particular ranked position in one of the societies. In the winter when the ceremonies were in progress, people used their 'sacred' names and it was an offense to call someone by his ordinary name. The Cannibal or Hamatsa Society was the highest ranking. Others were the Fools, the Grizzly Bears, Sea-Lions, Killer Whales, etc.

The idea behind the winter ceremonial is that various supernatural beings visit the tribe during the winter. They take men and women away with them, and the purpose of the winter dances is to recapture these people and, since they have become like their captors, to restore them to a human condition.[23]

Every year one member of the tribe promises to give the ceremony, as it is felt the tribe will suffer otherwise. This is often given in conjunction with payment of marriage or potlach debt as it is very expensive and saves the giver payment for two ceremonies.

The social organization of the tribe changes in

the winter. The groups of people are the performers, the organizers, and the uninitiated. The functionaries and performers are grouped not according to kinship ties, but according to the dancing society to which they belong. The performers are called the Seals, and the organizers the Sparrows. The Seals are divided into two groups: those who are Cannibals and those who are not. The Cannibal ceremony is a major one and all the others are minor. The Sparrows are divided into several groups based on age and sex. These do not function as groups in the sacred ceremonies, but sometimes serve as the light accompaniment to other ceremonies. Although the named groups of Sparrows are based on and described in terms of age, younger men are found in groups with older men, and there is no automatic advancement with age. The Fools and Grizzly Bears act as policemen during the Cannibal ceremony, punishing anyone who transgresses the traditional rules.

> The performers of the major ceremonial may belong to different numayma or even different tribes. Most of their positions are acquired in marriage, being given to them by their fathers-in-law. The Cannibal dancers, as well as all other dance groups, each of which forms a social unit during the ceremonials, are in no way related among themselves, either by descent or by acquisition of their position by marriage. Nevertheless, when dancers are called to perform, they may be called up in the order of numayma to which they belong. The conditions among the Sparrows are different,

> because their positions as officers are strictly determined by patrilineal descent in the male line and according to primogeniture. Females, even if first-born, cannot officiate.[24]

Marriage and Kinship

The kinship system of the Kwakiutl is "consistently bilateral, without distinction between paternal and maternal lines."[25] Marriage is usually outside the numaym except in a few cases where persons of noble birth marry into their own group to prevent dispersal of prerogatives. A person can inherit names and positions from both parental lines. Residence is generally patrilocal, although in some cases the groom works for father-in-law for a number of years after marriage.

> The ideal marriage, in the mind of the Indians, is that of a man and a girl of equal rank.... According to the expressions used by the Kwakiutl, a wife is 'obtained in war' from a foreign tribe....The fiction is maintained in the actual marriage ceremonies, which occasionally include a sham battle between the wooing party and the relatives of the bride....[26]

Marriage is conducted on the basis of the potlach. An agreement is reached between the parents as to the "price." A retainer is paid by the groom's representatives.

The actual ceremony involves giving the agreed upon "price," plus extra blankets that "lift the princess from the floor of the house" to the bride's family. When

the bride is given to the groom's party her father gives her blankets and household articles, the value of which is often similar to that which the groom's family has given him. The bride's father may give a copper, names, and privileges, but this payment is more usually given after the birth of a child. Generally after the birth of a child the bride price is repaid, consisting of food, household articles, and a copper and ceremonial privileges. The groom's original payment is the only one made in "money" (i.e. blankets).

After repayment of the marriage debt the contract is fulfilled and the marriage may be ended. In the case of some noble women, they returned home and were remarried to a total of four times, thus attaining a very high rank. Otherwise if the wife continued to stay with her husband she is staying 'for nothing' and this is not dignified. In this case a new contract is made in the same way, but generally with lesser payments.

> The advance in social rank arising from the potlach features of the marriage often overshadows entirely the primary object of the marriage, namely, the establishment of a family. Instead of this, the transfer of names and privileges becomes the primary consideration, and fictitious marriages are performed, the sole object of which is the transfer of names and privileges....[27]

Marriages, at least among the nobility, are arranged by the parents with the concurrence of the

numaym. In many cases the boy and girl who are to be married do not learn about it until the day before the actual ceremony. Their wishes are not considered in the transactions. And in one case, the boy who was being married was not even present at the ceremony--he was too young.[28] Marriages which were not validated by a potlach were not recognized, and the Indians called such arrangements 'sticking together like dogs.'[29] We have no indication from the literature how frequent irreregular marriages were.

Thus marriage, at least for the nobility, can be seen as a function of the numaym, and derives from the numaym its social identity. That is, positions in one numaym were "married" to positions in another numaym, with little consideration of the individuals involved, except in their reputation for being able to maintain their position through personal efforts and the maintenance of traditional behavior patterns.

For example, it was expected that a girl be a virgin at marriage. Her husband could break the marriage contract if he felt she were not a virgin. However, her virginity depended more upon family supervision than any internalized moral restraint.

> My best friend goes between me and the girls and comes back with the answer. They used to be strict in the older days, though, and the

> parents wouldn't let the girl out of their sight. The only girls that isn't married that I can get is the ones that doesn't have any parents, and their brothers and uncles is away working. And another thing, the girls that I go to, I don't go when her folks is awake.[30]

Marital infidelity was ignored so long as it was done quietly so as not to publicly disgrace the spouse. Even this was a matter of family name rather than individual morality. The husband might beat his wife if he found out, but there were generally no serious repercussions. In fact, Charley Nowell tells of an incident where the husband knew of his wife's adultery and didn't mind, because Charley was giving the wife money.[31] Generally the men gave the women money during these affairs. It was a disgrace for an unmarried girl to have a baby, but there were few incidences of this as infanticide and abortion were practiced.

Childhood and Adolescence

There were many taboos and rituals surrounding conception and childbirth. If a couple wanted a girl, they put a miniature of women's tools under their bed; for a boy they put the miniature of the tools of a man's craft. At childbirth the mother was attended by her female relatives and special midwives.

There were many rites for the newborn baby.

Parents expressed their wish that a child become, for example, an expert canoe maker, by giving an expert in the craft part of the umbilical cord to wear while he is working. They also applied 'potions' of various bird and animal parts to the baby: for example, if you place right forepaw of a squirrel on the right palm of the baby, it will become a good climber. If you place blankets and clothing in the cradle, or a part of the umbilical cord in a box of blankets, the baby will become wealthy. The parents had definite views of what they wanted for their children and took steps as soon as the baby was born to assure their fruition, but as we shall see later, the only steps taken were magical.

Children were bound to the cradle, with their arms and legs restricted, from birth to about two years of age. They were taken out only to be washed and changed. The cradle hung from a handy branch or a post in the house so that the baby could easily be rocked when he cried. Children were breast fed for as long as three years. When the mother felt it was time to wean the baby she put a bitter substance on her breasts. Toilet training involved showing the child the use of a chamber pot, and taking them to the beach when an adult was going to defecate. They were not punished for messing themselves. Little attention was paid to them wetting the bed because it was

felt that a person did not know what he was doing when he was asleep. Parental attitudes toward child training were generally calm and non-punitive.

Halliday, whose bias is evident, states that

> ...the Indians have absolutely no parental control over their children. The children are in the condition of the Israelites in the time of the Judges, each one doing what is right in his own eyes, and they practically manage and control themselves. They are not obliged to keep regular hours, and if they have any money they squander it on what pleases their fancy, a considerable portion being spent on all kinds of foods which may be very nice and very enjoyable, but are not suitable for children, and the parents say nothing in the way of advising them.[32]

We will discuss this point in the contemporary situation, but it is important for an examination of identity to note the strong respect for the individual's right to make his own decisions--even as a child.

Special rites were performed at puberty for a girl. She was secluded and had to observe many taboos. After her seclusion, her father gave a potlach to celebrate his daughter's coming of age. She was then considered ready for marriage. For a boy, initiation into a dancing society, or inheritance of a potlach seat were the major acknowledgements of change to adult status, although change of voice was looked upon as being similar to a girl's first menstruation. Boys were generally not married until they were about twenty, while girls were

married shortly after puberty.

Education

Education is a process of fitting a child for his adult role in society. In Kwakiutl society children's games were patterned on their adult roles. Parents made small bows and arrows, spears and canoes for the boys. Many of their 'games' involved actual catching of fish and small birds. Others of their games were endurance tests designed to make them brave for warfare. They were encouraged in play potlaches by their relatives and were told the proper way to conduct these. Stories were told by the old men around the evening fire. During initiation into a secret society boys were given more formal instruction, but even here they were expected to learn by watching the correct procedure. They might be told they were not performing correctly, but actual detailed criticism was not offered. They had to learn by watching and doing on their own initiative. Children were expected to play an active part in the household as they were able. Theirs was a progressive adoption of adult roles.

Social Control

Various methods of social control are used to indicate the limits of acceptable behavior. Since social

prestige was such a strong factor, loss of prestige was a very effective sanction. When a child fell and hurt himself, this was looked upon as an affront, and the parents would buy calico and give a piece to the people 'to bind the wound of my son.' If a child misbehaved his parents also had to give gifts to the people or lose status.

In the play potlach a boy who went home to get food to give a feast was not able to return empty-handed. If he didn't return he was taunted about this. Small children were told that the Hamatsa (Cannibal Dancer) would get them if they were bad. On occasion a visiting Hamatsa would go into the houses in full regalia to scare the children.

> If we get mad at our parents or older brothers, they give us a licking. Some people never seem to give their children lickings, becasue they admire and love their children so much, that they say they couldn't punish or scold them. But this child gets worse and worse because he is not stopped by his parents or brothers and he is mostly the one that gets good lickings from the other boys, and gets sent away to play by himself.
>
> My brothers always stopped me when I was doing wrong. They had to. A boy can't learn good if he isn't. Especially my eldest brother, who loved me so much that he looked after me better than my parents. If I do anything wrong he takes down my pants, if I have any on, and puts me on his lap, backside up, and slap my backside, which hurted me awful bad. He would do that for quite a while and that pain would teach me to think of it, and I wouldn't do again for

> a long time what he didn't want me to do. He takes me in the house to do this. The most hurt to my feelings is he makes me stand up in front of him, when he finished slapping my butt, and uses kind words when he talks to me, and I see tears coming out of his eyes while he talks and tells me it hurted him most, and if he didn't love me so much he wouldn't care. But he does love me so much, he has to do this to show me the thing I done is not right. And the way he talked and the tears in his eyes hurted me, and I thought to myself I'll never do it again. That was worse punishment than the whipping.[33]

Children were encouraged to play all kinds of war games where one of them was often hurt. But if they got mad and started fighting seriously older people would break up the fight. A boy who misbehaved with his peers was made to play by himself until he was over his anger.

> Here are set limits to aggression. To this point the whole function of the childhood games has been to foster certain aggressive acts. To fight, to compete and to win are encouraged. Crying babies are trained to become children who imperiously take what they want by force. But the angry child must exercise his power within the rules. Once he departs from them he finds himself punished. Thus children are taught to be aggressive, imperious, and power-demanding within the formal limits set by the rules of the game.[34]

There is no designated agent of social control. It is a product of interaction per se. Each man, each boy, each community exercises its prerogative in sanctioning unacceptable, untraditional behavior. Because of the individual initiative required for social control,

it is applied variously, and there are no absolute standards maintained. If there are no absolute standards, "right" and "wrong" are situationally relative. Thus, "what I can get away with is acceptable behavior."

In summary, we have examined those aspects of Kwakiutl culture most specifically related to an understanding of the development of identity. Among the Kwakiutl traditionally, visual imagery, including especially initiation in the winter ceremonial, was a vital part of the culture. To cite only one example of visual imagery, in many cases people cannot give an authoritative interpretation of a totem pole, because the pole is a definition of a family history in itself, and it has not been deemed necessary to redefine it specially in words. Our compulsion to verbalize, perhaps best exemplified by psychoanalytic investigations, is not a compulsion necessarily shared by other cultures.

The totem pole, then, is the reification of the numaym. The relationship of all members of the numaym to abstractions such as the numaym or its representation, the totem pole, gives meaning to the life of the individual. The group provided the individual with meaning appropriate to his own conduct. When the community recognized the significance of numayms, significance was given to the meaning ascribed to his

behavior. When the mode of relating to the numaym is gone, the meaning is gone for the individual. He cannot see himself as being meaningful in the cause of an other--and a generalized other. It is our thesis that with the breakdown of the potlach and the recognition of individuals as being members contributing to numaym identity, the individual lost his social identity as part of a corporate group, and that nothing in the contemporary situation has yet replaced this.

NOTES

1 Ronald Rohner, The People of Gilford, (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin #225, 1967), p. 13.

2 Phillip Drucker, Cultures of the North Pacific Coast, (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965), p. 214.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., pp. 228-29.

5 Elizabeth Healey, History of Alert Bay and District, (Comox, B.C.: Alert Bay Centennial Committee, 1958), p. 26.

6 Helen Codere, Fighting With Property, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950), pp. 8-13, passim.

7 Helen Codere, "Kwakiutl," in Perspective in American Indian Culture Change, ed. by E.H. Spicer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 435.

8 Ibid., p. 442.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 443.

11 See Boas, Supra. p. 12 for a discussion of the mythological evidence on the composition of the numaym.

12 Codere, op. cit., p. 442.

13 Franz Boas, Kwakiutl Ethnography, ed. by Helen Codere, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 41.

14 Codere, op. cit., 1961, pp. 442-43.

15 See especially Peter Pineo, "Village Migrations of the Modern Kwakiutl," (unpublished B.A. essay, University of British Columbia, 1955).

16 Ronald Rohner, op. cit., p. 11.

17 Franz Boas, _op. cit._, pp. 52-53.

18 _Ibid._, p. 50.

19 _Ibid._, p. 51.

20 After a careful consideration of Boas' and Curtis' ethnographic data, and using the definition of class from Max Weber, we have decided to proceed on the basis that the life style opportunities of those persons who did not hold a ranked position differed sufficiently from those who did to call them a class.

Weber's definition is as follows:

> We may speak of a 'class' when
> (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life-chances, in so far as
> (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and
> (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets.

Max Eber, "Class, Status, and Party," in _From Max Weber_, ed. by H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 181.

The fact that members of the numaym gave part of their produce to the chief as nominal owner of numaym property appears to remove any doubt from the discussion in terms of Weber's definition.

21 Irving Goldman, "The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island," in _Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples_, ed. by M. Mead, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 196-97.

22 Franz Boas, _op. cit._, pp. 79-81.

23 _Ibid._, pp. 171-298. This is Boas' most complete discussion of the winter ceremonial.

24 _Ibid._, p. 178.

25 _Ibid._, p. 49.

26 _Ibid._, p. 53.

27 Ibid., p. 55.

28 James Sewid, _Guests Never Leave Hungry_, ed. by James Spradley, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 70.

29 Irving Goldman, _op. cit._, p. 195.

30 Clellan S. Ford, _Smoke From Their Fires_, (n.p., Archon Books, 1968 (1941)), pp. 124-25.

31 _Ibid._, p. 135.

32 William Halliday, _Potlach and Totem_, (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1935), p. 219.

33 Clellan Ford, _op. cit._, p. 77.

34 Ibid., p. 77 footnote.

ALERT BAY

The purpose of this chapter is to give a concise description of Alert Bay in its human and regional ecological context. It is important to know what formal and informal social institutions are extant in a community in order to understand the "stage" on which interactions take place. We will examine the habitat and transportation, political institutions, population, the economy, the church, recreation facilities, Indian-White relations and social control, as they apply generally in Alert Bay. We will conclude with a study of "The Grade Ones and Their Families" as a specific example of the more general discussion.

Definitions

It is necessary to define some of the terms that will be used in our discussion. First of all "band" is a legal term, defined in the Indian Act as

> a body of Indians (i) for whose use and benefit in common, lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart before or after the coming into force of this act; (ii) for whose use and benefit in common, moneys are held by Her Majesty or;

(iii) declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act.
"Reserve" means a tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band.
"Member of a band" means a person whose name appears on a Band List or who is entitled to have his name appear on a Band List.
"Indian" means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian.[1]

There are at present sixteen "Bands" and fourteen occupied "Reserves" in the Southern Kwakiutl area (not including many other small reserves and grave sites, etc.). The area is administered as the "Kwakewlth Agency" of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, by the "Agency Superintendent" who is more usually called the Indian Agent.

The definition of an Indian as one who is registered as an Indian is not valid as a grounds for most social studies. In this study, the term "Indian" will be used to refer to any person of Indian descent who considers himself an Indian. The distinction "registered Indian" will be made where it is necessary to the discussion. "Part-Indian" is used to refer to those children who have one Indian and one White parent. The term "White" will be used throughout this study as the word which contrasts significantly with "Indian."

The term Kwakiutl will be used to designate all

Kwakwala speaking people although, as has been previously noted, this is a misnomer. The term "tribe" refers to the traditional unit that was a village community. This is not coterminous with "band" due to migration of individuals and amalgamation of tribes in historic times. The term "Nimpkish" refers to members of the Band resident at Alert Bay.

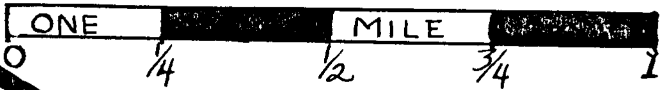
Cormorant Island is divided into two main sections (see Map), the Indian Reserves, and the Corporation of the Village of Alert Bay. These will be designated "Reserve" and "Village" in the study.

Habitat

Alert Bay is situated one hundred and eighty air miles northwest of Vancouver, on Cormorant Island. Cormorant Island is crescent shaped and approximately three and a half miles long, and one mile wide. (See Map) The population is concentrated along the southern shoreline covering a distance of two and a half miles. The Island is rocky and the land rises sharply from the beach, reaching over two hundred feet. It is covered with many varieties of trees. The soil is red and

ALERT BAY

CORMORANT ISLAND



gravelly and it is very difficult to grow any kind of garden produce.

Alert Bay developed primarily because it has a good natural harbor. It is on the steamboat channel and, therefore, all large boats travelling along the coast between Vancouver Island and the Mainland pass Alert Bay. It is serviced by two airlines--Alert Bay Air Services, whose float planes make daily scheduled flights (weather permitting) from Alert Bay to Kelsey Bay, and B.C. Airlines, which makes scheduled flights from Alert Bay to Port Hardy, where connections can be made with the Pacific Western Airlines flight to Vancouver. The Kelsey Bay to Sointula government car ferry makes a round trip daily, stopping at Alert Bay and Beaver Cove. The 'school ferry' for foot passengers travels weekdays from Sointula to Alert Bay and Port McNeil; and there are scheduled runs from Alert Bay to Port McNeil and Sointula by commercial water taxi. Several passenger boats (Canadian National, Canadian Pacific and Northland Navigation) stop in Alert Bay on their run from Prince Rupert or Alaska to Vancouver to give the tourists an opportunity to visit the Island. Three freight boats stop each week delivering food stuffs and household goods for the Island. Travel from the Island by such groups as the ball teams is done by "twisting the arm" of a local seine boat skipper.

The freight boats stop on their way up the coast, to unload their cargo. As there is little cargo being shipped down the coast to the lower mainland, they do not stop on their return trip. All but first class mail arrives by boat. Air mail is flown to Port Hardy and is then brought to Alert Bay by boat. During inclement weather, when either Port Hardy is fogged in, or the sea is rough, there is neither mail nor transportation on or off the Island. This can occur for three or four days in a row, several times especially during the winter. Since there are many fish boats in the area they provide an alternate means of transportation for some. Although it is possible after working hours and on weekends to drive over private logging roads on Vancouver Island, from Kelsey Bay to Beaver Cove and Port McNeil, one of the worst problems of the area is isolation. A proper highway has been promised, with construction to begin in 1970. Access is, however, limited and freight and transportation costs are high.

Politics

Cormorant Island is divided into three separate

areas: the Corporation of the Village of Alert Bay, unincorporated land belonging to the Anglican Church, and the Reserves. There is an Indian Cemetery in the Village area. Reserve #1 belonged to the original Nimpkish band. Prior to 1950 part of the Island was an 'Industrial Reserve,' Reserve #1A. "It was set aside by the first missionaries and the Indian Agent for the people that had been to school, were married in the church, would have nothing to do with the potlach, and would live a good clean life."[2] On orders from the Indian Affairs Department this reserve amalgamated with the Nimpkish Band in 1950, so that all three reserve areas now belong to the present Nimpkish band.

The Village of Alert Bay is governed by the Village Commission consisting of a chairman and four commissioners. A Village Clerk is employed full-time. The fire hall is part of the Village building and is operated by volunteers for all fires on the Island. The Band was paying about twelve hundred dollars annually for this service. An incinerator has been built for garbage in the Village. The Indians pay for collection of garbage from the Reserve.

The Nimpkish Band Council consisted of a Chief Councillor and seven Councillors, as of 1963. Indian Affairs regulations increase the number of councillors

one for every hundred population. That is, by 1965 the Nimpkish Band had a population of over seven hundred people. The duties and responsibilities of the Band Council are prescribed by Indian Affairs regulations. Many of their decisions must be ratified by the Department before they can be put into effect.

In an attempt to curb juvenile delinquency, the Band Council and Village Commission tried to institute an island-wide 10.30 p.m. curfew for youths, but the plan failed as The Department of Indian Affairs would not allow the curfew to be put into effect on the Reserve.

However, relations between the Reserve and the Village are not always co-operative. Until 1962 people in the village of Alert Bay used water from wells that usually went dry in the summer. The only good year-round well is on the Indian Reserve. The Village was unwilling to pay for water from the Reserve well, so instead, in 1962, they put in a seven thousand foot aluminum pipe to Vancouver Island, at a cost in excess of $113,000. The water that comes from this pipeline varies in color from almost clear to dirty brown. The water system on the Reserve is said to be very good. The Indians felt that since they were expected to pay for the services offered by the Village, the Village should pay for their water. In 1966 an arrangement was finally made to trade

fire fighting services for water. Since then part of the Village has been on well water, but part of the Village must still rely on water from Vancouver Island. Part of the problem arises from the fact that the Village gets monies from the Provincial Government, for which the Reserve is not eligible; and the Reserve gets monies the Village is not eligible for from the Federal Government. A sewer system was installed on the Reserve in 1968-69. There is no sewer system in the Village, and this gave rise to jealousies by Village residents who felt that their federal taxes were paying for the Reserve sewer system.

However, both ends of the Island have co-operated in Centennial projects, in raising money for the hospital, and in acquiring kindergarten and nursery school. The Cormorant Island Youth Guidance Committee was established in 1964 by both Indians and Whites to represent children in court. They also visit the families of juvenile offenders and do emergency social work, as the provincial social worker operates out of Campbell River. They opened a receiving home for children in need of temporary care. This home is run by an Indian woman, and is financed by the Provincial Government. The Youth Guidance Committee recorded seventy percent reduction in juvenile crime their first year.[5]

In another area of politics, the Indians have been eligible to vote in Provincial elections since 1950 (and federally since 1960). In the Provincial election of August 27, 1969, there were five hundred and sixty eligible voters in Alert Bay. Of these, three hundred and thirteen voted, with one hundred and fifty voting Social Credit, one hundred and twenty-three New Democratic Party, and forty Liberal.[6] One of the business families in Alert Bay is related to a Social Credit Cabinet Minister. Many of the fishermen are supporters of the N.D.P. The major political battles in the North Vancouver Island area concern the provision of a road from Port McNeil to connect with the Island Highway at Kelsey Bay, and improved ferry service.

Population

The coastal area of B.C. was the most densely populated area of North America prior to European contact, but with the introduction of diseases the population was decimated. The pre-contact population of the Kwakiutl was estimated at 17,300. In 1853, after one noted smallpox epidemic, it was estimated at about seven

thousand. In 1872, it was estimated at thirty-five hundred and it dropped to a low of 1,039 in 1924. The major epidemics were smallpox, measles, V.C., T.B., and influenza. Until 1909 when a hospital was built in Alert Bay, the Kwakiutl Indians had very limited access to medical care. Since 1929 there has been a steady increase in population among the Kwakiutl to twenty-five hundred in 1962. As a result, the Indian population is very young.

The Nimpkish Band, after amalgamation with the Industrial Reserve in 1950, numbered over three hundred with about seventy voting members. By 1965 there were over seven hundred Nimpkish members.

The population of the non-Reserve residents was not ascertained until after the 1946 incorporation as a Village. The 1951 population of the Village was 638, the 1961 population was 825, and the 1971 population was 743. Many Indians from outlying Reserves have moved to Cormorant Island but unless they have transferred to the Nimpkish Band, they are listed as 'off reserve' in their own Band and are not listed with the Nimpkish Band. Population statistics for the Village do not show ethnic origin, so these people may be included in the Village population totals, unless they are living on the Reserve, in which case they are not shown in either statistic.

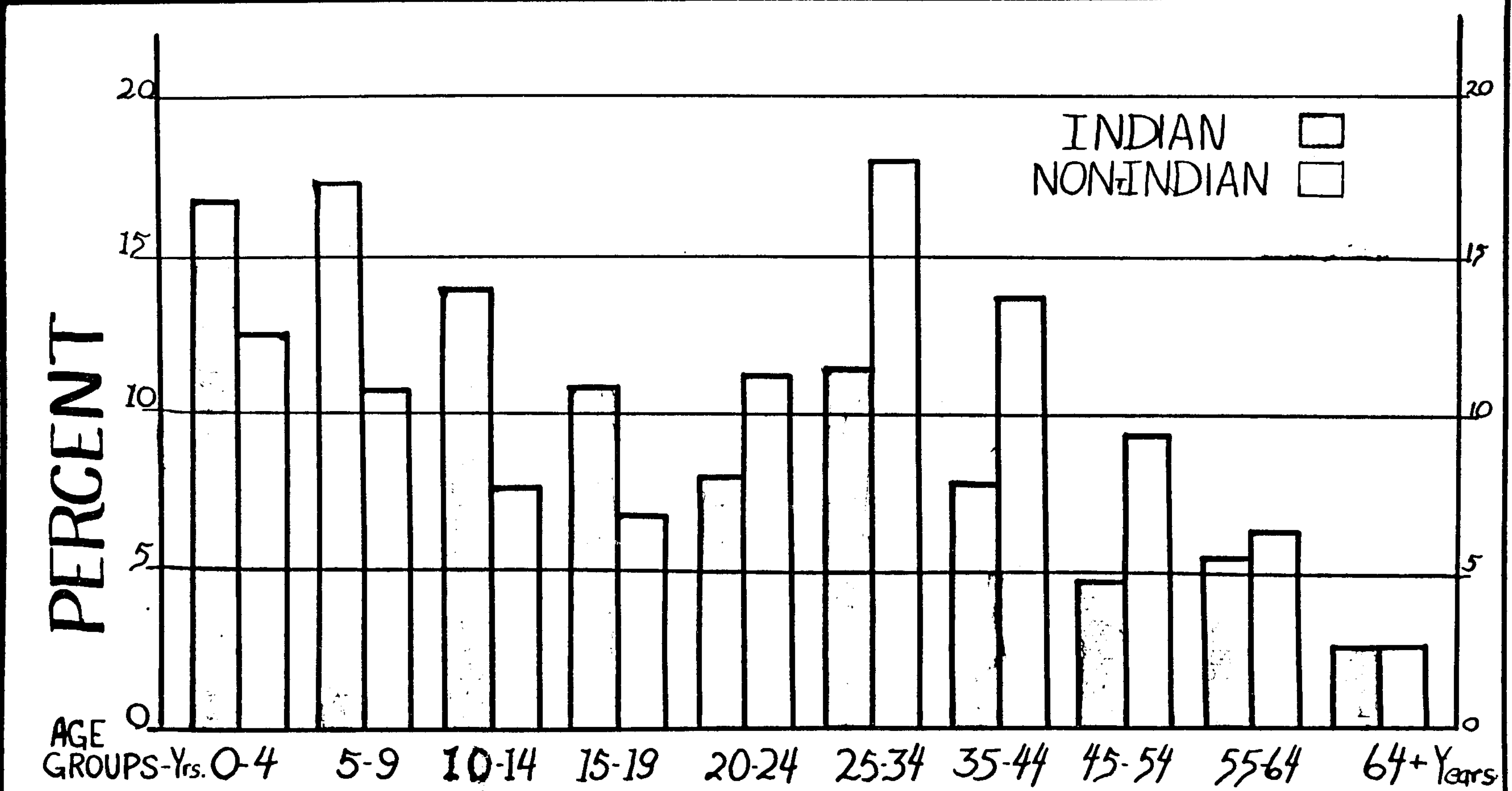
There is a total population on the Island of about sixteen hundred people. Over seven hundred Indians live on the Reserve, and at least another two hundred live in the Village. The population living in the Village of Alert Bay consists of registered Indians, part Indians, long time White residents, usually engaged in some form of private endeavour, and transient service personnel such as nurses, R.C.M.P., government workers from the Federal Department of Fisheries, Indian Affairs, Transport, and the Post Office; school teachers, clergymen, B.C. Hydro, B.C. Telephone, Liquor Control Board and fish company employees.

There has been a great deal of intermarriage over the years so that many of the long-term residents are part-Indian. They may associate themselves with one or the other community or may pursue friendships in both. Many registered Indians living on the Reserve are also of mixed ancestry so that there is no clear distinction between registered Indians and many people living off the reserve. Chinese people have owned businesses on the Island for many years. There has been a fairly recent influx of nurses and teachers from the Phillipines, and there are one or two persons of Negro ancestry. There are recent European immigrants of varied nationality as well in this small population. It is a polyglot,

heterogeneous community, not often found in the rural areas of industrial societies.

The population is so spread out and of such diverse background and interests that there is little community feeling. Besides the Indian-White and Reserve-Village divisions there are so many other distinctions overlapping and disregarding these more obvious bifurcations that it is meaningless to draw any distinctions between social groups on these bases. Some teachers mix only with other teachers; others mix with local families. Some Indians mix only with other Indians and some mix with one particular social group including Indian and non-Indians, etc.

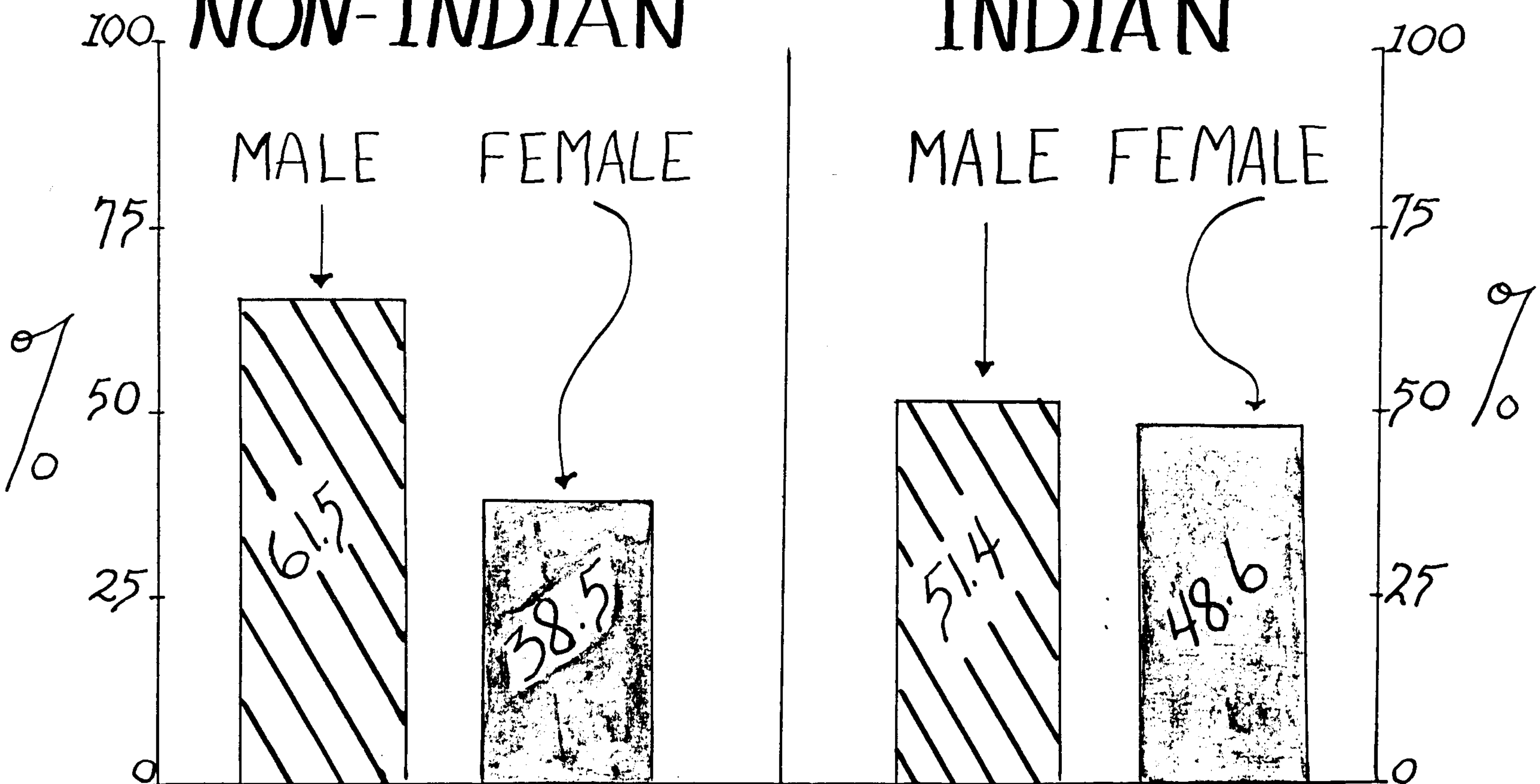
An examination of the population of the North Vancouver Island School District gives us some insight into the peculiar characteristics of the area. First of all, in Graph #1,[7] it is evident that the population, particularly of Indians, is very young, with 59.5% less than nineteen years of age, with 38.1% of the non-Reserve population less than nineteen. Of the Indian population, only 32.4% is aged twenty to fifty-four, while 53.0% of the non-Reserve population is in this age group. The total non-Reserve population is 8,456, with 5,199 males and 3,257 females. The total Reserve population is 1,385 with 712 males and 673 females. The discrepancy between



PERCENT
20
15
10
5
0
INDIAN
NON-INDIAN
AGE GROUPS-Yrs. 0-4
5-9
10-14
15-19
20-24
25-34
35-44
45-54
55-64
64+ Years
AGE GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF
INDIANS AND NON-INDIANS-1966
NORTH VANCOUVER ISLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT
Source-British Columbia Govt Bulletin

percentages of males and females is tabulated in Graph #2.[8] These figures clearly show the "frontier" nature of the area. There are several logging and mining camps, most of which make very little provision for "married quarters." Thus, a large segment of the population is men living in camp bunkhouses. Alert Bay is one of the three centers in the area providing shopping facilities and liquor outlets. There is a large influx of miners and loggers to Alert Bay on the weekends, looking to break the monotony of camp life.

In a survey prepared by the Village of Alert Bay, population projections were made based on figures up to 1966. The 1966 population of the Village was 795, and of the Reserve was 750, and including the figures for the unincorporated area, the total was 1610. The projected figure for the Village in 1971 was 859, but instead of this increase, a decrease in population from 795 to 743 was recorded. Possible reasons for this decline may lie in the decline of the fishing industry, and the consequent lack of consumer demand to keep the businesses operating. With the increasing emphasis on air travel, Port Hardy and Port McNeil are becoming increasingly important in the economy of the area. The Indian Agency was scheduled to move to Port Hardy in 1970, and several Alert Bay businesses have opened facilities


NON-INDIAN
INDIAN
MALE
FEMALE
MALE
FEMALE
100
75
50
25
0
%
61.5
38.5
51.4
48.6
%'s of MALE and FEMALE in the
N. VANCOUVER ISLAND SCHOOL DIST.

in Port McNeil.

The Economy

From the time of the arrival of the first missionary in the Nineteenth Century, and the establishment of the now defunct fish packing plant and sawmill, Alert Bay has been the major shopping and social center for Indians from the outlying reserves. Service personnel made Alert Bay their headquarters, and the major regional medical, police, school, Indian Affairs, and shopping facilities have been located there. This has led to the migration of many Indians from outlying reserves to this center.

There is at present no predominant industry in Alert Bay. Most residents are loggers, fishermen, or service personnel. Logging is done on nearby Vancouver Island and in mainland inlets. Fishing is the major commercial enterprise. Commercial salmon fishing is the stated occupation of seventy-five percent of the male Indians.[9]

There are three methods of fishing for salmon: seineing, trolling, and gillnetting. Seine boats usually

have a crew from four to seven men. They fish only in the daytime. The skipper of a seine boat has the highest status in the fishing fleet. The catch of a seine boat is divided into eleven shares: there are two and a half shares for the boat owner, one and a half for the net owner, two shares for the captain, and one for each of the crew. Expenses for fuel are deducted from the gross earnings of the boat. The boat owner pays for repairs, and the captain and crew share expenses equally for the food. Seiners and the gillnetters are allowed by the Department of Fisheries to fish certain days in certain areas.

Trolling is an operation usually involving two persons. One steers the boat while the other pulls in lines and takes off the fish. They also fish in daylight, but they are allowed to fish all week, and therefore ice their fish and come in to deliver only when they have a load. A higher price is paid for troll salmon because they are said to have less marks then netted fish because they are eviscerated. Trollers generally have bigger, more expensive boats and more extensive equipment than gillnetters, although many boats are equipped for both.

Gillnet fishing is generally a one man operation. The net is put into the water from a drum, allowed to hang vertically in the water, and then rolled back in on

the drum. The fish, if they cannot see the net, will swim into it and be caught by the gills. Thus it is very important to have a net of a color that is not visible to the fish in the water, and web of such a size that the fish will not be able to swim through. Gillnetters catch most of their fish just at dusk and dawn when light conditions serve to hide the net, although they usually fish round-the-clock.

Social status among fishermen is determined by the size of the owned boat, and more important, by the number of fish caught. Generally seine skippers have the highest status, followed by trollers, gillnetters, and finally seine crew. But a "high-liner," that is, the person who catches the most fish, has a higher status within his category. "High boat" for the day, the week and the season is a constant topic of discussion. The fishermen gather in the bar on the weekend and play a very complicated game of "I'll tell the truth if you will, but I don't trust you so I'll play it cagey." Some men are known never to "tell first" how many fish they caught, and then always to add a few fish to the other person's total. The person bested then has several alternatives open. One is to casually let slip later in the conversation a figure that indicates that his original statement under-estimated his actual catch. He is then

one-up, especially if his opponent suffers this in silence and refuses to acknowledge the discrepancy. Later gleeful remarks such as, "You should have seen Joe's face when I said how many sockeye I had," indicates the nature of the games being played. 'Fish stories' are a way of life. Fishermen do at times confide their actual catch to a friend, but the talk on the radio-phone gives the impression that all fishermen are starving. Most of the fishermen have their radio-telephone switched to the fisherman's band day and night, to pick up "hot tips" on where the fish are. Since friends want to let each other in on good fishing without alerting the entire fleet, codes and subterfuges are resorted to. The Indian, Japanese, Finnish, and other ethnic Canadian fleets who know a second language are at an advantage here. Unilingual fishermen often get quite upset and curse at any group speaking another language, because they are certain they are disadvantaged in missing reports on good fishing.

Fishing areas are open at the discretion of the Department of Fisheries, and the time allotted in a calendar week ranges from no days (closure of the area) to five days. Whatever time is permitted is known as the "fishing week," with the rest of the calendar week being called the "weekend" even if it is five days long.

Because most of the fishermen in Alert Bay are

gillnetters or seiners, the whole community revolves around the fishing week. Stores must have extra supplies Saturday for boat crews. They often open Sunday to deliver meat and frozen goods to the boats. Housewives are anxious on the last day of fishing to find out if another day has been granted by the Department of Fisheries. Having a husband home for a five-day weekend poses problems for many families. The streets are nearly deserted during the fishing week.

Many of the Indians take their wives and children along on the boat. On a seine boat the captain's wife will often act as cook--receiving one share of the catch. Older children are accepted as crew as soon as they are able to perform the job. Many children have spent summers aboard the boat from the time they were born. This of course applies only to the families of gillnetters and seine skippers. Wives and children of seine crew members have to stay at home. This means that children from families that have a boat receive a very early and continuing education in the skills of catching fish, but those of crew members are less well placed. Many Indian women state that they are lonely if they are left alone in the house. The men feel the same way if they are alone fishing. This is at least part of the reason that the wife and children are taken along fishing, often in

extremely cramped quarters, and in spite of the fact that they may serve no useful purpose. Especially on a gillnetter where the net is left in the water for varying periods of time, the man has plenty of time to do his own cooking. The White fisherman generally does not take his wife fishing. The reasons he gives are that the boat is too small, and that he likes a little 'peace and quiet.' The White wife generally expresses both boredom at her enforced inactivity, and the same desire for 'peace and quiet' at home while her husband is fishing. The impression given is that the enforced togetherness necessitates more interaction than is desired by either husband or wife, while the Indian couple are able to cope with the situation because they do not feel it necessary to be in constant interaction.

Another part of the reason for the Indian taking his wife is that, "In this way they are able to ensure sexual fidelity on the part of their wives as well as to have companionship."[10] Statements by informants in Alert Bay indicate that this attitude is general.

The Indian couple are more comfortable with differentiated sex roles. When they are on the boat the man is boss--he does the fishing. The woman cooks, looks after the children, and takes an occasional turn at steering the boat on a long run to or from the fishing

grounds. The Indian women expressed the same fears of the sea, and the same amount of seasickness as their White compatriots. The difference was that the Indian woman tended to stick with the boat while the Whites looked for reasons to stay home.

On a seine boat where there are four to six crewmen, the captain often takes his wife as cook. The difference here between the Indian and White woman is that the researcher never heard of an Indian woman 'bossing' the crew, while the White captain's wife was frequently regarded as bossy, pushy, domineering, and generally obnoxious by the crew. The same comments held true for the captain's children. It was often said by crew members that the White children were brats or took advantage of the crew, but the Indian children were either invisible or they worked along with the men. They never tried to 'pull rank.'

This enables the children to learn a great deal about fishing from a very age. Many boys are well qualified fishermen as soon as they are physically capable of doing the work. A few years ago it wasn't unusual for a boy of fourteen to take out his own gillnet boat. Today he must be at least eighteen to get a license from the Department of Fisheries, but he can earn a crew share on a seine boat. The 1968 boat license limitation law will make

it more difficult for men to get their own boats. This will probably have quite an effect on the fishing families in Alert Bay, as fishing is the major means of bringing money into the area. This law is designed to reduce the size of the fishing fleet by gradually eliminating the smaller boats.

Up until a few years ago there were a number of fish packing companies operating all along the coast. Indian men would rent or buy a boat from, and fish for, a particular company while their wives and children lived and worked at the cannery. There has been a consolidation of these smaller companies until there are only a few large concerns, and the coastal canneries have been closed. Now all the fish is iced and transported to large canneries at a very few centers. Alert Bay has been affected by this and it has eliminated jobs for the women of Alert Bay and along most of the coast.

The men are tied to a particular company through the credit system. A young man starting out may rent a boat from a company. Before he starts fishing he needs a net and other fishing gear. He buys this on credit from the company. He can get money and coupons for food and fuel during the fishing season. In the fall at the close of the salmon season, when his fish and his debts are tallied, he may find that he has two thousand dollars in

hand or that he is in debt to the company. In either case, if he has proven himself fairly responsible, or if he has caught more than the average number of fish, the company wants him to fish again the following season. He can get money from the company during the winter, charge nets, buy a boat, and charge repairs. At the end of the following season, especially if it is a poor one, he may be many thousands of dollars in debt. And so he must fish--for the same company--the following season. In one case in the summer of 1969, a young man had to catch five thousand dollars worth of fish before he could make that year's payment. But as the season progressed, his debt (emergency boat repairs, food and fuel) again increased. Because it was a poor fishing year he was unable to make the payment, earned no money for living expenses and had to pay a high interest rate. So long as one is turning fish in to the company, it is happy to have one in debt. A man badly in debt is unlikely to vote for a strike. Because the fishermen are continually buying bigger and better boats with more and more electronic equipment, as a group they are continually in debt. They 'owe their soul to the company store,' as they put it.

Many Indians do not clearly understand the system of credit. As Rohner has remarked:

> Some men have forfeited their boats because they

> did not make payments on them. A typical way of losing a boat is by mortgaging it to a fish company for a net, which often costs about $1,000.00, and then neglecting to make payment on the net, thereby losing both boat and net. Because they understand why the net was taken from them but not the boat, they feel that Whites are cheating them. Frequently, they do not understand the implication of a mortgage; a transaction might be both honest and legal from the fish company's viewpoint.[11]

A man operating a gillnetter generally makes more money than a seine crew member, although he has higher expenses and catches fewer fish. Most Indians prefer to have their own boat so that they can be their own boss. The relation of seine boat skipper to his crew can be an unhappy one.

> Crew members often grumble because the skipper takes the boat to areas where they do not think it should be taken, using fuel, the cost of which must be deducted from all shares. Some skippers are accused of cheating their crews, particularly in managing the books.[12]

Fishing is a very uncertain occupation. The color and kind of net, closures by the Department of Fisheries, strikes, poor weather, boat breakdown, and paucity of fish all combine to produce good and bad years for fishermen. The fishing economy has a great influence on the whole community. Comments made by businessmen during the poor fishing season of 1969 indicate the extent of this: "We'll be tightening our belts this winter," and "There'll be a real quiet Christmas this year."

Receiving some thousands of dollars in a lump sum in the fall leads to great difficulties for many--if not most--fishing families. There is a tendency to buy clothes, household goods, etc., all at the time of settlement so that the money very soon disappears. The family must then make do, find winter work, welfare or unemployment insurance until the following year. An example of the effect of this type of spending among the Indians is that many of them begin wood carving just before Christmas, and peddle their wares door to door or to the always willing shopkeepers--at far less than their normal value.

Many men get another job after fishing, generally logging, construction, or mining. They quit these jobs before fishing, knowing they can get another after fishing season. There is no thought of permanency in these jobs. Unemployment is not regarded as something worrisome. Two or three or four weeks or more between jobs is an accepted state of affairs. Any fisherman who pays unemployment insurance while fishing for fifteen weeks is entitled to seasonal benefits which last from December 1 to May 15.

Many of the fishing families, and their friends, both Indian and White, home-can salmon for the winter. The Indians are allowed special privileges for food fishing.

It generally involves a cooperative effort, with each family depending on the person most closely related to them who owns a boat. Some of the Indian families also smoke and dry salmon, but this depends very much on individual initiative.

Some Indian families gather Oulachon fish and render the oil. The oil is greatly prized and is occasionally available for sale, but only through an interpersonal network. Seaweed is still collected and dried by some families, as are clams. Other seafood may be obtained in season, but again this depends very much on the availability of a boat, and individual initiative. Unfortunately those Indians most in need of dietary supplements, are those least able to obtain the transportation necessary to harvest the available seafoods.

An examination of some of the statistics on welfare give some further insight into the economic situation in Alert Bay. According to Indian Affairs statistics for 1968, for the Nimpkish Band only, ninety Nimpkish Indians in Alert Bay, both male and female, were permanently employed. There were fifteen Indian-owned fish boats. The average family income was three thousand dollars. There were twenty familes, consisting of fifty persons, on permanent welfare, and there were fifteen children in care of the Department of

Social Welfare.

Welfare payments in Alert Bay are an important source of income. Interim statistics for April 1969 give a clearer picture of the welfare situation. There were eighteen unemployable heads of families on permanent welfare. There were five unemployed employables on somewhat permanent welfare, ten on seasonal welfare (two to three months) and seventy-two self-supported families.[13]

There are some sixty-five businesses in Alert Bay, including two main grocery stores, plus a third store that is owned by a fish company and open only during the fishing season. There were, in 1969, five stores that sold a variety of dry-goods, two stores that sold hardware, one drug store, three cafes, two radio repair shops, a bank branch, a florist, a movie theatre, two shipyards, a barbershop and a variety of other small businesses providing services to the community. Perhaps the most popular store on the Island is the Liquor Control Board store.

Most of the major oil companies are represented in Alert Bay. Although all of them have docks for refueling boats, not all of them serve cars. There is a fleet of ten taxis on the Island, and they provide the major transportation, although even by 1958, there were one hundred and thirty-two private cars and trucks. A taxi

trip costs fifty cents per person, anywhere on the Island. The cars have radio-phones and they pick up and deliver as many passengers as they can going in one direction, and then start from that end and return, picking up and dropping off passengers all along the road.

Although Alert Bay has most types of stores and services, many people shop by catalogue and have goods shipped in, or make a trip to Vancouver for major purchases. Prices are generally higher in Alert Bay, partly due to high freight rates and partly due to the fact that the retailers have, for the most part, a captive clientele. There is not too much selection. For example, there may be only one brand of any article in the whole village. Selection in clothing is also very poor.

St. Michael's Residence, which employs several people as child care workers, and kitchen and laundry workers and St. George's Hospital, which employs seventy persons in various capacities, are the major employers of women on the Island. Many Indian women are employed as laundry, kitchen or cleaning staff.

A minor source of income involves the tourist trade. Some of the Indians are able to earn a bit of money during the summer doing Indian dancing. The Kwakwala Arts and Crafts Organization puts on a show of Indian dancing with a narrative in English for tourists from the

cruise ships that stop in Alert Bay. Some of the older people have taught children the dancing, and all ages, including pre-school children, are paid for taking part in a performance. Although the dances are owned as inherited property by some of the older people, children from non-chiefly families are able to take part. Because the men may be out fishing when the tourist boats come, it is mainly women, children and retired men who perform.

Some of the Indians do wood carving and silver work. Some do traditional designs on less traditional handicrafts such as pottery and printing on cloth for wall hangings, etc. These crafts are for sale at the Big House when the tourist dances are performed. They are also sold to the retailers in the Village. All retailers, including the one Indian cafe, put a fifty to one hundred percent mark-up on these items.

> In general, the community seems to be dying economically. Fishing is declining, and will decline further with the 1968 license limitations. Logging has become stabilized, tending to tree-farming in the more accessible areas. With large numbers of Indians migrating to Alert Bay, mainly for the educational opportunities, and the lack of work available on the Island, many of them are on welfare for part of the year, and are thus not heavy consumers of the goods and services provided by local businesses. There is a very high ratio of service to basic occupations among the Whites on the Island. It has been suggested "that the community has largely a 'one-crop' economy consisting of Indians."[14]

In the light of a declining population in the Village, it appears that the effects of economic decline are already acting to further restrict the range of services available to the remaining residents.

The Church

There are four churches in Alert Bay: Anglican, Pentecostal, United and Roman Catholic. The Anglican church is situated between two sections of Indian Reserve. The majority of Indians in Alert Bay consider themselves Anglican. St. Michael's Residential School, begun by the first missionary, was under Anglican auspices until it was taken over by the Indian Affairs Department April 1, 1969.

> The United Church draws almost exclusively from the White population in Alert Bay, the Anglican from both White and Indian, and the Pentecostal largely from the Indian population. None of the churches has a large or consistent attendance from Indians or Whites. Members of the subsisting-oriented class appear to attend Pentecostal services more frequently than Anglican, and members of the future-oriented class appear to prefer Anglican more often than Pentecostal.[15]

One Indian informant put it this way: "Indians around here are married and buried Anglican. The rest of

the time they're Pentecostal if they're anything--which most of them aren't."

The Anglican minister, Rev. D. Stannard, states that on paper twelve hundred people or sixty percent of the population of Alert Bay are Anglican. In fact about ten percent of the population take any part in church activities. Three or four people attend the 9:00 a.m. Sunday Communion Service. There are fifty or sixty at the 11:00 a.m. service and twelve to thirty Sunday evening. Last year the Sunday school had an attendance of one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty including fifty to seventy-five children from St. Michael's Residence. There are two women's groups, an afternoon group with about twenty members, and an evening group with fifteen. There is a group of about fifteen girls ages ten to fourteen who meet weekly; there are confirmation classes for children and adults, a choir of fifteen to twenty people and a small Bible study group. Friday evenings there are about twenty-five persons, generally older Indians, who attend the Kwakwala Prayer Meeting.

The minister is very much against the potlach revival current in the area. He stated that last year a widow mortgaged her old age pension to give a potlach. He estimated that over thirty thousand dollars was given away in potlaches last year. He feels that Alert Bay is

a poverty culture--not because of lack of money--but because of the way it is spent. He estimates that seventy-five percent of the families in Alert Bay suffer due to alcohol, and that every family has at least one member with an alcohol problem. In some families this problem is hidden to 'save face.'

He says that in many families the grandparents bring up the children, and parents have lost control over their children. He states that "there is no love of the child that leads to constructive discipline." Indian children are more mature and better able to take responsibility in many ways, but they are more irresponsible than White children in some ways, and it is in these ways that they remain irresponsible as adults. Examples he gave were care of property, use of alcohol, and fulfilling an obligation. (Sunday School teachers are often absent from their duties without reason.)

He feels that the paternalism of the government and the church have a lot to do with the Indians' problems. They have an "emotional sentimental attachment to the church rather than an intellectual one." During the history of the church, clubs and study groups have been instigated by the minister, only to disintegrate when he left. His aim in his work at the church is to encourage the Indians to take responsibility for their own

organizations. As a matter of policy, he refuses to initiate groups unless church members are willing to accept responsibility for leadership.

The Pentecostal Mission has been active in Alert Bay since 1946. It draws solely from the Indian population. About forty people attend church service and there are eighty to one hundred children in Sunday School. They hold two services Sunday, in English with some Kwakwala hymns, have a Kwakwala prayer meeting in someone's home on Wednesday, and Friday evening is Family Night. They have a women's group, a men's group, and Gideon Scouts[16] for boys. There is much more audience participation in the more casual Pentecostal service. Many Indians say they feel more comfortable there than in the much more formal, ritualistic atmosphere of the Anglican service.

The United Church, originally the Methodist Church, came to Alert Bay in 1913. At first there was no resident minister and the congregation was served by the mission boat 'Robert C. Scott.' Since 1960 the church has had a seaplane, and the minister-pilot covers the large Northern Vancouver Island area. A new church was built in 1962. There is a very small congregation consisting of twelve active families and forty-five families who are nominal adherents. There are about forty children attending

Sunday School. Some of these are Indians resident in the Village, but their attendance is due to spatial proximity rather than religious conviction. There are eight or ten participants in an adult discussion group, and about twenty members in the women's group. They have had Explorers[17] for girls in grades four to seven, and had about forty members, about two thirds of whom were Indian. There were about twelve C.G.I.T.[18] members, girls past grade seven, with about one third Indian membership. They may not be able to continue these groups due to lack of leaders. One church member "strongly advises cutting [Explorers] back to include only the the twelve girls from our own church. We should encourage the Anglicans to accept some responsibility for this work."[19] As two thirds of the forty girls were said to be Indian, this statement is in effect a veiled attempt by this woman to exclude Indians. As leadership is the main problem in maintaining groups in Alert Bay, a threat to withdraw leadership would leave the minister in the awkward position of having to comply or having no group at all. As the husband of this woman was most vociferous in expressing to the researcher his complaints about school integration, there can be no doubt that the intentions of this woman were to rid the group of Indian girls. However, one can only speculate as to how much of this attitude of rejection

was conveyed to the girls, aged eight to eleven, who were members of the group.

The Anglican and United Church ministers visit about one hundred children at St. Michael's Residence one night a week and Sunday morning with volunteers from the congregation. The United Church minister, Rev. Peter Newberry, also had a group of about fifteen boys, ten and older, for weekly activities. He does family counselling with people from all parts of the community and is active in community social service organizations.

For several years the United Church has had 'The In-Between Coffee House' Friday evenings for young adults. There is live entertainment, games, and coffee. This is a social evening open to anyone rather than a church club. The church also sponsors topical films in the church hall as a community service. Teen dances are occasionally held in the church hall.

A Roman Catholic Church was built in 1951 and serves a small congregation. The priest lives in Port Alice on Vancouver Island and serves a large North Island area. Until 1957, the priest lived in Ocean Falls and covered most of the North Coastal area. A priest was resident in Alert Bay for a few years from 1957, but the small congregation did not warrant his continual service. The logging and mining towns on Vancouver Island had a more

concentrated Catholic population.

Aside from the children who attend Sunday School, attendance at and interest in church activities in Alert Bay is very limited. Both the Anglican and United Churches have difficulty in recruiting reliable leaders to carry out any group activities. All in all the church has little effect on the lives of people in Alert Bay.

Recreation

In an examination of leisure time activities in Alert Bay, undoubtedly the most noticeable is the activity in the pubs. There are two beer parlors, the Nimpkish and the Harbor Inn, and a Royal Canadian Legion Branch in Alert Bay. The Harbor Inn is noted for having a rowdy crowd, yet it is often the quietest place in town because many people drink there only if they have been barred from the Nimpkish. The Nimpkish has a very mixed crowd and is usually full on the weekends. It is generally noisy and an evening isn't complete in the minds of some without at least one fight.

The Legion caters generally to a quieter crowd, both Indian and non-Indian. Many people who wouldn't

drink in the bars are regulars at the Legion. It is the only place where people have to "dress up" on weekends so many people go there for special occasions.

There is one movie theatre that is fairly well attended, although the movies run largely to westerns and science fiction. Many children attend the Saturday matinee. There is also a poolroom, which is frequented mainly by teenagers.

Once or twice a year there is a cabaret at the community hall. As liquor is served, teenagers are not allowed. There is dancing, often to a live band. As it is a dress-up occasion many of the poorer people do not feel welcome. These dances are usually sponsored by some community organization to raise funds.

Girls living in the Hospital Residence occasionally hold dances in their recreation room. Attendance is by invitation only, and usually only single males and couples associated with the hospital are invited.

Weddings are other occasions for a dance. Because many of the receptions are large affairs, and lines are not too carefully drawn between those who are invited and those who are not, what might otherwise be considered "gate crashing" is more or less customary.

The basement of the community hall is used almost

every night in winter for league bowling. There are many teams and interest runs high. Both Indian, White, and Mixed teams take part. During the day, school gym classes and children's leagues bowl. Badminton is played in the community hall and has a regular membership during the winter. A community recreation director was hired in 1969 but it is as yet too early to assess his influence. As one of the major problems in any organization in the community is lack of consistent leadership, his efforts are bound to prove beneficial in providing recreation, organizational continuity, and consistent leadership.

There is no indoor swimming pool in Alert Bay. There are two private pools that have been used during the summer for swimming lessons. Some people swim in the sea, but it is cold. As the temperature of the water varies only ten degrees winter and summer, it is mainly a run-in-and-run-out affair.

There are several Indian soccer teams in Alert Bay, which play teams from outlying villages. Interest runs high and competition is keen in these matches. A Mixed men's softball team occasionally organizes in the summer, but due to the fact that most men are out fishing, their games are irregular. A women's team practices every week in season and plays teams from the surrounding area. They sometimes have difficulty getting nine for a game although

there are several good players on the Island. Softball teams include both Indians and Whites.

There is a Hospital Committee which organizes fund raising projects. This committee is Indian-White and draws from the community leaders for members. One of their projects was an Indian dance organized by Jimmy Sewid. He ran into some opposition from older Indians who were at first reluctant to put on their inherited dances in this non-traditional way. Finally they relented, and allowed people to pay to see their dances, rather than paying people to watch; and a good sum of money was made for the hospital.[20] These dances were put on for several years starting in 1951. Another part of the activities in aid of the hospital fund was the May Queen voting. People pay a small sum for the Queen candidate of their choice. The girl with the most votes becomes May Queen, and the money goes to the hospital. On the May 24th long weekend, the Queen is crowned, there are foot races, ball games, and other activities, all in aid of the hospital fund.

June Sports Weekend is organized by the Indians of Alert Bay, and has been held every year since 1922.[21] It marks the beginning of the fishing season, although actual fishing commences before the end of June. The major run of fish in River's Inlet occurs just after June Sports, and this weekend used to be the last before the migration

of whole families to the canneries at River's Inlet. Soccer between the many Indian teams from Alert Bay and the other villages is the main attraction, with old men's and women's teams also taking part, for comic relief from the very seriously fought championship games. Barbecued salmon, prepared by the Indian women, is a special treat for everyone on the Island.

Jimmy Sewid was instrumental in constructing the Kwakiutl Big House, which was completed in 1965, and officially opened at June Sports in 1966.[22] This house is used for the dances held for tourists, mentioned earlier. It is also used for traditional-type potlaches, and Christmas parties, as well as for the Indian dances for the hospital fund.

Most of the communities in the area have some kind of Sports Day. In logging communities there are tree-climbing, tree-falling, log-rolling and similar contests. There is a Salmon competition, with prizes for the largest fish in various categories. Many people travel around to these special events, depending partly on the availability of transportation.

There are many women's clubs on the Island. There are four church groups, Lady Lions, Royal Canadian Legion Auxiliary, and St. George's Hospital Auxiliary. Some of these groups draw from a distinct population but there is

also overlapping. The poorer non-church members do not appear to be served by any organization. The Hospital Auxiliary operates a second-hand clothing shop in a small room in the hospital residence Saturday afternoons, except in the summer. Because of the transient nature of much of the population in the area, they receive boxes of clothing not only from Alert Bay, but from many of the logging and mining communities on Vancouver Island. Most of the other groups hold bake sales and the whole gamut of fund-raising projects. A few years ago there was an organization of Kwakiutl women, but it apparently dissolved due to disagreement among the women.

There are church groups for men, Lions, the Legion, and the Board of Trade. Most of these groups also exclude a proportion of the population.

The Kwakwala Arts and Crafts Organization is a group of Indian people from Alert Bay and the outlying villages dedicated to the encouragement and preservation of Indian culture. They arrange for the tourist entertainment, sale of crafts and maintenance of the Big House.

Dances are held frequently in the Council Hall on the Reserve. They are attended mainly by younger people. There is a good Indian band from the Reserve which plays for these dances.

What could be considered the most popular year round sport is sex. Anyone from age twelve can play, and many people take full advantage of the opportunities that present themselves. In answer to the enquiry as to whether there were any prostitutes in Alert Bay, one informant said in amazement, "Hell no, there's too much of it floating around for free." Loggers, fishermen and miners visiting the Bay have no difficulty in finding a date at the bar. Although there are people on the Island more conservative in their moral views, they are not very noticeable, and the impression one gets is of an amoral community. Certain stories are commonly told such as the one about the nine year old boy taking a bottle of liquor to school and getting his friends drunk in the washroom, and the one about the seven year old girls getting caught smoking at school. These serve to reinforce this impression.

As we have seen, there is a fair variety of leisure time activities available in Alert Bay. The picture drawn of the groups in existence at one point in time does not, however, tell the whole story. Due to difficulties with leadership, and a transient population, many of the activities appear and disappear very rapidly. Aside from this, Alert Bay is a very isolated place. Radio and Television reception is poor, and during

inclement weather, no escape from the Island is possible. The school teachers and other "professional transients" show the effects of this isolation. They seldom read "outside" newspapers, or get any other news. They become increasingly more ingrown the longer they stay, until the outside world becomes a strange land. Alert Bay is a community of narrow diameter.

Indian - White Relations

First of all, in a discussion of Indian-White relations, it is necessary to examine the formal institutions. The school began integration of the senior grades in 1955. By 1961, grade one was integrated. An integrated kindergarten was established in 1964 and a nursery school in 1966. In 1969, the children from St. Michael's Residence were integrated into the public school system, so that all children on the Island now attend the same schools.

The stores, the pubs, the churches, in fact all public facilities are completely integrated. The only institutionalized inequality in Alert Bay arises from the Indian Act. Through many of the provisions of the Indian

Act the Indian has been set apart beginning in 1876, from the mainstream of Canadian life. By putting them on Reserves, they have been separated spatially. Since they cannot mortgage their homes to raise money, and cannot control finances on the Reserves, they have been separated economically. The liquor laws pertaining to the Indians separated them socially. They were only allowed full and equal rights in liquor purchase and consumption in 1962 in British Columbia. The Indian Act also contained clauses that stated that any Indian who is intoxicated, or in possession of intoxicants on or off the reserve is guilty of an offense, and liable to a fine of up to fifty dollars and/or imprisonment up to three months. Offenses by Indians in respect to liquor constitute the bulk of their offenses. They were punished for something that is not an offense for non-Indians, and often "separated" from society by imprisonment.

Besides the things that have served to separate the Indian from the general society, many things have been done to separate him from his own culture. The Potlach Law of 1884 forbade him to carry on his social and religious ceremonies. Missionaries set up schools, and punished the children for speaking their own language; they were encouraged to join the church and leave the Big-House. Indian Affairs provided assistance in building

single family dwellings, in order that the young mission school graduates would not be influenced by living with their relatives.

The effects of the Indian Act are still felt in Alert Bay. The resolution of this problem is a topic of current concern among the Indians in Canada especially in light of proposed legislation to phase out Indian Affairs. We have noted previously some of the effects of this difference in organization in our discussion of relations between the Reserve and the Village. We will only note here that this form of institutional inequality is a factor in examining Alert Bay.

Despite the institutional integration in most organizations in Alert Bay, interpersonal prejudice and discrimination exists in many areas. We have mentioned previously the attempt of a church leader to exclude Indian children from Explorers.

A prime example of discrimination exists in the attitudes toward sex. Because of the large proportion of White men to women mentioned previously (61.5% males to 38.5% females), there are a large number of unattached males looking for female company. Loggers, miners, fishermen and the neighboring Finnish people converge on Alert Bay looking for sex. The man goes to the beer parlors, and during the course of the evening meets and

buys beer for a girl. When the bar closes he buys a case of beer and the couple find a place to spend the night--in one of the hotels, on the man's boat, or at the home of friends. While the men look upon this as cheap and easy sex, and denigrate the girls the Indians have a very different view of it. Their attitude towards sex generally is that "If you want it and I want it, lets do it." The women are comfortable with their sexuality and do not have to deny its existence. They look on these nights and the men they are with as "dates" and "boyfriends." The Indian male has the same attitude, and rape and forceful seduction is very rarely attributed to Indian men.

An Indian girl was murdered by a White transient. The story current in the community was that although she did sleep with many men, it was always by choice. She was known to have spent the evening drinking with this man and then it was assumed that in the rooming house she had decided she didn't want to sleep with him. In the ensuing struggle she was killed, and her body was hidden. The man was charged with non-capital murder, but was sentenced to eight years on the lesser charge of manslaughter, but the Indian community was very upset. One informant said, "Nothing ever happens to them when they kill us Indians. They can do what they like."

Another group of people, noted by the Indians for

their prejudice, is the teachers. Although some of the teachers get along very well with some Indians, there are also those who have little or no relationship with Indians other than their students. One teacher who spent six years teaching in Alert Bay stated that he had never carried on a conversation with an adult Indian--and didn't see any reason why he should. The Principal, Mr. L. Curley, stated to the author that he would like the teachers to make home visits, and he encouraged this, but that he felt it would be self-defeating to force the teachers if they were not willing and very few of them did make any visits. One woman stated that she knew some of her teachers were prejudiced. "They were nice to your face, and then you'd hear them talking about 'those Indians'."

Another person noted for his blatant prejudice was the Indian Agent.[23] He stated to the author that his family had been harassed by Indian children since their arrival. The children wrote four-letter words on the white picket fence of the Agency-supplied house. When his wife washed them off, they wrote more. This went on until his wife was "a nervous wreck," so he removed the picket fence and replaced it with barbed wire--to make sure the children didn't come into the yard. This man also drove his children to and from school so that they

wouldn't be "bullied" by Indian children. The adult Indians were of course aware of this situation, but the only comments recorded were unprintable.

Many people in Alert Bay, both Indian and White, feel that the R.C.M.P. discriminates against Indians. According to stories current in the area, an Indian will be arrested for staggering down the street, while the White will be ignored. In examining the 'Before the Magistrate' column of the local paper over a period of eight months, there is a preponderance of Indians appearing in court. Many of their offenses involve liquor. Many of the Whites are involved in fishing offenses: that is, they are arrested by Department of Fisheries Officers rather than by the R.C.M.P.

A story current in the community repeated by both White and Indian informants concerned the girl, previously mentioned, who was killed by a White man. As the story was told, this girl was frequently picked up by the R.C.M.P. on her way home after the bar closed. She was used sexually by members of the R.C.M.P., and was released in the morning without being charged for any offenses. The truth of this story is open to speculation. However, regardless of the truth of a story, the fact that it is oft repeated indicates that those people telling it believe in its possible or probable truth.

As we have stated previously, some behavior seen as "Indian" is actually identical to lower class behavior. There is some evidence that discrimination against Indians in Alert Bay does take these class differences into account. Lower-class Whites do associate with lower-class Indians socially, as do the middle-class groups. There is a great deal of intermarriage on the Island, generally within the class lines, as will become evident in our discussion of the ethnic origins, and the number of part-Indians in the Grade One group. One Indian woman of the middle class stated that when she went to the Nimpkish beer parlor, many of the lower-class Indians present made such remarks as, "Oh! You're drinking with the Indians tonight." "You're slumming tonight, eh?" This woman very seldom goes to the Nimpkish, but occasionally drinks in the Legion with other members of the middle-class, both Indian and White. Part of the resentment shown to Indian members of the middle-class stems from the feeling, as Dora Cook said, that they have sold out to the Whites.

In interviewing the mothers, a specific question was asked about discrimination in Alert Bay. Four of the five mothers said that they had never seen or experienced discrimination in Alert Bay, and didn't believe it existed. One woman stated that she had had R.C.M.P. and teachers visit her home for a drink, and they were always

friendly. As information had been obtained from teachers about the sexual exploitation motive in these visits, this is a specific example of the Indian not being aware of the sexual exploitation in Indian - White relations. The fifth mother, who had more education and a higher social position than the others, stated that, "There is plenty in Alert Bay. You can sense it. You never know when you walk down the street what people will be nice or nasty, or just ignore you." She stated that children run into discrimination all the time but may not recognize what it is.

As we have seen, there is a great deal of discrimination toward the Indians in Alert Bay. Aside from the discriminatory policies still current in the Indian Act, there is sexual exploitation, discriminatory arrests by the R.C.M.P., an Indian Agent who puts up a barbed wire fence, and prejudiced teachers. The discrimination and prejudice are blatant, although they do not apply to all people or all situations. How can the Indian child then crystalize these attitudes into a single attitude, or generalized other? And what form could this generalized other take? We will discuss this question later.

Social Control

It is important to an understanding of social control to have some idea of the make-up of a community. We have indicated in passing that Alert Bay is a very heterogeneous community. We will delineate first the social groups in the White community and the groups in the Indian community, indicating the associations between the two. We will take our outline of the White community largely from a survey done by a previous student, as our research focused on the Indian community.

(1) "Old-line" families--This is a relatively impoverished aristocracy, mainly composed of old-time businessmen who had it all their own way until certain competitive marketing innovations were introduced into Alert Bay (instigated by a peripheral member of this group). They are socially conservative, and politically, they appear to tend toward support of the Social Credit government.

(2) Middle to upper-middle class professionals and businessmen--These people comprise the rising influential group. By and large, they are characterized by considerable wealth, power, prestige and influence. Most belong to the Canadian Legion ("their" social club) and are community activists.

(3) Middle-class "liberals"--These people are too "far out" for the second group above, but are tolerated by them. They are very active in community affairs, their attention being focused on the nursery school at the time of this investigation. [1966]

(4) Teachers--Socially and spatially isolated, which isolation is intensified by a "town and gown" conflict.

(5) White collar "transients"--Includes people who work for the Department of Transport,

B.C. Hydro, B.C. Telephone, the Indian Affairs Department, the R.C.M.P., B.C. Packers, banks and construction companies, other civil servants. Although important in the economic and social life of Alert Bay, members of this group do not take a particularly active part in the civic affairs of the community, being too impermanent to get involved.

(6) Stable, respectable working class.

(7) "Poor white trash"--Seasonal workers, "Benson Mine" types.[25]

There are four main groups in the Indian community. The first may be called the "Fishing Aristocracy." These people generally own large seine boats, and have as much as $200,000 invested in their boats and equipment. They are usually persons who are hereditary chiefs, and who take part in the potlaching. They don't drink--at least not in public, and very moderately in any situation. They are generally members of and active in the Anglican Church. They are involved as community leaders, both in the Band and in cooperative efforts with the Village. They are, according to Rohner's definition cited earlier,[25] future oriented. They look to traditional values in the Indian culture, and White values, both in business and in the Church, and are guided by the norms operative in both.

A second group, which might be called the "Indian Middle Class," consists of people who are permanently employed in "white collar" jobs or are successful fishermen. Some of these people are store clerks, teachers, child-care workers, etc. This group is generally younger

than the first. Many of them have obtained potlach positions and dances, or are eligible for them, but they take little interest in Indian cultural activities. They are not members, generally, of any church--although they are probably "married and buried Anglican." Their main associations are in the White community, particularly with liberal school-teachers. They generally drink in the homes of friends or in the Legion. They are future-oriented, and most of their values are from the White society, sometimes to the detriment of their relationships with Indian relatives. They are referred to as "White Indians" by themselves and by their White friends.

A third group consists of the "Respectable Working Indians," who have regular employment, in "blue collar" jobs or fishing. This group is living in the Indian community, and takes part in Indian cultural activities, though not as leaders. They generally take part in activities of the Pentecostal Church, although they too are usually "married and buried Anglican." They may drink occasionally in the bars or the Legion, but generally drink only on weekends. They are more subsistence than future oriented, as their goal is to remain at the same (comfortable) level rather than to "get ahead." Their values are predominantly Indian.

The fourth group, which is very similar to the "poor White trash" may be called the "Haywire Indians." This group holds no hereditary titles, and takes little or no part in Indian cultural activities. They are generally unemployed and on welfare. They take no part in any church activities, but also may be married and are almost certainly buried Anglican. They drink regularly in the bars, seldom if ever in the Legion, and drink heavily. Their associations are with Indians, and with the "poor White trash" and transient loggers and miners. They are subsistence oriented. They are usually stated to be the least acculturated, but in fact are not part of anything that might be called traditional Indian culture. They are perhaps well acculturated--but into a lower-class poverty culture. Because of the fact that they drink heavily in public, they are the most "noticeable" Indians on the Island. Many Whites take their behavior as "typically Indian" since they are not as likely to see people of the other groups.

Aside from these differences in orientation and in values, the Indian community is heterogeneous in another way. As we have mentioned previously, members of a wide variety of numayms from all over the Kwakiutl area have migrated to Alert Bay. Social control in the traditional culture was maintained through pressures by the family and

household group on the individual to maintain the good name of the numaym. In early days, members of groups two, three and four would donate part of their produce to their numaym head, and he would use it to maintain his position, and theirs vis-a-vis the other numayms. With the advent of wage economy, younger members could withhold their support from the numaym head, and remain independent. With the breakdown of the potlach, the numaym lost further control over the behavior of its members. In the potlach revival, individual men finance their distributions on their own, without the support of all their numaym members. Thus, a few men maintain the tradition, while most persons have no role, give no aid, and take no part other than as spectators and recipients of the donor's largesse. As they are not active participants, they are not controlled by the rules. Thus, traditional values, rules and sanctions have no meaning for most of the Indians in Alert Bay. Because most of the Indians are not in meaningful association with members of the White community, these codes have not replaced the traditional ones. As gossip or ostracism are effective only within a group, this form of sanction, applied by members of another group is not effective.

Thus, aside from a minority of persons who are sufficiently integrated into a group that feels shame

arising from illegal activities, or who are in association with, and have accepted White values, the majority of persons in Alert Bay are constrained in their activities, only by the external controls available.

The Indians practice 'non-interference' with other peoples' behavior. In many cases people refused to say anything when a misdeed or crime was being committed, even by children. People sometimes threaten to call the R.C.M.P. but this is seldom done. When the R.C.M.P. initiate proceedings in a matter concerning two Indians, they are regarded as interfering where they are not wanted.

The R.C.M.P., nonetheless, are the law enforcement agency in Alert Bay. They make their presence known by driving the paddy wagon up and down the main road, particularly in the evening, and may have some inhibiting effect. The R.C.M.P. detachment in Alert Bay consists of six men on land, covering Alert Bay, Sointula, and a portion of the sparsely settled adjacent Vancouver Island. Four men in the R.C.M.P. boat 'Alert' cover a wide area of the coastal islands and mainland inlets.

One of the most effective measures of control is barring miscreants from the beer parlor--a person barred from one will take care not to be barred from the other. Each time a person is barred, it is for a longer time, so they realize that unless they behave they will be denied

access to Alert Bay's social centers.

Other officials have the authority to impose various sanctions, including the Indian Agent, Social Worker, and Fisheries Officer, but these sanctions apply only to certain defined areas of life, and have no effect on behavior in general. There are few purely "social" sanctions operative in Alert Bay.

The Grade Ones and Their Families

There are forty-seven children in this group, with forty-five families, as there are two families with siblings in the class. The researcher will describe these families as a specific cross-section of the Alert Bay population.

Of the children, twenty-four are registered Indian, eleven are part-Indian, ten are White, and two are Chinese. In nine of the eleven cases of part-Indian children, an Indian mother is married to a White. In two cases children have the status of a half-Indian mother who was married to a White and who is not legally married to the Indian father of the children. Were these couples free to marry, the children would become registered Indians.

Because in the case of part-Indian families, most of the White partners are men who have migrated to Alert Bay and have no relatives there, these families have very close association with the Indian relatives of the mother. The men take varying interest in their wives' families, but could be said generally to be more in association, through their work and socially, with Whites.

Included in the forty-five families are several parents who were born and raised in Alert Bay, as well as many people who have lived in Alert Bay for periods ranging from thirty-five years. There are also several families of 'professional transients' such as R.C.M.P., who generally serve in an area for a stated period and are automatically transferred elsewhere. The mothers are Registered Nurses who worked in the hospital and then married into the village. However, most of these service personnel establish few roots in the community and have little other than an occupational interest in its well-being.

Many people registered as Nimpkish Indians are actually from all the different tribes of the Kwakiutl. There have been more and more joining the Nimpkish Band every year so that all the tribes are represented. Some are very recent migrants and others have lived in Alert Bay for years. There are also families living in Alert Bay who

still have membership in another band. One Indian mother was originally Coast Salish, another was Cree, and a third was non-Indian.

Thus, the 'grade one families' consist of those who have lived in cities, those who have lived in Alert Bay--a center with schools and stores, mixing continually among Indians and Whites; and those least acculturated who are recent arrivals from a very isolated reserve.

There is a great deal of intermarriage so that most of the Indians and part-Indians are related to a great many people on the Island. There are four children in the grade one class who are first cousins, and twenty children have at least one first cousin in the class. If you count second and third cousins, most of the Indian and part-Indian children are related. None of the non-Indian children have any relatives in the class.

Of the forty-seven children in the grade one class, six were born in 1961 and forty-one were born in 1962. The number of children in the families ranges from one to twelve. The average number of children is 4.40. The Whites average 3.75 children per family; the Indians average 4.37, and the part-Indians 5.18. Of the six children who are behind in school (born in 1961) one is White, two are part-Indian, and three are Indian. Two of these, one part-Indian and one Indian have a sibling in the

same class.

The income of the 'grade one families' ranges from total dependence on welfare to over twelve thousand dollars per year. The average income per household for Indians in Alert Bay is three thousand dollars per year. There are three retired grandparents, two of whom are dependent upon welfare and one with an annual income of five thousand dollars. There are two families on permanent welfare, and two other families where the father fishes but earns so little that they are on intermittent welfare. Sixteen men fish for salmon, five drive taxis, four are employed by either the provincial or federal government, five work in construction or shipyards, two log and four are businessmen or professionals. At least thirteen of the heads of family earn over five thousand dollars per year. Only eight families have an annual income of less than three thousand dollars. Two mothers are without husbands. Nineteen mothers work. Two mothers support their families, one of them earning well over five thousand dollars per year. Seven work in either the hospital or residence kitchen, two work in these laundries, three drive taxi, two teach nursery school, and the remaining five have jobs ranging from steno to store owner. Two women assemble and repair fish nets during the fishing season. This is a skilled, well-paid job. They generally

work long hours, seven days a week at the peak of the season.

This brief description of employment of these forty-five families is not the full picture. One man who fishes serves beer during the fishing weekend and through the winter. Another goes logging, labouring or into construction during the winter, or he may have a series of other jobs although he still considers himself a fisherman. Some of the Indians sell carvings and other handicrafts, and one man plays in the local dance band on occasion. One family had cash coming in for care of a foster-child, and others make money babysitting, housecleaning, and doing janitor work in the business establishments.

Four of the fathers are captains of seine boats. Three of these own (are buying) their own boats. Their wives go fishing all summer and act as cook for the crew. One family takes one of their three children each week and leaves the other two with a paid babysitter. Another family takes those of their children that are not yet independent.

Housing varies as much in Alert Bay as does income. There are pleasant two and three bedroom homes both on the Reserve and in the Village that would not be out of place in any middle-class suburb. Because the island rises so steeply from the shore, there is one row of buildings

along the waterfront and other buildings must locate further and further up a very steep incline.

There were eighty-two houses on the reserve in 1967, and in 1969 there were one hundred and four. Several of the more delapidated houses on the beach had been torn down since 1967, so that more than twenty-two new houses were actually built. All homes have water and electricity; eighty-six have septic tanks and bathrooms; fifty have telephones. Indian Affairs has projected sixty-three new homes for 1967-71. There are 584 Nimpkish living on the Reserve and 197 living elsewhere. During the summer of 1967 some of the administration of house construction on the Reserve was transferred from Indian Affairs to the Band Council. There was some delay in building during this transfer. Houses are built to Indian Affairs specifications by Indian carpenters from the Reserve. The family pays a long term, low interest loan for the house.

One Indian family with five children and a foster child lived in a small, decayed, drafty structure. A cousin and her three children and an elderly uncle lived with them. They were awaiting the construction of a new home.

When this family moved to their new house, the cousin and her children remained in the old house. It is still bereft of windows and most other amenities. The family had a choice of one model of house without any

finishing (doors, linoleum, etc.) or a smaller house with doors. Although they have a large family they were forced by a lack of money to choose the smaller model--with doors. The house is still unfinished, although it has a coat of bright rust paint outside. The yard looks as though the carpenters had just left for the day. Inside there is much bare wood. Although the author had been invited over specifically to see the new house, she was unable to see more than the small living room and kitchen as she had arrived (Monday afternoon) at the tag end of the weekend party and all the bedrooms were in use by guests who had gone for a nap. What furniture there was was very old and very, very dirty. The arms of the stuffed chair had so many cigarette burns that it was bare to the frame. So many things had been spilled on the arms that they were a sticky black. The two chesterfields were in about the same condition. There was a T.V. set in good working order, an old cabinet and a wooden chair. This furniture took up all the wall space. The kitchen contained an old wringer washer, an unpainted wooden table and benches. The cupboard and floor were covered with empty liquor, beer, and pop bottles.

Another Indian house contained fairly new, modern furniture and was exceptionally clean. The kitchen was somewhat crowded with a new automatic washer and dryer but

the house was generally of the standard of a well kept suburban home.

Another home contained older furniture, but was spotlessly clean. It appeared a bit cluttered with bric-a-brac, souvenirs, and family pictures, but everything was neatly arranged.

Another home, although an older building, still had bare wood floors and had only recently had a bathtub installed. The kitchen contained a bare wood table and benches. The living room contained a crib and beds, a bare wooden table and benches, and a television set. These last three families all have an income of over five thousand dollars per year.

Many if not most of the families on the Reserve include one or more persons from outside the nuclear family in the household. In some cases it is grandparents, aunts, uncles, great-aunts, cousins, grandchildren, nieces, or married or unmarried daughters and their children.

In this section we have examined the physical situation of the grade one families. We will turn now to a discussion of their education.

NOTES

1 Government of Canada, Office Consolidation of the Indian Act, (R.S.C. 1952, c. 149, amended to 1960-61) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Statutes of the Government of Canada), pp. 1-2.

2 James Spradley, (ed), Guests Never Leave Hungry, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 170-71.

3 Ibid., p. 232.

4 Elizabeth Healey, History of Alert Bay, (Comox, B.C.: Alert Bay Centennial Committee, 1958), p. 102.

5 Spradley, op. cit., p. 231.

6 Province of British Columbia, "Statement of Votes, General Election, August 27, 1969," (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 31.

7 Province of British Columbia, "Age Group Distribution of British Columbia's Population by School Districts as of June, 1966," (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1966), Table 2, p. 15; Table 3, p. 22.

8 Ibid.

9 Ronald Rohner, The People of Gilford, (Ottawa: National Museum, Bulletin #225, 1967), p. 41.

10 Ibid., p. 42.

11 Ibid., p. 44.

12 Ibid., p. 44.

13 Field notes. Interview Indian Agency office.

14 Gary Rush, "Non-Indians in Alert Bay," (Simon Fraser University, unpublished mimeo, 1966), p. 4.

15 Rohner, op. cit., p. 150.

16 Gideon Scouts is a more religiously oriented Boy Scout group, usually sponsored by fundamentalist evangelical protestant churches.

17 Explorers is a church group for girls aged 8 to 11 which does arts and crafts, Bible study, group games and singing.

18 C.G.I.T. or Canadian Girls in Training is the senior group, much like Explorers, for girls 12 to 16. Both groups are usually sponsored by the United Church.

19 Rev. P.J. Newbery, "1968 Annual Report, Alert Bay Marine Mission," unpublished mimeo.

20 James Spradley, _op. cit._, p. 158ff.

21 _Ibid._, p. 55.

22 _Ibid._, pp. 251-256, et passim.

23 This man has written a novel about his experience in Alert Bay. See Allan Fry, _How a People Die_, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1970).

24 Gary Rush, _op. cit._, pp. 9-10.

25 Supra p. 75.

EDUCATION

History

The first school in Alert Bay was a residential school in the home of the missionary. Shortly after their arrival in Alert Bay in 1878, Mr. Hall and his wife began to take in Indian children. They were taught English, Christianity, and the girls were given housekeeping and music while the boys were taught manual crafts. In 1894 a new school was built to house thirty boys. A teacher was hired and the boys were taught academic work as well as boat building, carpentry, gardening and animal care.

In 1929 St. Michael's Residential School was built to accommodate two hundred pupils from all along the coast. This was the joint effort of the Columbia Coast Mission and the Indian Affairs Department. Children living on the Reserve attended the Indian day school.

The first public school in Alert Bay began in 1899. There were fifteen children in the first class. By 1925 enrollment had increased sufficiently to open a second room. And in 1939 a 'Superior' class began. Indian children were then allowed to take classes from grade nine

at the public school.

The Present Situation

In 1955 a new public school was opened, partially financed by the Indian Affairs Department. Children from the Reserve started attending from grade seven. The grade level was gradually lowered until the school was completely integrated. A kindergarten for Islanders began in 1964 and a nursery school opened in 1966. In 1967 students from grades eleven and twelve started going to a new high school in Port McNeil. No grade thirteen classes are available in the area. From the Nimpkish Band, in the school year 1968-69, there were 231 children in grades one to seven and 166 in grades eight to twelve. Of these 215 were attending the provincial school in Alert Bay. There were fifteen students in vocational schools on the Lower Mainland.[1]

On April 1, 1969, the Department of Indian Affairs took over St. Michael's Residence from the Anglican Church. The Residence children had attended an Indian day school near the residence. They are, as of September, 1969, completely integrated into the public school system. The

former day school building is being used as an 'open area' school for grades one to three and grades four to ten attend the public school.

Although the children in St. Michael's Residence are not the subject of this study, it is interesting to note that although there is now completely integrated education in Alert Bay, the Residence children are not allowed to visit homes on the Island. On one occasion two young boys came to visit their aunt on their way home from school. They showed her their school-work and talked with her until she told them they had better hurry or they would be in trouble at the Residence. Another informant stated that the children had been able to stay overnight with school chums, but it was said that the Residence administration heard rumors that people didn't approve of the children's institutional clothing, and visiting privileges were suspended. The boys had on identical, poor quality outfits.

The former Indian day school and the provincial school were so 'distant' that on an island with a population of sixteen hundred, the teachers from the two schools were not even acquainted. There was little communication between the two schools.

Many of the people of Alert Bay resent the integration of the school. One White government employee

told the author that he didn't like it because his children were becoming disrespectful at home and losing any sense of punctuality. 'We can do it tomorrow' expressed the attitude he felt his children were acquiring from their Indian classmates. He said that they were also losing pride in their appearance, and in cleanliness because the standard of dress in the school was so low. He also felt that the academic standard was low, but said that part of the reason for that was the lack of qualification of many of the teachers. The Indian Agent, as previously mentioned, finds Indian children such a threat that he drives his children to and from school in a car.

Many people have felt so strongly about what they consider the low standard in the school that several have sent their sons to private boarding school. Many Whites were anxious to have kindergarten and nursery school so that Indian children would be exposed to the school situation as early as possible and would not retard progress in grade one.

Teachers

The Indian children are often subjected to teachers who have no knowledge of--and no use for--Indians. Many of the teachers never socialize in the community and never visit parents on the Reserve. One teacher, who had taught integrated classes for several years, stated publicly that he had no use for Indians. The attitude of many of the other teachers was less vocal but just as prejudicial to the Indian. Some of the teachers come from other countries and are able to teach in Alert Bay because of staff shortages, although they don't meet provincial standards. Some of the teachers speak imperfect English and the students often find it difficult to understand them.

The Grade Ones: Attendance

There are two major considerations in an examination of education: audience and activity. The first question relates to the attendance of children--and what shape they are in for learning while at school. We will examine this question and then proceed to ask what is going on in the school itself.

There were two classes of grade ones. The students were divided largely according to ability, although some students who were not slow learners were placed in that class because it was smaller. There were twenty-five students in Class I and only twenty-one in Class II, the slower group. An examination of attendance records for the two classes shows quite a discrepancy in attendance records for Indian children in the two classes. The number of days absent in Class I ranged from two to eighteen, with an average of 9.3. The number of days absent in Class II ranged from 4½ to 65, with an average of 19.6.

TABLE V.

A. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: AVERAGE OF DAYS ABSENT 1968-69[2]

	Indian	Part-Indian	White	Class Total
Class I	9.7	12.3	7.4	9.3
Class II	28.2	11.8	7.7	19.6

B. AVERAGE OF FAMILIES WITH WORKING MOTHERS ONLY

	Indian	Part-Indian	White
Class I	8.8	9.7	8.3
Class II	12.1 (all)	11.8	(none)

In an effort to determine possible reasons for the high absentee rate among Indian children in Class II, it was found that in families where the mother worked, the

children had a better attendance record. It was also found that families where the father had to go to work in the morning, and most children living with grandparents, had a better attendance record. In Class I, eight out of ten Indian families have a member regularly employed, and the other two are grandparents. In Class II there is only one Indian father regularly employed, and his wife and three other mothers. That is, only three families out of fourteen Indian families have a reason for getting up in the morning. One part-Indian family in Class I and one in Class II and one White family in Class I do not have a parent regularly employed. There is a discrepancy in salary between the two classes, with ten families in Class I earning over five thousand dollars per year, and only three earning less than three thousand. In Class II there are three families earning over five thousand dollars and seven earning less than three thousand.

There are many reasons for the high absentee rate among Indian children. One of these is illness. Alice Dong, in a study of Nutrition in Alert Bay, made use of the hospital records to state the following:

> Here the native children have a high absentee rate from school which is believed to be due to lack of interest, cultural disadvantages and illness. The hospital statistics for the period January 1966 to January 1967 indicate that, out of the 666 children under the age of 14 who were admitted to the pediatric ward of

> the Alert Bay Hospital, 465 were Indian children. More than 90% of these had respiratory conditions and neglect and malnutrition were considered to be etiological factors in the high incidence of these disorders.[3]

She states that most of the children (grades 4 and 5) in both groups prepared their own breakfasts, and that Indian children often prepared their own lunch.

Rohner, working in an isolated village, states:

> Very little fruit, and few fresh vegetables and milk are consumed. One woman called this 'White man's food.' ...According to medical practitioners in the area, one of the most prevalent health problems among the Indians is malnutrition. Because of it, Indians are susceptible to infectious disease of all types, including tuberculosis. The prevalence of dental problems is also attributable to diet. One physician told me that iron and calcium are two basic nutrient deficiencies in the diet of the Indians. Chronic anemia is common from lack of iron.[4]

Another factor in absenteeism is family drinking. When the parents are drinking at home the children are often kept awake all night by the noise, and no one cares if they go to school in the morning. On one visit to a family, two of the school age children were watching T.V. Monday afternoon while the adults continued the drinking party that had begun on the weekend. Another child came home after school. It was obvious from the way she was dressed that she had had no assistance or supervision in getting ready.

Rohner says,

> Permissiveness sometimes borders on neglect, especially when parents are drinking. Until the drinking has ceased, the child may go without food or other attention, or he may be cared for by an adult or older sibling who is not drinking.[5]

Wolcott, teaching in an isolated village, says,

> Often pupils who arrived late had exhibited a great deal of self-direction in coaxing themselves to get up, possibly to wash, and to come to school in the absence of any direction or encouragement, sometimes in the absence of any adult in the home.[6]

When there is drinking, sometimes very young children are forced by the absence of their parents to take responsibility for younger siblings. "When asked why she went to sleep in school, an eight-year-old girl told ...the teacher that she had stayed up late the night before to take care of her eight-month-old brother."[7]

Another factor responsible for children not getting to school, or falling asleep in school is mentioned by Jimmy Sewid.

> ...the teacher went to the chief councillor and told him that a lot of the kids were sleeping on their desks during school. He said that he had tried to wake them up and asked them what was the matter and they would say, 'Oh, no, I'm not sick but I didn't get to sleep 'til 3 o'clock this morning because my mom and I went to that big do last night.'[8]

Children generally take part in any special event on the Island. They attend potlaches and other ceremonies.

However, at one potlach attended, the master of ceremonies said that there would be a recess so that the school children could get home to bed. This is a change from traditional times brought on by complaints from the school to the Indian council.

Perhaps one of the most 'Indian' factors in absenteeism is that children are treated as individuals by their parents and are able to make many of their own decisions. Parents are permissive with regard to their children's behavior and children are usually only reprimanded when they are annoying their parents.

> Parents give love without qualification, not necessarily with great demonstration but without demanding consistently 'good' behavior from the child. They allow him to become an autonomous individual....Children become independent in their activities very early.[9]

A White mother had difficulty getting her children to attend school regularly. Their friends, Indian girls, could stay home when they didn't feel like going to school, perhaps giving some vague excuse that they didn't feel well. The White girls couldn't understand their mother's demand that they go to school unless they had a legitimate excuse. At twelve years of age they didn't have the right or the responsibility to make their own decisions--something their friends took for granted.

There are of course many reasons why children do

not want to go to school. The Indian child perhaps has more and better reasons than many other students. Because most people in Alert Bay do not have the money, or the interest in clothes, there is not a high standard of dress in the school, so that few children would be embarassed by a lack of proper clothing. Because Indian children suffer a lack of nutrients, they are not only more prone to illness, but may lack energy generally. On many occasions family responsibilities, such as looking after siblings when parents are away, or family opportunities such as going out fishing, are more attractive than school.

Environment and Curriculum

Then there is the whole problem of what is going on in the school. Children in Alert Bay are fortunate that they are the majority, and ridicule of children is based more on personal than on ethnic attributes. But there is discrimination on the part of some teachers, that can do nothing but have a detrimental effect both on attendance and on school performance.

The same school curriculum is being followed in Alert Bay as in Vancouver and the rest of British Columbia.

Presumably the same things were happening in Alert Bay grade one classrooms, as in those in Vancouver, except for the fact that the teachers in Alert Bay had less training and less experience. The criticisms of textbooks designed for urban middle-class children being used with rural, lower-class, or ethnically different children have been made too often to need repeating here. Even if the teachers were not required to follow the standard curriculum, there is little material available to enable more meaningful teaching. The urban middle-class teacher has little experience, for example, with the realities of the logging industry from the loggers' point of view, that would enable him to provide useful information to a potential future logger.

The researcher overheard a teenage boy asking the school principal why he should have to continue taking French. The man was hard pressed for any kind of an answer. Perhaps Japanese or Finnish or Yugoslavian language lessons would have more appeal in that at least the students could anticipate overhearing tips on where the fish were over the radiophone.

When the Indian child enters school, he is, to his way of thinking, bombarded by words, and by orders. He is expected to sit quietly, work on his own, and change activity according to the teacher's schedule. He finds all

of this incomprehensible and finds himself unable to understand the teacher. Since the teacher knows little or nothing about his world, she labels him slow, recalcitrant, undisciplined, and treats him accordingly. Since the child knows little of the teacher's life in Alert Bay, and nothing about her previous life, he is unable to take her role and begin to identify with her or see things from her point of view. It is foreign to his own experience.

All the children entering grade one speak some English. The extent of their understanding of "school English" has improved with their attendance at nursery school and kindergarten. However, the school has not yet taken into consideration that English is, for many, a second language, and that their understanding of English is limited due to lack of experience in verbalization.

Dr. Robert Harper tested grade one students in the Alert Bay school on their perceptions of probability. When he asked the children verbally whether, when he had one red marble and nine white marbles, the marble in his hand would be red or white, many of them answered randomly. When he actually used colored chips, so that the children could visualize the problem, they "knew the odds" very well. Once they had visualized the problem they could do it verbally without any trouble. Their initial problem was in verbal, not in probability comprehension.[10]

Relations Between School and Family

A further problem in the effectiveness of the school is lack of communication between school and parents. One mother said that they used to have a P.T.A. in Alert Bay, but it was disbanded because "the principal figured not enough were interested." She felt it should be revived.

Two twelve year old boys were talking about having spent the day fishing at the back of the Island. When asked what their parents would say when they found out they were not in school, one of them replied, "Oh, my Mom would really be mad if she knew, but she'll never find out." Parents of both boys were very strict about their attendance at school and church but the boys wrote notes to the teacher for one another and the parents weren't aware of their absences.

The principal of the school said that he felt the teachers should get to know the parents but he was not willing to force the teachers to make home visits, and few of them did. They were trying at that time to increase contact by having the parents come to the school for a discussion of their child's progress, rather than issuing report cards.

This method is not entirely successful though, as parents are reluctant to go to the school and it is

difficult to get many of them to keep appointments. They travel on 'Indian time.'

> Sharply defined time segments of the type on which middle-class Whites schedule themselves are unimportant. Prescheduled events rarely begin at the designated time because few families make preparations until it is time for the scheduled activity to begin. Both Indians and Whites use the term 'Indian time' to designate this phenomenon....[11]

Wolcott examines the relationship between School and Family as follows:

> Although formal parent-teacher conferences are intended by educators to facilitate interaction and mutual understanding, they do not necessarily achieve these ideals when Indian parents and White teachers confer. Judging from both parent and teacher accounts, conferences arranged by village teachers often have done no more than provide teachers with an opportunity to complain about the children, the school, and the village. Because of the taciturn nature of most village adults, visits with them often leave pauses in conversation. Most teachers, by contrast, habitually fill conversational pauses as part of their professional demeanor. The teacher inevitably dominates the conversation. If the parent has a problem and is willing to bring it up at all, it may be cast so modestly that the teacher misses the point. Differences in observations of protocol can become affronts to the teacher or to parents during a conference held either at school or in a village home. After working for years in an Indian village, one local teacher was unaware that most Indian hosts would never think to ask a visitor to sit down.[12]

The subsisting orientation has a great effect on school performance and attendance. Although parents generally have some idea that school might be useful to

their children, some of them aren't overly concerned with its importance or have mixed feelings about it. To the questions "How important do you think school is for X?" and "How far would you like X to go in school?" answers varied widely. One mother said, "Oh, I guess its good if they learn something and do their best but I don't think its too important. It doesn't matter (how far X goes in school). He's so lazy....He thinks of any excuse not to go." Another mother said that she would be disappointed if her children did not do well in school. She wants her sons particularly to get a good education so they would have a regular wage because fishing is so uncertain.

When asked what their children wanted to be when they grew up or what they wanted their children to be, two mothers hadn't thought about it, one laughed and said that her child said he wanted to be a millionaire, one mentioned a nurse, and another a pilot, both of which would be realistic at least in that they could work at these occupations in Alert Bay. Generally Indian parents of the subsisting oriented group do not think of the future or plan for their children. Thus, for most of the children, higher education and trade training are not viable alternatives.

Since the child is in interaction more with a possibly prejudiced teacher, perhaps more of his ideas

about himself and Indians in general are negative. He must be deficient in meaningful gestures. All in all Alert Bay is a very confusing place for an Indian child to grow up. His every encounter is contradictory. The Indian child raised in an outlying village probably has an easier time, in that he can at least firmly establish that he is an Indian, can envision a comprehensive way of life, and is not subjected to the same divisive experiences. If education is the process of taking over a certain organized set of responses to one's own stimulation, what happens when there is no organized set of responses? We cannot say that Alert Bay or the system of education provide the child with an organized set of responses, or with the universals necessary to enable him to transcend his local group.

We have examined the school in Alert Bay briefly, on the assumption that the reader is familiar with the North American school system, of which this school is an integral part, and have thus pointed out only those attributes specific to the Alert Bay situation.

NOTES

1 Interview with Agency Superintendent, July, 1969.

2 School Records, Alert Bay Elementary-Secondary School.

3 Alice Dong and M.C. Feeney, "Nutrient Intake of Indian and Non-Indian School Children," Canadian Journal of Public Health, Vol. 59, March, 1968, p. 115.

4 Ronald Rohner, The People of Gilford, (Ottawa: National Museum Bulletin #225, 1967), p. 86.

5 Ibid., p. 95.

6 Harry Wolcott, A Kwakiutl Village and School, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 92.

7 Rohner, op. cit., p. 92.

8 James Spradley, Guests Never Leave Hungry, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 177.

9 Rohner, op. cit., p. 94.

10 This author was present during testing.

11 Rohner, op. cit., p. 85.

12 Wolcott, op. cit., p. 86.

THE FAMILY AND SOCIALIZATION

We will use the Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing[1] as a guide for the following discussion. As we have focused on children aged four to six, we will not be discussing all aspects of socialization outlined in the manual.

The Context of Socialization

The first consideration in a study of socialization is the context in which it takes place. We have outlined the physical setting in some detail in the chapter on Alert Bay. We have not given specific details on, for example, the "special structures and furniture used at childbirth"[2] because Indian babies are born in the same hospital setting as White babies, and thus this description would be of modern medical facilities rather than anything directly related to or controlled by Indian culture. The differences in physical setting in Alert Bay families are dependent on wealth and social class.

The social setting of socialization is much more dependent on Kwakiutl values, and there are similarities

between Indians of both classes which can be compared to White values.

Although the first missionary pursued a policy of encouraging the Indians to live in single family dwellings, and the Indian Affairs house plans are for small houses, the traditional extended family pattern has not disappeared. Because the houses are only large enough for a small nuclear family, the inclusion of other relatives most often means overcrowding. The traditional 'big houses' contained enough adults to provide for the care of all children regardless of the capabilities of their parents. With the families living in separate dwellings, it isn't always possible for relatives to be aware of and able to assume responsibility for neglected children. The principle of non-interference is operative here. Because a person is an independent being, and lives apart, his relatives cannot tell him to look after his children. The relative might go to the home and look after the children in the parents' absence, but even this might be resented as unwarranted interference. But any person living in a household expects and is expected to care for any child in the house.

One household consisted of elderly grandparents, mother, her eldest daughter and her two children, and the mother's other three children, a niece who was boarding

while attending school, and a nephew visiting from the city. The composition of this household fluctuated perhaps more than most, in that there was almost always at least one person outside the fairly stable four generation extended family living in the house.

Some households contained one regularly resident "senior citizen" related somehow to the head of the household or his wife. There are eight cases of the forty-five grade one families where a child is being raised by grandparents. There are four single parent families, and ten families where there are children by more than one marriage. A minority of Indian households consisted only of the parents and their dependent children. Most of the White grade one households consisted only of the nuclear family.

It is not unusual for grandparents to ask to raise one of their grandchildren. This hasn't necessarily any connection with parental neglect, but may be the wish of the persons with grown children to care for a child. The parents may give permission for this, in which case the child simply spends a larger proportion of his time, especially at night, with his grandparents, since they generally live close enough that the children would all be spending part of their time there during the day. For example, in one household, one of the children lived with

his grandparents, and his sister alternated her time between her parents and grandparents.

Adoption is a prime example of the difference in Indian and White attitudes. It is a fairly frequent practice among the Indians for relatives other than grandparents to take either the child of an unmarried mother, or the child of a married woman with several children, as their own. Everyone knows who the real parents are, and usually no steps are taken to legalize the relationship. The Indian parent undertakes without formality to raise the child "as though born to him," whereas the White adopting parent very solemnly swears to this in a court of law. This is possible because Indian children are loved and accepted regardless of their parentage. The White unwed mother may place her baby for adoption through an agency but never knows where her baby is placed. The assumption, true in our society, is that since the baby is <u>hers</u>, seeing it grow up would be very hard for her--she would always want the child back. The idea of a married woman giving one of her children to a relative unable to have children is unthinkable in our terms. There would always be a conflict of loyalty for the child, and a conflict of interest for the two "mothers." The White judges the Indian by his own standards, and the statement is often made that "Indians do not love their

children: they give them away like they were a piece of furniture." This statement reflects more on the Whites' possessiveness of their children than on any attitude of the Indian.

The Anglican minister stated that most of his marriages involved a pregnancy. And although the illegitimacy rate is high the children are usually cared for by their kin. There is one man known to be the father of babies by several girls, for each of whom he purchases a baby carriage. These babies are being raised by their mothers. Sexual liaisons, even among married persons, are common knowledge, and although some effort is made to prevent the spouse from finding out, the knowledge generally results in domestic fighting but not in the break-up of the marriage.

The Indians use the English terms for kin and generally designate kin the same way. Their kinship system is bilateral. They do, however, extend the term 'cousin' to many kin whose actual relationship is more complicated. They will state, "Oh, he is really my mother's cousin's granddaughter's husband. But I call him and his wife 'cousin.'" Because use of the term 'cousin' opens the way for loans, a place to stay, or an entree to a table with a pretty girl, it is used extensively. The widest possible use is made of kin

relationships because the mutual obligations facilitate social relations.

On one occasion the researcher was sitting in the pub with two women. A man came and sat down and was introduced as the one girl's cousin. After he had taken our change from the table, one woman asked the researcher aside and suggested we move to another table. She indicated that the other girl didn't like the man taking our money for cigarettes and beer but couldn't do anything because he was her cousin.

Knowing who your relatives are gives you a place in the social interaction giving opportunities, and also placing limitations on behavior. One woman had a teenage nephew visiting from the city. He was having a frustrating experience trying to find a girlfriend, because it seemed that every time he dated a girl, his aunt would tell him to, "Be careful. She's your cousin." She then explained to the researcher that although some of the girls designated "cousin" for convenience might be available for this boy to marry, they were excluded from "fooling around" or casual sexual experiences, because "if the girls get into trouble, their parents will come to me, and ask me why I didn't teach him." It was not possible to ascertain the extent of kin-group pressure, but from information obtained, it operated in only a very few areas of life.

Rohner discusses sharing in Gilford: no one can rise too high or sink too low and still remain part of the interaction.[3] Borrowing and sharing are not as much evident in Alert Bay for several reasons. One is that the population of Indians is on a scale beyond that effective for face-to-face interaction. For example, one fisherman could not begin sharing a catch with all the residents. Secondly, since the amalgamation of the Industrial Reserve (for 'progressive' Indians from other bands) with the Nimpkish Band, there are very many 'Nimpkish' band members from all over Kwakiutl territory, so ties are more tenuous than in ordinary bands. Thirdly, public assistance (the Indian Agent) is close at hand. Another feature relates to the drinking patterns in Alert Bay compared to those in Gilford. In the village, drinking is sporadic due partly to the travelling distance to the source of alcohol. In Alert Bay the pubs and Liquor Control Board are open six days a week. Some people may drink every day, others only on weekends (including the five day fishing weekends), and others only sporadically. For these reasons the web of associations and borrowing is much looser in Alert Bay than in the outlying villages. Kin form small groups on the Island, within which borrowing and mutual aid do occur, although on a less inclusive scale than has been described for the outlying villages.

From traditional days when whole villages moved into another village for ceremonials, to today, when most of the Kwakiutl gather in Alert Bay for the June Sports Weekend, each family has kin in Alert Bay with whom they stay overnight, and possibly for extended periods. In Alert Bay, now, more than any other village, most households experience a more or less steady stream of visiting kin. Visits among villagers are also frequent, although in some cases relatives will meet at the bar and visit there rather than in each other's homes. From observations in the field it would appear that visits to a home are seldom made by anyone but kin. Introductions are very seldom made, but inquiries as to the identity of other visitors elicited a first name and relationship. The researcher almost invariably had to inquire further to obtain a surname.

Visitors usually knocked, opened the door and hollered, and walked in. They sat down where and when they chose, and in many cases were, to our view, virtually ignored by the hostess until she had finished what she was doing. Refreshment of any kind was not necessarily offered unless the hostess was having something.

The initial attitude toward strangers was one of reserved silence. After this researcher had been accepted by some of the mothers, visits in their homes were of a

different nature. After being introduced as "my friend, Norma," the male relatives started teasing, making remarks in Kwakwala, getting the concurrence of the others, "that's right, eh?" and once the consensus had been established, translating the remarks, much to the embarassment of the researcher. Finally the hostess broke in and said, "You guys quit teasing her."

The children's reactions to a stranger expressed some curiosity. They sometimes came in to listen to the researcher talking with their mother, but after the first time accepted her as just another adult. They did ask questions when we went to the park or the beach such as, "Where do you live?", "Where is your mother?", etc. Adults were rarely introduced, but children were never introduced unless the researcher asked. The attitude seemed to be that an adult would have no particular interest in the children. No attempt was made to display the children for visitors.

No observations of any relations to the supernatural were observed. All mothers explicitly denied using mythical creatures to scare the children, although they acknowledged in some cases that their parents had used this technique with them.

Status of Infant and Child

There are at present no ritual acknowledgements of differential statuses of children by age. Since this study focused on children aged four to six, explicit enquiries were not made regarding previous and future changes. The mothers did mention in response to several questions that "Now that he is in school..." things have changed.

When asked if there was much difference between boys and girls at this age, all the mothers said there wasn't much difference, they're just children at this age. One mother said, "Oh, they're both rough and tough. There's no difference in the way you treat them in a big family." Another mother said that "you bring them up the same but they're all different." She said that her boys help with housework and the younger children the same as the girls.

As we have stated previously, illegitimate children, shotgun marriage babies, and adopted children do not suffer from a special status. Traditionally first born children inherited the highest rank from their families, and in some cases first born children do have some special status. Jimmy Sewid discusses his childhood as follows:

> It was the Indian custom to always put the oldest child first in everything they did and then the rest would follow. Since I was born

> to a well-to-do and very highly respected family and was the oldest son they treated me with respect....They had to look after me because I was the oldest. All the others in a family are just children, that's all.
>
> Robby Bell is just a little older than me but he's the youngest of my uncles and my mother and my aunt. That's why they always called him just a little boy. We were brought up just like brothers but poor Robby used to be pushed aside for me. [That is, Jimmy, the grandson, was given preference by Robby's parents.] [4]

A more notable special status contemporarily is that of the baby of the family. Only one of the children in the study was the youngest in the family. His mother said that he is cared for and spoiled by his older siblings, that they do his chores for him, protect him from punishment, buy him toys. In response to the question, "Have you ever felt that he is growing up too fast in any way?", she paused, laughed and said, "No, he's the baby of the family."

Although class determined status was a large part of traditional culture, the situation today is probably not too different from the life chances to be expected in any middle-class, or lower-class families. This is true at least in part because lower-class persons are as likely to harass as to respect those of higher-class, and taunt them with having sold out to Whites.

Agents of Child Rearing

A third important consideration in a discussion of socialization is the agents of child rearing. The caretakers, that is, those persons who take routine care of the child, include the parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and, in large families, older siblings. Any household member and any visiting kin are likely to take care of a child as the need arises. Fathers seem to take part in a child's daily care although it is recognized as the mother's job. Jimmy Sewid speaks of helping with the children.

> I took care of them myself sometimes, when they were little, like changing their diapers or feeding them when they cried....When I was a young boy I remember seeing old Jim Bell and other old men cook and they used to take care of the babies some too. I also used to get up with the babies at night, especially if Flora wasn't feeling well. I would go and heat some milk and feed it to them.[5]

Compared to an urban middle-class family, siblings in an Indian home take a great deal of responsibility for the care of those younger than themselves. Two girls, aged 6½ and 5, babysat a one year old brother, sometimes with supervision, and sometimes on their own. One evening about ten o'clock, the researcher saw a young boy of six pushing a toddler in a stroller on the road. On inquiry, the boy said he was looking after his brother. Apparently

his parents were at home. The researcher also saw a six year old prepare a bottle for her brother, and another six year old changing diapers, and another working a wringer washing machine. When the children were going out to play, the mother would often say, "You kids look after [the toddler]." Because some of the mothers worked, responsibility for care of younger children was assumed by older children or grandparents quite regularly. One family employed a babysitter to look after two of their children, while the third was taken fishing turn-about with the others; but paid babysitters were generally rare.

Medical care is administered from the Indian Health Service, the Doctors, and the hospital. One Doctor complained that sometimes families, especially from outlying Reserves, will bring a baby to the hospital when they come to Alert Bay for some medical problem, and will leave him there while they party and get their shopping done, and will then pick the child up when they're ready to return home. As has been stated previously, respiratory infections are a large part of the reason for frequent hospitalization of Indian children. A child in one of the Indian families spent a great deal of time in his first four years in and out of the hospital. He was hospitalized very shortly after being taken home from the neonate nursery. He went home, from the sanitary atmosphere,

regular feeding and controlled temperature into a drafty, damp house and irregular hours, developed a respiratory infection and was rehospitalized. This happened regularly until he finally gained an immunity and was able to survive in his home environment.

In discussing those agents of child rearing who might be designated 'teachers,' it is necessary first of all to examine the Kwakiutl attitude toward 'teaching.' It is considered presumptious for a person (other than a school teacher) to give detailed instructions: one learns by watching and doing. One of the most notable aspects of an Indian home is the lack of verbal communication between parents and children. This is not to say that children do not hear adult conversation: they are allowed to listen to any conversation so long as they are not bothering the adults. But there is little or no conversation as such directed to them. The only words aimed at them are directives: these are such things as, 'Don't fool around,' or 'You kids go on outside.' The words directed to children are evocative of action--not of replies.

In Alert Bay the parents could be compared to the scientist. They make their own discoveries from the information they have available to them--and expect their children to do the same. Although the results of the

experimentation may not be innovative, the process by which discoveries are made is essentially an experimental one, rather than one of teaching a child what he should see.

Thus not only is a child permitted to do so much more of his own reality testing than is allowed the average middle-class Non-Kwakiutl child, but his experience with hearing instructions and verbalizing his experience is far more limited. He is allowed to touch the stove and is not encouraged to discuss his resulting feelings. Until he goes to nursery school, he may not receive any explicit instruction. However, only one mother said that she had taught the children drawing, etc. The other mothers said that the older children "played school" with the younger ones and taught them. One mother said that her child could count fish and discriminate between the various species of salmon when he was four years old.

As we have stated in our discussion of fishing, those children who are able to go fishing get an early and continuing education in the intricacies of catching fish. Because the children are allowed to be with their parents in most circumstances, they are able to observe most adult role activities. They are allowed to attend potlaches and other ceremonies, and are allowed to wander around during proceedings, with little attention being paid to them.

In interviewing the mothers we asked explicitly what models they presented for their children's behavior. Three of the mothers stated that they never used themselves or the child's father as models. Two stated that they occasionally used themselves or the father. One mother said that she didn't use any examples for behavior, three mentioned older siblings or an older cousin after whom the child had been named, and one said that she occasionally used the child's grandparents, especially the grandfather, as a model for behavior. Three mothers stated that they never used models of negative behavior, one said she occasionally used older people, but never the child's peers. One mother said that she told her children to study and learn in school, "so they won't grow up haywire like [their uncles]." When asked, "Is there anyone you would like your child to be like when he grows up?", all mothers said they wanted the child to be "like himself." One mother said, "Like herself. Maybe ladylike or something. I don't know--just to be herself." This data is particularly interesting in that the two mothers who used themselves and their husbands and who used negative models, could both be considered "middle-class" compared to the other three mothers. Thus as we have seen in regard to 'teachers,' the child has models present, but he is expected to draw his own inferences to his own conduct.

When asked whether their child took after her or her husband, two mothers said this particular child took after her father more, but couldn't say why. One said her child was "just like himself." One mother said that this child had her quick temper. She said she had heard her daughter scold a doll in just the same way as she had scolded the child. She expressed the hope that her children would grow up to be self-confident like her husband, rather than shy like herself.

Techniques of Socialization

The researcher very seldom observed the use of rewards symbolizing love, acceptance and nurturance, such as hugging the child. Only one mother mentioned this as something she considered good for her children. She stated that little affection was shown in her family, but that her (part-Indian) husband's family was very affectionate, and she had learned this from them. Several of the mothers mentioned using verbal praise. One mother said, "Oh, I say, 'that's really good,' 'I really like that,' and things like that to her. But it hasn't happened very often lately." The researcher observed few

such instances, with good behavior usually eliciting little or no verbal attention or thanks. Many of the mothers made frequent use of "treats" or money, or other tangible rewards. From all observations, the giving of money for "treats" was the most often used reward for behavior, and was accompanied by little verbal reinforcement. Inciting to good behavior usually involved promises of tangible rewards.

Distraction of children by suggestion of alternate activities was used frequently with younger children, but was seldom observed with the five and six year olds. As we have stated previously in our discussion of the "teachers," explicit instructions were seldom given. Demonstrations were given with the admonition to "watch this time." The mothers were asked, "Do you think a child should be shown and told exactly how to do something new...?". All of them said that the child should be shown; none mentioned "telling." All the mothers stated that they felt a child learned best by doing it himself.

Very little physical punishment is used by Kwakiutl mothers. They may give an occasional slap, but seldom or never spank children. One mother, who couldn't remember the last time she had spanked any of her children, said, "I don't spank them very often but when I do they get it good." She also said, "We got more spanking when I was a

kid." Another mother said, "We were spanked all the time when I was young, but it didn't do too much for my brothers [haywire uncles mentioned earlier], so we don't spank our kids very often. Oh, I tell them I'll spank them, but I never do it." Another mother said that she may spank her children for a serious offense, and send them to their room. After a while she goes in and talks to the child. She said that her parents never spanked her and she doesn't think she should spank her children. Her father would just talk to her and sometimes "that would hurt more than a spanking. He really made me feel badly. Sometimes when the whole family was around, like at dinner, he would tell a story about someone who did something wrong, and I knew he meant to tell it for me, and I really felt bad."

The most frequently mentioned means of resolving conflict between parent and child, and the technique most often observed, was separation. For minor annoyances, children were told to go outside: "If you kids can't be quiet go on outside." For misbehavior children were sent to their room, or "sent to bed." There was no specific time for them to stay in their room, and they usually wandered out after a short while, glanced questioningly at their mother, and if they got no response, went on about their business or went outside. Use of ridicule and teasing

was not observed in parent-child interaction, but occurred frequently among the children themselves. They called each other names, and made statements like, "Don't let [him] come. He's got bugs." One child said to the researcher, "How come you always put a dress on? You're s'posed to put pants on like people do." When the researcher sneezed, she said, "Say pardon me once in a while! You should blow your nose." Directives of this nature were made to other children, in the same manner, that is, without expecting a response. Usually the other children did not respond verbally to these statements.

All the mothers reported that they frequently used threats, for spankings, etc., but seldom carried them out. They denied using bogeymen or mythical creatures to scare the children. Jimmy Sewid stated that he and his wife had scared their older children with

> the Tsunugua that were up in the woods and would get them if they weren't good....We stopped doing that later on and the younger ones weren't scared of that. We also used to tell them that God was always there where they were, seeing everything they did and that they would have to be nice if they wanted to see Him one day. At that time the main way that we used for punishing the children was making them stay in and not allowing them to go out. I think we learned that from the teacher in the school because they used to do that there. We were much more strict with our kids in those days.[6]

The other major technique of training mentioned by

all mothers and frequently observed was "hollering." This usually involved telling the child to quit what he was doing, and/or to go outside.

Behavior Systems

Oral System

None of the mothers had breast fed the "Grade One" child, and only one mentioned that she had nursed her first two children. The children were given "formula" milk and although the mothers mentioned the Doctor's schedule, none of them followed it rigidly. One mentioned that her children scheduled themselves pretty close to what the Doctor had suggested. Generally they fed the children on demand. They did not wean the children abruptly, but let them have a bottle, especially at bedtime, as long as they wanted one.

As has been previously mentioned, children in Alert Bay, both Indian and White, suffer some degree of malnutrition. This may in part be lack of information, but adult food habits also play a part. For example, the Kwakiutl generally very seldom drink milk. The only time milk seems to be used regularly is when canned milk is used

in tea or coffee. The eating routine varied widely in the families studied. In one home the mother prepared a meal at a regular hour and the family sat down to eat. In another family regular cooked meals were prepared only sporadically and family members ate bread and jam or whatever was handy as they were hungry. No attempt was made to establish a habit of regular eating, and little or no attention was paid to nutritional values. In the same way requirements for cleanliness, table manners, and sociability at mealtime varied in the families. In only one family were the children taught explicitly to say please and thank you, and excuse themselves from the table.

Although the mothers mentioned that they had problems with at least one child in their family not liking particular foods, they tended to ignore this, rather than forcing the issue or planning substitutes. That is, the child was free to make this choice, within the alternatives available for the meal.

Anal System

We did not ask specifically about training in sphincter control. All the houses had indoor plumbing. The families varied widely in the importance placed on cleanliness. Most of the adults kept themselves clean, and

the women often curled their hair. Attempts were made to have the children clean and presentable for school or church, but the mothers were not upset by the children getting grubby during the summer when they were playing. On one occasion a six year old came in looking like she'd been making mud pies (she had!) and the mother said casually, "You better go have a bath before you go to bed." In a couple of houses dirty diapers were left in the living room for long periods of time. The attitudes toward cleanliness, and orderliness, depended very much on the general life style of the family.

Aggression System

Generally the mothers did not permit fighting between siblings or with neighborhood children. They mentioned breaking up fights between siblings and punishing both. In fights with other children the mother usually brought her own child into the yard or house and perhaps told them not to play with the other child if they couldn't get along. Physical aggression observed between children was in the nature of slaps by one child with the other withdrawing or crying. There was seldom any situation where both children were slapped during the same incident. When a child went to the mother after being hit

by another child he was told, "You stay away from him, then you won't get hit."

The children in most of the families had very few toys, not because they were given no toys, but because toys didn't last long. The children broke or lost their toys, and the parents neither replaced them nor punished them for destructiveness. If a child had something he treasured he was expected to protect it from the other children. In one incident when a child complained to her mother that a sibling had broken her doll, the mother's only reply was, "Well you shouldn't let him get it, or you know he'll break it." Although parents might complain if a child broke something belonging to them, they did not generally punish the child. They showed as little response to their children breaking something belonging to non-family persons, something that is a point of friction between Indians and Whites on the Island. Because the Whites punish their children for destruction of property, they expect Indian parents to do the same, and are highly annoyed when Indian parents ignore the issue.

As we have stated previously in the context of social control, indirect forms of aggression, such as talking behind a person's back, and avoiding them are used most frequently by Indian adults.

Sexual System

Generally the Kwakiutl families appeared to be physically modest. Children and infants were always clothed. Teasing reference was made by children to babies when their diapers were being changed. When children were observed rubbing the genital area they were largely ignored by their parents, although they might be teased by their peers. On one occasion at the park a five year old boy observed that his playmate had a hole in the crotch of her underpants. He started making playful dives at her crotch with his hand, like an airplane, until she started crying, got up and slapped him and ran off to another area of the park.

Children's sleeping accommodation is usually segregated by sex, although the degree to which this is possible depends on the size and composition of the family. In large families some of the younger children sleep in their parents' room. No attempts are made at explicit sexual instruction, and in this, as in other areas, children learn by observation.

Sexual references and sexual jokes make up a part of adult conversation, and children are not prevented from hearing these conversations. From traditional times, sexual abstinence was achieved by supervision rather than

internalized controls. Contemporarily, families vary widely in the amount of supervision they provide their adolescents. Probably no family is without a member who has had an illegitimate child or "shotgun" marriage.

Dependency System

All mothers said that they found it very difficult to let a baby cry, although they had all been told they would spoil the baby if they picked it up right away. None of them claimed much success in resisting the desire to comfort a baby. Anyone present usually picked up a baby as soon as it cried. Although anyone the researcher saw with a baby appeared to enjoy the infant, none of them talked to the baby or to other persons present about the baby. They carried on their conversation while holding, feeding or changing the baby. That is, the researcher was never subjected to the "See how cute he is" type of dialogue so prevalent in Western culture. She was also forced to break the "Oh my that's a cute baby" type of reaction by a guest, as this kind of statement was generally met with a curious stare, perhaps interpretable as "of course, but all babies are, so why go on about it."

The mothers generally took their children for granted--in that they expected the baby to eat, sleep, grow,

cry, etc.--and they didn't worry too much about it. However, all the mothers stated they had been afraid of caring for their first baby, and all of them had some help with at least their first children. Two couples had lived with the maternal grandparents for some pericd when their children were young. Two others mentioned extensive help from the maternal grandmother, and one mentioned occasional help from a paid non-relative when she was in hospital and for housework, etc.

The mothers mentioned being pleased at various signs of development of their children but they did not remember how old the child was when he made this progress. They did not compare notes with other mothers about the age at which a particular step was taken. They did mention that one child was slower or faster than a sibling in development.

We did not determine the age at which dependence weaning took place, but in most cases four year olds were very independent. In some cases where two or three year olds hung around their mother they were picked up, and would after a while get down and play with other children. In some cases when two or three year olds hung around or whined for attention, an older child was asked to take them outside.

When the child was in trouble with a parent he

often disappeared and went to the home of a grandparent. One such child came in when the researcher was visiting. Her mother greeted her casually, and then told the researcher that her father had been mad at her two days before, so she had gone to her grandmother's. When asked what the father would do when he saw the child, she said, "Oh, he won't treat her any different. He won't be mad anymore."

Only one mother mentioned that her child was upset when she and her husband went out. She said that the child used to get a temperature, but that had ended by the time she was about four. Children are usually quite comfortable in any situation when they are with siblings.

We can say generally that the Kwakiutl children studied were very much more independent their White age-mates. They were allowed a much greater freedom of mobility. For example, when asked about this, one mother stated that the child was not allowed to go past her aunt's home--which was perhaps a mile and a half from home--nearly at the other end of the Island. As some of the mothers worked, they of course were not able to keep close check on their child's activities. In most cases older siblings were in charge and the amount of supervision given to five and six year olds varied widely.

Self-Reliance Training

As we have stated previously, infants pretty much set their own feeding schedule. They are free to crawl or toddle around the house or neighborhood, although we were not able to observe an oldest or only child who did not have senior siblings to look after him. By the age of five or six the children could amuse themselves for long periods of time, could dress and undress themselves, would go off to bed when they were sleepy, and were able to prepare their own food, including opening and heating a can of soup and preparing sandwiches. They were expected to take care of their own possessions or suffer the consequences. They were in all things extremely self-reliant.

Responsibility Training

Children were given household duties at a very early age, and were expected to help care for younger children. The major difference observed between Indian and White children was that the Indian did far more jobs, and more difficult jobs, but there was very much less emphasis on the regular performance of tasks. That is, the children performed chores willingly, but did not take the responsibility as being regular, but had to be reminded or

prodded each time. White mothers assigned far fewer tasks but tried to inculcate a regular responsibility so that it was up to the child to remember without being told. Regular performance of a task in an Indian home is approved and valued, but does not receive much positive reinforcement. In this as in other aspects of behavior, the regular performance of a task tended to be taken for granted. Thus self-reliance, rather than responsibility training appears to be emphasized more in the Indian home.

Affiliation

One of the most notable aspects of adult Indian social interaction is the solidarity among siblings. There is a great loyalty, affection, and a great deal of mutual aid. This is not to say there are not fights and arguments, but there is a pronounced sense of "we" against all others, especially in difficulties with other persons. One man said that he had done something wrong as a boy of twelve. When his father found out, he got a beating. When an older brother found out, he got another beating. When a second brother was about to administer a third, the first brother protected him and said he'd had enough.

Children play most often with siblings and house-mates. They are neither encouraged or discouraged

from playing with other children, although they may be told to avoid a trouble-maker. Their choice of playmates appears to depend largely on propinquity and kinship, although their peer group broadens apparently after about age eight, when they are able to take part in organized groups such as Scouts and Explorers.

When the researcher was recording conversations of the children, most of the interaction was between the children themselves. Their conversations, unless they were asked questions, tended to be of the same order as adult conversations. That is, words were evocative of action and information. Questions were answered briefly, without explanation. The children often played alone, each of them absorbed in his own activity, with little verbal exchange.

The peer groups of the five and six year olds were generally small, usually from two to four children. The age range, except for children being looked after by siblings, was about three years, and there was no distinction made by the children between boys and girls. There appeared to be no leadership except that of older siblings directing younger ones. Parents expressed little anxiety about their children being accepted by peers. Because peer groups are usually formed by kin, they take their direction, their attitudes and values, from the family. Childhood friendships often endure a lifetime.

<u>Achievement</u>

A great deal of emphasis has been placed on the competitive nature of Kwakiutl culture. The cooperation between members of the kin group has been virtually ignored. Even today one competes only in certain social situations, and only with certain other persons--that is, those who are not kin, but who are of the same social status.

Little or no training or competitiveness was observed in the interaction between parents and younger children. The parents were pleased with their children's successes, but expressed little anxiety over failure. For example, one mother stated in a very matter-of-fact way that her child had failed her grade at school. Those mothers who were middle-class in their life-style expressed more concern over the possible failure of their children, but said that the child would feel badly if he didn't do well at school and they wouldn't hurt him by talking about it. As mentioned previously, the mothers had no particular goal for their children, beyond expressing a wish that they would be happy, and be themselves.

Training in Skills

As has been previously stated, parents may show their children how to do something, but they do not generally give verbal instruction. Thus learning of motor skills, artistic skills, and technological and manual skills is encouraged and rewarded, but is something the child must undertake on his own prerogative and by his own observations. One anomalous situation was observed, in regard to learning of language. We will examine in some detail the use of language by the Indian in Alert Bay.

Semantic and Cognitive Training

It is important in a discussion of identity to examine the use of language, as according to Mead it plays such a large role in the development of self. First of all, adult Indian conversation is, in most instances, aimed at a specific goal: eliciting or giving information. Talking for talking's sake except for ceremonial speeches does not appear to be a culture trait. It is not unusual to see an Indian family, each member of which is engaged in his own activity, in sociable silence. This is not to say that the Indians are anti-social--that they are loners--but that sociability involves feeling and proximity--not necessarily

overt and explicit interaction.

Silences in a group of people are not regarded as embarassing: there is no attempt to break a silence. "A likeable personality...includes one who is 'soft-spoken and steady.' The contrary of this is one who is 'loud, noisy and bossy.'"[7] Language, as used by most Indians in Alert Bay, whether English or Kwakwala, is used to different purpose than it is used by most English speaking urban people. Its use in the home does not give a child sufficient experience to cope with the verbiage he encounters in a school situation. Teachers particularly, and non-Indians generally, are characterized by Indians as talking a lot. An Indian will comment of a White who is quiet, that "he is like us." One woman said of a teacher that he talked so much that after a while she couldn't listen any more. She just nodded her head and made responses without hearing what he said.

Oration, as an art form, was practiced at Kwakiutl ceremonies, especially the potlach. Only a few men had the knowledge and ability to act as "master of ceremonies." Their eloquence was a reflection on the man giving the potlach, and they were paid for their services. A few older men are still able to perform this role in the traditional way. And they are still specialists. Most of the ordinary villagers get the gist of the oration, but

state that "he is using the old language. There are lots of words I don't know. They only use them in the potlach."

Every Indian in Alert Bay speaks and understands Kwakwala to a greater or lesser degree. They are aware of tribal dialects. One woman told the researcher, "She and I are cousins. But she comes from a different tribe and they talk different." When asked whether they could understand each other, she said, "Oh, yes. There are some words different and they say things different, but we can talk. Or we can say it in English, too."

Most of the Indians are self-depreciatory about their knowledge of Kwakwala. They will admit they "know a bit" but few will admit to fluency, and some will make reference to Franz Boas as the authority on their language. Nonetheless, most people have some knowledge of the language, although the parents feel that they only learn from formal instruction, which is carried out very rarely. They equate "he has never been taught" with "he has never learned" and "having never been taught" is no doubt part of the disparaging attitude they have toward their own fluency.

This statement, made by some persons, is a contradiction of the Kwakiutl attitude toward learning in that generally people are not taught. Perhaps this

response results from the fact that the parents have themselves struggled with English grammar in school, while at the same time they were punished for speaking their own language, so they may see "language" as being learning of a different order.

Most of the children have heard enough Kwakwala that although they may not be able to "speak Indian" they have some understanding of it. But even when they speak English with a White they are using words that can mean something entirely different to the two people involved in the communication. For example, "cousin:" As we have mentioned, they use the term referring to first, second and third cousins, but they also use it to refer to someone they are related to where the relationship is too complicated to bother explaining. Besides this difference, they infer a whole set of kinship obligations and expectations that are not generally present in the mind of the White.

Thus, not only is there a minimum of inter-generational conversation, but the conversation is in two languages, neither of which is 'school English.' There are several older people in Alert Bay who speak little or no English, but there is probably no one under the age of fifty who does not speak at least basic English.

As we have said, the Indian people are generally

quiet, however, they become noticeably more vocal when drinking. It was not unusual to witness a man and wife arguing, or to have someone speak out about another person, or about their personal life, across the tavern table, whereas this seldom occurred in other situations. Rohner discusses it as follows:

> One of the positive functions of drinking for the Gilford Islanders is to help relax normally constricted interpersonal communication, thus allowing dissatisfactions to be freely and openly expressed in ways they would not be if the person were entirely sober. Expressions of discontent tend to be circuitous and masked in normal day-to-day interaction. It is exceptional encounter for one person to be directly confronted by a second on some unpleasant matter. More typically, a disaffected person talks about someone else with the hope that the information will get back to the second person...Latent hostility is directly expressed (often through fights) during periods of drinking, and tensions that might otherwise fester and lead to less manageable strains are not infrequently resolved.[3]

Children of five are not yet clear as to the meanings of particular categories of kin. The following conversation between the researcher (R), a five year old (F), and a teenager (T) was recorded.

R: Where did you get the blanket you were wearing at the Indian Dance?
F: My Grandma.
T: Which Grandma?
F: [A] and [B] and [C].
R: How many Grandmas do you have?
F: Three!
T: You haven't. You've only got two.
F: Three.
T: [C]'s not your Grandma.

F: Yes!
T: And [B] isn't your Grandma.
F: Well how come [C] make my blanket then?
T: Well she just made it for you.
F: And [B]?
T: Just [A] and [D] are your Grandmas.
F: I got another grannie....

Similarly with the category "cousin;" the children were not acquainted with the more complex relationships for which this term was used.

From observations, it was generally the case that children were taught to recognize an object without their attention being drawn to its specific attributes. For example, even adults had a difficult time describing the differences between species of salmon, although they--like the four year old mentioned earlier--had no difficulty in determining the species and naming it. To the question, "How do you know" something? The answer very often, by children and adults, was, "Well, I just know."

As we have seen earlier, children and adults, particularly in the lower-class, do not make explicit plans. Partly because of dependence for many activities on external factors, such as weather, closures by the Department of Fisheries, etc., most plans involve the spoken or unspoken "if it doesn't rain" kind of qualification. We have mentioned the widespread use of the concept of "Indian time," and the difficulty of arranging appointments.

In the preceding discussion we have used many examples of training in values. We have discussed the use of positive and negative models for behavior, and direct statements regarding good and bad behavior. We mentioned one family that used moral tales to inculcate values, but most of the mothers said that they did not tell their children folktales. Some of the grandparents do tell myths and tales to the children, but the mothers stated that this was becoming more unusual as the older people died. The positive value of sharing is still taught by it being practiced within the kin group and among siblings. Reference is often made to someone who is "really stingy." Many of the cues for behavior are non-verbal. Children of four and five are able to "read" their parents very well, and can tell from facial expression and tone of voice whether they can continue in their activity or it's about to be stopped, and whether or not the parent "really means it" this time. As has been stated in reference both to the traditional and contemporary behavior, moral restraint was more a matter of supervision than of internalized values, among children and adults.

<u>Training in Roles in the Larger Society</u>

Most cultures do not have the problem of training people to adopt roles that are not a part of their own culture. This applied mainly to those roles taken in adulthood, but the lack of role training affects the children as well.

In a session with two of the children, a boy and a girl, both aged five, this conversation was recorded. (They had just been given colored candies.)

Lynn: What kind is your wees?
Researcher: Did you call him wees?
Lynn: Sammy!
Researcher: Do you ever call him wees? (No reply) What does wees mean?
Lynn: Sammy.
Researcher: Does wees mean little boy?
Lynn: Uh Huh (affirmative).
Researcher: Is it Indian?
Lynn: <u>He's</u> a Indian.
Researcher: Are you an Indian?
Lynn: No.
Researcher: What are you?
Lynn: Lynn! You know my name.

The statement "<u>He's</u> a Indian" was made very emphatically--with a derogatory tone. This little boy, although the same age as Lynn, comes from a disadvantaged home and very seldom speaks or responds.

An Indian child living in Alert Bay cannot be said to live in an Indian community, despite the separation of the Reserve. He attends an integrated school, with all

but one teacher non-Indian. Although some store clerks, hospital workers, and waitresses are Indian, these are White businesses. A child is bound to meet various reactions from prejudice to affection in the run of his day.

His world is largely circumscribed by the local area. He may have relatives at one of the outlying villages, and may have been fishing in the area, but very few young children have been even as far as Courtenay, much less to the cities. The furthest any of the mothers had been from Alert Bay was to Seattle. None of them had been inland. The father may be a member of the Native Brotherhood which is an Indian association acting mainly as bargaining agent with the Fisherman's Union in disputes with fish companies and the government. Even so, this is not the same as considering himself a "fisherman," because the Indian fleet is an entity apart, the same as the Finnish or Japanese fleet is an entity apart with the category of Canadian fisherman.

Other than a few better acculturated Indians, such as Jimmy Sewid, most Indians consider themselves as belonging to a particular tribe, and as being Kwakiutl--and although they usually use the term "Indian" in referring to themselves and their language, do not really consider themselves to be "Indians" in any pan-tribal sense. Nor do

they consider themselves to be B.C.'ers or Canadian. Thus they think in terms of very few of the "universals" used by Whites that would lead them to transcend the local social group.

There was a vacancy in the bank at Alert Bay which they were having difficulty filling. A White informant was asked whether some of the Indian girls might not have the necessary qualifications. She replied that some of them did have the education, and would like a job, but that they were too shy to deal with people through the teller's wicket. She said that they were also embarassed to know the financial standing of the other Indians on the Island. Thus there are cultural and social barriers to even those alternatives where education is not a factor. An impartial financial relationship was not part of traditional culture, and the role involves conflict with traditional norms still extant in the society. The Indian is very often not aware of his roles or the meaning of the roles of his non-Indian co-actors. In Alert Bay social groups are diverse, unclear, in conflict and self negating.

If we take Indian to Indian as the basic relationship, we cannot say that Indian to teacher, Indian to Indian Agent, Indian to anthropologist, Indian to tourist, or Indian to logger-fisherman are operating under the same 'rules' or that the Indian is aware of the 'rules'

or their meaning.

Many of the alternative life-styles, and occupations available to the White--even in Alert Bay--are not present in the experience of the Indian. And strong family ties make a move from the area very difficult; the student's loneliness on leaving predicates against his success in school or employment elsewhere.

Part of the situation of children in Alert Bay is that they are much more in interaction with objects--doing their own experimental reality testing--and much less involved in the "social act" than are White children. Nevertheless, the dominant group imposes its standards and judgements on the minority, and these judgements are usually pejorative. What are the effects on the minority when these judgements are applied? When someone "speaks English" and carries on a conversation with us, but perhaps acts in contradiction to what we assume he has said, we either adjudge him stupid or a liar.

The Indian has been told to play left field in our ballgame. While he is there he is playing his own game. He may throw the ball back when it comes his way, but it becomes part of his game, not part of ours. When he doesn't throw it back as we expect, we say he is a bad player. No one would consider that, since he has been arbitrarily placed in left field, he may not be a part of our game--or

that perhaps he should be given the opportunity to play his own game.

In summary, there is a contradiction, in our terms, in the Indian attitude toward children. On the one hand they are treated as autonomous human beings capable from a very early age of making decisions regarding their own lives. On the other hand they are treated as though they cannot say anything of sufficient interest to be included in an adult conversation. A child is free to remain with his peers--and expected to accord his parents the same privilege. He is self-reliant, and operates in most of his associations within a particularistic kin network.

We have tabulated the general attitude of Indian mothers, and the percentage of these mothers in Sear's study who used the same child training procedures. This table summarizes our discussion of family life, and also enables us to see these patterns of child rearing in a broader perspective. The table indicates that in many ways the socialization of Indian children is similar to that of only a minority of American mothers. We will proceed to discuss the significance of this.

TABLE VI: GENERAL ATTITUDE OF INDIAN MOTHERS WITH PERCENTAGES OF AMERICAN MOTHERS CONCURRING

GENERAL ATTITUDES OF INDIAN MOTHERS	PERCENTAGES OF SEAR'S MOTHERS CONCURRING[9]		
FEEDING			
- Not breast fed		60%	
- Schedule: Generally demand feeding, some attempt to schedule	1) 12%		2) 17% *
- None or few problems with child eating	1) 23%		2) 32%
DEPENDENCY			
- Relatively to highly responsive to infant's crying	1) 15%		2) 33%
- No objection to parents going out		62%	
RESTRICTIONS AND DEMANDS			
- Few restrictions on child's mobility	1) 1%		2) 30%
- Practically never checks on whereabouts of child		10%	
- Few restrictions on care of house and furnishings		6%	
- A few requirements for neatness, orderliness, cleanliness	1) 2%		2) 14%
- Several regular chores around house		9%	
- No restrictions on T.V.		17%	
- Not particularly strict about bedtime	1) 2%		2) 18%
- A few restrictions on noise	1) 6%		2) 29%
- Expects some obedience but will speak several times		21%	

TABLE VI (con.)

GENERAL ATTITUDES OF INDIAN MOTHERS	PERCENTAGES OF SEAR'S MOTHERS CONCURRING[8]
TECHNIQUES OF TRAINING	
- Frequently uses tangible rewards	19%
- Mother seldom uses praise	6%
- Seldom or never spanks child	12%
- Much use of isolation--sending child to bedroom most often reported means of control	12%
- Seldom uses positive models	15%
- Seldom uses negative models	19%
- Rare use of reasoning	18%
- Practically every day makes threats and does not carry through	7%
SEX-ROLE TRAINING	
- Low sex-role differentiation at this age	5%

* Where Indian mothers fall between two of Sear's categories, percentages for both are given.

NOTES

1 John Whiting, et al., Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1953).

2 Ibid., p. 6.

3 Ronald Rohner, The People of Gilford, (Ottawa: National Museum, Bulletin #225, 1967), pp. 66-67.

4 James Spradley, ed., Guests Never Leave Hungry, (New York: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 26.

5 Ibid., p. 112.

6 Ronald Rohner, op. cit., p. 63.

7 Ibid., p. 123.

8 Robert R. Sears, et al., Patterns of Child Rearing, (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), passim.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In traditional times, from what we can learn from the literature, members of the Kwakiutl numaym acted cooperatively to provide subsistence for all members, and to ensure the prestige of their numaym against other numayms. The commoner gave part of his produce to his chief, who used this to feed the group in times of scarcity, and to distribute to members of other numayms in the validation of names, crests, and prerogatives which were numaym property, held at any one time by an individual of the numaym. When a chief gave a potlach, members of his numaym were active participants in preparations and the many duties involved in hosting a large feast. Their behavior was scrutinized by their own numaym mates and by members of other groups as it reflected on the man giving the potlach. Thus, as participating members of a particular group their behavior was controlled by the norms and expectations of this group. The totem was a symbol representing this group, as the position holder was a representative of the group vis-a-vis other similar groups. The individual was a part of a coherent social system which gave him his identity. The chiefs gained their identity through competition outside the numaym, and the commoners gained their identity through cooperation within the numaym.

We have delineated four Indian social groups in Alert Bay on two dimensions: Indian-White, and Middle Class-Lower Class. A third factor involves competition, or individual orientation; and cooperation, or group orientation. Those persons who compete do so outside their kin group, and obtain prestige in relation to outsiders. Those persons who cooperate do so within their kin group and obtain prestige in relation to kin. This can be tabulated as follows:

TABLE VII.

DIMENSIONS OF LIFE STYLES

	Middle Class	Lower Class
INDIAN	Competition Outside Kin Group	Cooperation Within Kin Group
WHITE	Competition Outside Kin Group	Cooperation Within Kin Group

Although we have formulated these categories as distinct entities, it must be realized, for example, that no one can operate solely on Indian values or by an Indian life style in Alert Bay. As was mentioned regarding Jimmy Sewid, the Indian has to take into account White evaluations of

himself and his culture. Secondly, those middle-class Indians whose orientation is to White values and attitudes, although they may ignore and be ignored by their Indian relatives, are able to succeed as "White Indians" only insofar as they are accepted as equals by Whites--which, as we have demonstrated earlier--is not necessarily the case in Alert Bay or elsewhere. Persons who are treated as "more equal" because they are Indian are experiencing prejudice as surely as those who are subjected to its negative form. Thirdly, those persons of lower-class life style who are oriented to Indian values are no longer active participants in Indian cultural activities. They are thus not part of the social system of Indian leaders, and are not able to fully identify with traditional practices. Fourthly, those Indians who are part of lower-class White culture are not accepted by the other three groups of Indians or middle-class Whites, and are not accepted entirely by lower-class Whites, who, partly because of the disproportionate number of lower-class White males in the area, tend to be exploitative in their relations with lower-class Indians.

Thus no group can identify completely with Indian values, although the "Fishing Aristocrats" are able to derive a part of their identity through traditional behavior. And no group can identify completely with White values,

although members of "Indian Middle-Class" are better able to derive a large part of their identity from middle-class White values. Jimmy Sewid, as has been mentioned earlier, has arrived at a bicultural adaptation, more than any other individual. As a traditional leader, he is active and successful in that role, although he is criticized by more conservative Indians as being too modern. He is also active and successful as a participant in White middle-class entrepreneurial activities. Thus on an Indian-White continuum, he would be close to both ends of the scale, and thus cannot be neatly categorized on our table.

To take the analysis to another level in order to make use of these categories for an examination of identity, it is necessary to look at the reference group of members of each of the four categories. The Fishing Aristocrats orient their behavior largely to members of their own group, although their prestige is enhanced by material success in the fishing industry, and to some extent through representation of the Kwakiutl in Indian-White activities, and pan-Indian organizations such as the Native Brotherhood. Because high standing <u>within</u> the Fishing Aristocracy is undoubtedly a prerequisite to becoming chief or councillor, and to becoming a representative to the Native Brotherhood, etc., it is open to speculation as to whether these

positions enhance status, or result from status within the group.

The Indian middle-class orients its behavior and derives its values largely from the White middle-class with whom they are in interaction. They may derive extra status through being able to procure Indian artifacts which are valued as household decoration in the middle-class, and in some cases are treated as "more equal" because of their Indian status, but their reference group is generally White.

The Respectable Working Indians have as their reference group their immediate kin group. They do not look for status to either the White or middle-class Indian groups, although their values are more traditional Indian. They are not able to take part in the Potlach status scheme, and therefore have a narrow reference group based on face-to-face interaction and cooperation. They are thus not greatly affected by pan-Indianism or by the values imparted by the school.

The Haywire Indians have a general reference group consisting of "poor White trash" and lower-class Indians. Their behavior patterns are shared by the inhabitants of any North American skid row. Neither White middle-class or Indian values have much effect on their behavior.

To examine these groups in the light of our

knowledge of traditional social organization, the differences, as they affect identity, are enormous. The numaym, once the focus of social activity, is no longer a viable social unit. The leaders carry on their own activities without the support of numaym members, and the members have, in effect, lost the leaders of their group and lost their involvement with inter-numaym status, and have thus lost their rationale for striving--as they are no longer part of a status system. The leaders, and thus the commoners, must find status within their own group.

In their delineation of social categories among the Menomini, the Spindlers identify the Indians on a continuum from the least acculturated Native Oriented who have few material possessions, to the Middle-Class Acculturated group who are in most respects conventional middle-class Americans. We have demonstrated that those persons who are wealthiest are the same people who are most involved in traditional forms, and those who are poorest are least involved in traditional activities. Although reasons for this discrepancy are open to speculation, it is possible that the length of time in an acculturative situation, and the more pronounced status differential in traditional Kwakiutl culture would be fruitful lines for further investigation.

In an examination of the Indian community in Alert

Bay in the light of the definition of "Society" cited above, it is evident, (a) that as a group, (without the Indian Affairs Department, and reliance on industrial products) the Indians do not provide adequate relationship to the environment for their survival; they are able to provide for sexual recruitment; (b) role differentiation and role assignment are no longer provided for among the Indians themselves; (c) communication among different sectors or the population is difficult; (d) there is no shared cognitive orientation, as both Indian and White orientations are extant in the population; (e) there is no shared, articulated set of goals, as has been demonstrated above; (f) means for achieving goals lie outside of the control of the Indian people; (g) affective expression is regulated by both White and Indian norms; (h) socialization is shared with White schools; (i) the effective control of disruptive forms of behavior is not possible as shared norms and values are lacking, and external controls are administered by agents external to the Indian population.

We can accept, with Dunning, that Leighton's Collection is a concept more appropriate to the Alert Bay situation, and "Children born in a Collection would not have a socio-cultural environment in which they could develop basic urges, unconscious processes, cognition, and affect into coherent sets of semtiments, and hence there would be

defect in personality formation."

We have demonstrated that the Indian population in Alert Bay is not a society, but is a collection from which individuals are differentially acculturated into the national socio-economic system. We have attempted to elucidate some of the reasons why different people identify with the different classes, and the subsequent effect of this identification on other aspects of their lives.

We have demonstrated, in our discussion of education and child rearing practices in Alert Bay, that those discrepancies noted in the literature for other Indian groups apply in Alert Bay. We qualify this in that these discrepancies vary depnding on the social group to which the child belongs. Only parents from the Indian Middle Class generally share attitudes and values with the school teachers as is evident from the fact that they interact socially. The concept of self developed in the home and in the school are different and can be tabulated as follows:

TABLE VIII.

CONCEPT OF SELF

HOME	SCHOOL
Valued and loved without qualification	Valued for performance
Indian--Fishing Aristocrats positive evaluation Other three groups--Indianess not important	Pejorative connotation for Indian
Leaders different from commoners	No recognition of status on traditional lines
Able to take care of myself	Helpless

These differences as tabulated make it very difficult for the child to get an idea of himself as an actor.

Child rearing practices generally tended to what Broom and Selznick called "Repressive Socialization." Parents are more likely to punish wrong than to reward good behavior, and often use material rewards and punishments. A contradiction appears for the third item, as the autonomy

of the child, that is, his right to explore the world, is very prevalent in Indian homes. Generally communication is non-verbal, and as command. The child learns to discern his parents' wishes. When marriage roles are complementary, there is little communication in the family, and socialization involves learning traditional roles from the models at hand, then the family members remain "significant others." In a situation where understanding means-end relationships, reaching consensus by discussion, and expressing concepts in societal rather than individual terms, the child learns the place of himself and his family in a larger social structure, and learns the rules by which this social structure operates: he can then be said to see his family as "generalized other." The Indian family remains the "significant other."

We have discussed the limited use of language in most Kwakiutl homes, and must assume, with Mead, that limitation of significant symbols coincides with limitation in the development of mind and self. Those children particularly from families where self-image and self-esteem arises from the kin group, are members of a small social group. Their family may be a "significant other," but there is no coherence between either the models presented, or the expectations, and no "social structure" taught the child that would enable him to see

both family and school as part of a meaningful whole. He does not see himself as being in the service of a meaningful other larger than the kin group.

Insofar as a person does not value the opinion of those persons who are not part of his significant other, pejorative evaluations of his behavior have little effect on his self-concept. Significantly, from our data, only the mother who valued the opinion of Whites was aware of discrimination in Alert Bay. With Rose, "the person's self-attitudes are a close reflection of what he _thinks_ others think of him," but they are also dependent on whether or not the others are important enough for their opinions to be considered.

However, in making this statement we must be aware of the latent hostility and consequent fear of sorcery mentioned by Ford as existing both traditionally and contemporarily. Who does the Indian see as being possibly hostile, and who does he see as a reference group? Is there another category of persons outside this system that he sees as being unimportant in his self-evaluation and yet not potentially aggressive? It is possible that the Indian sees the prejudiced White as potentially hostile, but not as important to his self-image. Further study on this question would be necessary.

If, as Foote states, it is necessary for us to

accept a role as our own before we can play it with force or motivation, then Fisher's statement that to be a good Indian, the child must be a bad student is apposite to a discussion of identity and school performance.

We have said that the self developed by an Indian child in Alert Bay must be limited and deficient in meaningful gestures. This is not to say, however, that the self does not develop. The child, as we have seen, is more in interaction with objects than with persons, and the self develops with an ability to manipulate these objects, although the child may not be able to communicate to others about his activity.

In conclusion, we have presented evidence to show that the concept of self developed by the Indian child is in conflict at the point of transition from home to school; that significant others provided as models within the family are in conflict with those models generated in the schools in a variety of aspects; and that the full development of mind and self is difficult, if not impossible--for most children--in the Alert Bay situation.

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APPENDIX

FAMILY INFORMATION

1. Child's name and birth date.
2. Parents' names.
3. Other children in family.
4. Parents' occupation(s).
5. Approximate annual income.
6. Duration of work and non-work periods.
7. Condition of home, car, housekeeping standards, etc.
8. Previous marriages, step-children, children not in home, etc.
9. Relatives, cousins in class, etc.
10. Associations, friends, activities, etc.
11. Characterization.
12. Ethnic origin.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How long in Alert Bay, where before, etc.?
2. Travel from Alert Bay.
3. Where were you living when X was born?
4. Who helped you take care of him? Different with first child?

5. When X was a baby, did you feel you should let him cry at times, or did you feel you should pick him up every time he cried?

6. Do you think babies are fun to take care of when they are really small, or do you think they are more interesting when they are a little older?

7. Now would you tell me something about how the feeding went when X was a baby? Did you feed him by a schedule, or when he was hungry? Different with other children?

8. Have you had any problems with X about eating enough or eating the kinds of food he needs? What do you think about it?

9. What do you expect of X in the way of table manners? Does he have to sit up with the family? How about interrupting adult conversation, is that allowed?

10. What do you do about it if he does some of the things you don't allow?

11. Now, what do you expect of X as far as neatness is concerned?

12. What kind of rules do you have for X?

    bedtime
    noise in the house
    T.V.
    how far is he allowed to go by himself?
    any other rules?

13. Do you think a child of X's age should be given any regular jobs to do around the house? Does X have any regular jobs?
14. How much do you have to get after X to get him to do the things he is supposed to do?
15. Some parents expect their children to obey immediately when they tell them to be quiet or pick something up. Others don't think it is terribly important for a child to jump up and obey right away. How do you feel about this?
16. Do you keep track of exactly where X is and what he is doing most of the time, or can you let him watch out for himself quite a bit?
17. How does X generally react when you go out and leave him with someone else? Who usually babysits for you?
18. Do you think a child should be shown and told exactly how to do something new, or do you think it's better if he does it by himself or even if he makes mistakes?
19. Which way do you think a child learns better?
20. Have you ever felt that X is growing up too fast in any way? How did you feel when he started to school?
21. Did X go to nursery school and kindergarten? Did he like going? Do you think it helped him when he started grade one?
22. Before X started school did you teach him anything

like reading or anything like that?

23. How important do you think it is for X to do well in school?

24. How far would you like him to go in school?

25. What do you think X will do when he grows up?

26. What do you think are the good and bad aspects of the school in Alert Bay?

27. What changes would you like to see in the school or the teachers or the way the school is run?

28. Do you think there is any difference between the way boys and girls X's age should act? Is there much difference in the way you would bring up a boy and a girl?

29. In your family, do the older children help the younger ones? How do X and his brothers and sisters get along generally? What do you do when they fight?

30. How do you let X know when you are pleased with his behavior? Do you have any way of rewarding him?

31. Do you have any way he can earn money?

32. In training X, do you ever say: "Your Daddy and Mom do it this way."?

33. Who else might you hold up as an example?

34. Is there anyone you would like X to be like when he grows up?

35. Do you ever mention anyone as an example of what not

to do?

36. If you were scolding X right now, what might you say to him? Do you ever warn him of what you might do if he doesn't behave? Do you ever warn him, for example, that he might hurt himself or the bogeyman might get him?

37. Now, about X and his father: what kinds of things do they do together? How do they get along together? Does you husband do much in taking care of the children?

38. Do you and your husband generally agree on how the children should be treated? Which one of you makes most of the decisions about the children?

39. Do you think X takes after you or his father more? Does he imitate your speech or anything like that?

40. How much alike are you and your husband in the way you look at things? Do either of you ever mention: "When I was young, my parents did it like this."?

41. In what ways would you like X to be like you or your husband and in what ways different?

42. Now looking back to your own childhood--how would you compare the way you were raised to the way you are raising your children? How do you feel about these changes?

43. Now I'd like to talk more generally about living in

Alert Bay. Have you ever thought of moving from Alert Bay?

44. Why would you stay in Alert Bay? What is there here for your children that you like?

45. What kind of things does X do after school? Does he belong to any clubs or church groups or anything?

46. Who are his playmates? Does he ever say: "My friends can do this."?

47. What are the advantages of Alert Bay compared to some of the outlying villages? Disadvantages?

48. What kind of activities do you and your husband do here?

49. What kind of changes would you like to see in Alert Bay?

50. How often do you think Indian people experience discrimination in Alert Bay?

    at stores
    police
    school

51. What about a child's X's age? How often do you think he experiences discrimination? Have you ever heard the term 'fishnet curtain?' What does it mean to you and your family?