

ATTITUDES TOWARD INDIAN EDUCATION:
IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING

by

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ABSTRACT

The literature on Indian education published in Canada between 1965 and 1970 is examined to identify attitudes which affect adversely the education of Indian children who attend schools in the Province of British Columbia, which attitudes are held by school personnel involved in Indian education. From those attitudes are deduced implications for counselling Indian children.

Research in attitudes, attitude change, and perception and interpretation is reviewed, to provide a basis for denominating negative attitudes. Academic and popular literature is examined for illustrations of prevailing attitudes. Ethnocentrism, misconception, and insensitivity are descriptive terms used for categorizing behaviours which reveal attitudes.

Implications for counselling are delineated in the areas of education and training of school personnel, teacher attitudes and attitude change, special programmes in counselling, interpersonal communication, standardized testing, and motivation.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In this thesis it is proposed that an examination of the literature on Indian education will reveal stereotypical attitudes held by persons involved in Indian education, which attitudes affect adversely the education of Indian children attending schools in the Province of British Columbia. Further, it is suggested that implications for the counselling of Indian children attending integrated schools can be deduced from these attitudes.

The attitudes of people involved in Indian education are revealed in studies by educators and anthropologists published in academic journals; in articles by teachers and school administrators published in teaching profession journals; in articles by Indians published in newspapers directed toward Indian readers; and in stories released by the mass media. For purposes of timeliness and manageability of material, it has been arbitrarily determined that the bulk of the literature on Indian education to be investigated for purposes of this study will have been published within the past five years (1965-1970), in Canada, with reference where pertinent to publications which do not fulfill those criteria. As the primary function of examination of the literature is the identification of extant attitudes as they affect Indian children in British Columbia schools and as they suggest implications for

counselling Indian children attending integrated schools, it is felt that the five-year and Canadian criteria for this study are not unrealistic. Data on attitudes per se will not be subject to such limitations.

Stereotypical attitudes are attitudes about individuals which generalize across a whole group, in this case, across an ethnic group, Indians. Three basic types of behaviour, as identified by this author as revealed in the literature on Indian education, will serve as categories into which attitudes can be classified:

1) Non-Indian educators attribute attitudes or abilities to Indians which do not reflect actual attitudes or abilities held by Indians (misconception).

2) Non-Indian educators identify Indian behaviours that differ from Eurocanadian norms accurately, but interpret those behaviours with no awareness of Indian perceptions and interpretations (insensitivity).

3) Non-Indian educators define and evaluate Indian children in terms of Eurocanadian cultural norms (ethnocentricity).

The Indian adult reflects some of the same attitudes about non-Indian educators as those to which he is himself subjected. Fear of the white man as enemy and resentment of the white man as the thief of Indian land, are generalized to all white men, including teachers. So, not only do non-Indian educators make judgments about Indians without

adequate knowledge of Indian culture, but Indians define roles for educators about which the educators know nothing. This mutual insensitivity or ignorance or confusion is transmitted to the children who must learn to cope with both sets of attitudes.

one of these white attitudes is competition p. 11

Delimitations

Persons involved in Indian education who have significant contact with and effect on the Indian child in the schools are his parents and other Indian adults; teachers (usually non-Indian); school administrators (usually non-Indian); in some cases, boarding home or boarding school directors and staff (frequently non-Indian); and Indian and non-Indian classmates. The persons whose attitudes are the concern of this study are Indian adults and non-Indian teachers and school administrators. That the attitudes of Indian children are not being considered as a major facet of the problem is accountable to the relative lack of published information on the attitudes of Indian children in public schools, except as interpreted through the children's behaviour as observed and evaluated by non-Indian teachers and administrators. The same is true of the attitudes of Eurocanadian school children toward Indian school children. (Readers interested in how Indian children perceive education experiences might refer to the findings of the Training Center for Community Programs, published in Hammond, Judy, Sherarts, I.K., Woods, Richard

G. and Harkins, Arthur M. Junior High Indian Children in Minneapolis: A Study of One Problem School. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, May, 1970.)

Indian children, for purposes of this study, are those children of American Indian ancestry who attend integrated elementary and secondary schools in the Province of British Columbia. Integrated schools are those schools in the Province of British Columbia which are attended by status Indian children, and which accept funds from the Canadian government to pay the tuition of the status Indian children in attendance. Status Indian children are those children of Indian ancestry who appear on Indian Affairs band lists by virtue of inclusion in the provisions of the Indian Act of Canada (Canada, 1965, sections 5-17, p. 3-8).

The Canadian government in its Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969, has indicated its desire to withdraw from Indian education, putting responsibility for the education of all their citizens on the provinces. Among the proposals for a framework within which Indians ". . . could achieve full participation" in Canadian society is the requirement that ". . . services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians" (p. 6). Further, to implement such a framework the government would ". . . propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their

provinces" (p. 6). These statements indicate that the government of Canada advocates the inclusion of the Indian in provincial education schemes. Implementation of this policy means that the "integrated school" would no longer exist, and that all Indian children who attended school would be enrolled in provincially controlled public institutions or private schools. In remote areas of the province, such a change in administration may in fact mean little in terms of practical change in the schools, except as the province might conceivably close small rural schools and insist on transportation of all school children from such schools to more heavily populated areas, where they would board away from home. In urban or semi-urban areas in which Indians have had federally-funded schools on reserves, it seems likely to this author that rather massive practical change would occur: these schools would close, forcing Indian children to attend public schools in the larger community. This means that the public schools would be confronted with large numbers of young children, many of whom speak English as a second language and have had little contact with the dominant society. What such a situation represents is perhaps the problems the integrated schools have experienced, on a larger scale. Many of the Indian children attending integrated schools have spent most of their childhood years on reserves, attending schools designed for teaching Indian children how to get along in the dominant

society, not designed for children who are a part of the dominant society by accident of birth.

A distinction has been made between status and non-status Indian children. The distinction is an artificial one, created through political and legal machinations, and, in terms of education, serves only to identify a particular segment of the population: Indian children for whom the federal government pays tuition to public schools. Should the new Canadian policy be implemented, such identification would no longer be meaningful, as all Indian children would be attending public schools, or at least be entitled to do so.

Attitudes

An assumption central to this thesis is that attitudes have an appreciable effect upon human interaction and, thus, upon the education and education (school-associated) counselling of Indian children in integrated schools. The definition of attitude used in this thesis is that of Rokeach (1968), as ". . . a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to behave in a preferential manner" (p. 112). As a "predisposition to behave", an attitude clearly has some effect on interaction. Further, that attitudes have an appreciable effect upon education and educational counselling is supported by Henry's comments on cross-cultural education:

Education can be looked at from the standpoint of the adult educator and from that of the child who is learning. The adult generally wants to do something to the child, and sees education as a process through which the child should become what the adult wants him to be (Henry, 1960, p. 267, italics added by this author).

Rokeach suggests that a separation of attitude-toward-object from attitude-toward-situation in most attitude studies has resulted in a lack of recognition that an attitude object is always encountered in a situation, about which there is also an organized attitude. This separation ". . . has resulted in unjustified interpretations and conclusions to the effect that there is often an inconsistency between attitudes and behaviour, or a lack of dependence of behaviour on attitudes" (Rokeach, 1968, p. 119). Thus, talk about one's attitude-toward-object, outside a situation in which that object is present, may not necessarily reflect one's behaviour toward the object about which an attitude is held when one is in the presence of that object: or, attitude-toward-object in situation absence-of-object may not reflect attitude-toward-object in situation presence-of-object.

Virtually all theorists agree that an attitude is not a basic, irreducible element within the personality, but represents a cluster or syndrome of two or more inter-related elements. . . . In our definition, the elements are underlying beliefs (or cognitions, or expectancies, or hypotheses) rather than expressed opinions (Rokeach, 1968, p. 112).

Attitude Change

It is recognized that ". . . attitudes are acquired behavioural dispositions differing from other behavioural dispositions like habit, motive, trace and cell assembly, in also representing a person's knowledge or view of the world" (Rokeach, 1968, p. 120). How attitudes are acquired is of relatively little importance for purposes of this study: that they exist and persist is the important factor. "Irrespective of the origins of negative attitudes toward ethnic groups, once established these beliefs tend to perpetuate themselves" (Byrne and Wong, 1962, p. 252).

That attitudes are acquired suggests to this author that they can be changed. If it is possible to identify attitudes toward Indian children and education which are negative and which predispose school personnel to behave in a manner detrimental to the education of these children; and if it is possible to determine how negative attitudes can be changed, it may be possible to provide a situation in which Indian children could experience greater educational success. Identification and change of attitudes may well be the province of counsellors in the schools.

The remainder of this thesis will be devoted to identifying the attitudes of non-Indian school personnel toward Indians, and attitudes of Indian adults toward education, as these attitudes are revealed through the academic reports of educators and anthropologists, through professional

school literature dealing with the success or failure of programmes and curricula and with special problems in Indian education; through reports in the mass media; and through articles and programmes authored by Indians. The attitudes identified will be examined to isolate possible detrimental influences on the education of Indian children.

Finally, implications for the counselling of Indian children will be deduced from the information studied. "Implications" does not mean specific programmes, but the directions counselling for Indian children might go; cultural differences between Indian and white children of which it might be profitable for the school counsellor to be aware; and suggestions for improving interpersonal communication and understanding between the essentially white school and the Indian child and his family.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The literature in this chapter is pertinent to attitudes and attitude change. It is not specific in all cases to Indian education, but does refer to cross-cultural education or to interhuman communication. In either case, it bears upon the question of attitudes as they affect behaviour. In several instances, to illustrate the relevance of the matters discussed to the central problem of this thesis, differences in attitudes between Indians and non-Indians are mentioned. That the attitudes attributed to Indians do indeed exist is verified in the following chapter, dealing with these attitudes as revealed in anthropological research and in material authored by Indians.

Classroom Attitudes

Jules Henry (1957) suggests that there exist in the white classroom attitudes detrimental to the education of all children, which are particularly difficult for the Indian child to deal with. He mentions "intragroup aggression" (p. 117), "docility" (p. 127), "competition" (p. 128), "confession" (p. 129), and "boredom" (p. 131), as particularly onerous. "Intragroup aggression" is identified by such behaviours as carping criticism, talebearing, and the "witch-hunt". In these behaviours, children are encouraged to seek

out and punish wrongdoers or to criticize the work of others to a destructive degree and in a destructive manner. The teacher determines what is right and wrong behaviour, and rewards the child who informs on the wrongdoings of his peers. The teacher also sets the standards for criticism.

"Competition" refers to the success of one child at the expense of another. Henry cites the example of the child called on to recite or perform at the blackboard in front of the class, that child finding he is incapable of meeting the teacher's expectations. When the child has suffered the degradation of failure, another class member is called upon to respond--only after it is clear to all members of the class that the child initially appointed to the task is incapable of performing it. The child who responds correctly in this situation not only has the teacher's praise, but recognizes that he is more capable than the child who has failed (p. 129). For the Indian child who has been reared with "Indian" values and attitudes, such success at the expense of another is indeed hollow success, the ideal being cooperation; and the failure of the child incapable of doing what is asked is bitter failure, the ideal being not to attempt a task until one is sure he can succeed at it.

"Docility" involves efforts to gratify the teacher, often at the expense of the child's own desires or concept of right and wrong.

. . . . We have taken note of the anxiety in the children as illustrated by the stories they tell, and observed that these very stories are subjected to a carping criticism, whose ultimate consequence would be anything but the alleviation of that anxiety. Hence the classroom is a place in which the child's underlying anxiety may be heightened. In an effort to alleviate this, he seeks the approval of the teacher, by giving right answers and by doing what the teacher wants him to do in most circumstances. Finally, we cannot omit the teacher's need to be gratified by the attention-hungry behaviour of the children (Henry, 1957, p. 127).

Henry suggests that, disastrous as such circumstances are for the white child, the values thus supported are the values of a success-oriented, competitive, upwardly-mobile white middle class. For the Indian child, for whom competition is ^{a curse} anathema and individual responsibility and decision-making are highly valued, the conflict and anxiety are exaggerated to a debilitating degree. For the Eurocanadian child, while the classroom situation may be anxiety producing, that situation is supported at home and by the society at large, for which the school exists and which the school represents.

"Confession" of misbehaviour involves impulse expression, the release of feelings about self. Confession is indulged in only by those children who recognize the wisdom or the expedience of "better" feelings which now dictate their actions--or those children who are willing to say that this is so.

. . . . In all cases, the teacher says what type of confession she wishes to hear, and what the resolution should be of the unacceptable behaviour; and the children vie with one another to tell commensurable tales, as they derive pleasure from the total situation-- through approval of the teacher, expression of their own real or fantasied deviations, and the delight of their peers (Henry, 1957, p. 129).

For a child for whom reserve rather than precocity is the acceptable rule at home, as it is for many Indian children, this experience is likely to be confusing, in the least. Among Indian peoples, recognition of having transgressed against societal rules results in change in behaviour, but rarely in pleasurable public recounting of the wrong done, which is tantamount to boasting.

"Boredom, which means emotional and intellectual separation from the environment, is an insupportable agony, particularly if the emotional vacuum created by such separation is not filled by gratifying fantasies, or if it is filled by terrifying ones" (Henry, 1957, p. 130). For the white child for whom the classroom values tend to be relatively consistent with the values expressed at home, boredom is a problem. It seems to this author that the problem would be compounded for the Indian child, who is separated both emotionally and intellectually from the home environment and home values, who has very little with which to identify in the white classroom, and who is subject to fantasies of a fearful nature when in the cultural vacuum of the Eurocanadian classroom. Feelings

of vulnerability are intensified in the classroom, at the same time that independence and the courage to challenge the situation are discouraged.

The solution to the problem of the contradiction between the requirements of a democratic education on the one hand, and the teacher's unconscious needs on the other, is not to carp at teachers and repeat the schoolroom process, but to give them some insight into how they project their personal problems into the classroom situation (Henry, 1957, p. 132).

Insight and Attitude Change

Stotland, Katz, and Patchen (1959), in a study on the question of prejudice against Negroes, support Henry's suggestion that insight into inconsistencies may result in positive attitude change. They find that negative stereotypes toward Negroes, while unaffected by positive information about Negroes, can be modified by confronting people holding negative stereotypes with insight into the "dynamics of prejudice". They theorize that such insight into attitude structure provides the subject some control over his ego-defenses, and thus reduces prejudice stemming from those defenses. Three conditions are considered important in the reduction of prejudice through self-insight: a) self-activity or self-involvement; b) relevance of self-activity for the attitudinal object; and c) arousal of tendencies toward self-consistency. An awareness of and desire for self-consistency seems a necessary, and in some cases, sufficient, condition

for attitude change. Because some form of internal restructuring is required for changes in the attitude-value system, change in attitudes is not immediately apparent upon the induction of self-insight (Stotland, et al., 1959, p. 508).

Rokeach (1968) identifies seven elements of human value-attitude systems, within which he suggests people strive for consistency. Those elements are 1) attitude, 2) attitude system, 3) instrumental value system (mode of conduct), 4) terminal value system (end-state of existence), 5) cognitions about one's own behaviour, 6) cognitions about significant others' attitudes, values, motives, or behaviour, and 7) cognitions about behaviour of nonsocial objects. Rokeach suggests that inconsistency within the system causes change, in that consistency is the goal (p. 164). If inconsistency can be induced between central parts of the value-attitude system (Rokeach proposes inconsistency between two or more terminal values, or between any other element and a terminal value), change in the direction of consistency will occur. Three main methods of inducing a state of inconsistency between any two elements are posited:

First, a person may be induced to engage in behaviour that is inconsistent with his attitudes or values. Second, a person may be exposed to new information from a significant other that is inconsistent with information already represented within his value-attitude system. A third way, . . . is to expose the person to information about states of inconsistency already

existing within his own value-attitude system. . . . In other words, feelings of inconsistency may be induced not only by creating it but also by exposing to self-awareness inconsistencies already existing within the system below the threshold of awareness (Rokeach, 1968, p. 167-168, italics added by this author).

If teachers can be confronted with existing inconsistencies in their attitudes about Indian children, it is conceivable that, in an effort to maintain consistency in the value-attitude system, their attitudes can change; change is not likely to occur if there is no awareness of inconsistency. If Indian adults can be confronted with existing inconsistencies in their attitudes about school, again, it is conceivable that, in an effort to maintain consistency in the value-attitude system, their attitudes can change. The direction of change, i.e., toward more consistently positive or more consistently negative attitudes, is difficult to determine, which is to say that attitude change toward consistency need not necessarily be favourable, or toward more positive attitudes. There is no doubt from the Rokeach and Stotland, Katz and Patchen studies, that insight into inconsistency in value-attitude systems results in change in attitudes in favour of consistency. Rokeach cautions about the ethics involved in attitude change (1968, p. 178) in his discussion of questions to be considered in further research in this area.

Perception and Interpretation

Cognitions about one's own behaviour and cognitions about significant others' attitudes, values, motives, or behaviour, are considered by Laing, Phillipson, and Lee (1966). The concern here is with perception and interpretation of the behaviour and experience of others.

. . . . If Peter and Paul are persons, the behaviour of each toward the other is mediated by the experience by each of the other, just as the experience of each is mediated by the behaviour of each.

If each of us carries around a set of criteria by which we judge certain acts as loving and tender or hating and brutal, what may be a loving act to one person may be a hating act to another (Laing, et al., 1966, p. 9-10).

What this suggests in terms of Indian education is that the attitudes of the non-Indian teacher and of the Indian child may predispose them to see each other in ways unlike the ways in which they see themselves. What the teacher may experience in himself as being sincere and warm (for example, praising the child for work well done), may just as well be seen by the Indian child as being threatening or embarrassing. What the teacher interprets as assent (silence on the part of an Indian child in response to a statement or request), it seems to this author, may as logically be interpreted as refusal on the part of the Indian child to acknowledge the teacher, and, therefore, denial.

Experience entails the perception and interpretation of an act, perception involving selection and reception. Of

the many things perceived of another, only a few are selected to be remembered. What one selects to remember as important is not necessarily what the other sees as most important in what he has said or done. What is selected from what is perceived, and how that is interpreted, constitute one's experience of another. Even if the acts selected for interpretation are the same for both people involved, the interpretation of those identical acts is not necessarily the same for both. When two people do not agree on the meaning of a particular act, confusion results from that lack of agreement.

. . . . If communication is optimum, they understand that they differ on the interpretation of the act, and they also realize that they both understand that they differ in interpretation. . . . However, often in human affairs where there is disagreement there is also a misunderstanding and a failure of realization of misunderstanding. This may be deliberate, i.e., a simple attempt to ignore the other person's point of view, or it may be an unwitting overlooking of the opposing viewpoint. In either case, a disruption of communication occurs (Laing, et al., 1966, p. 11-13).

In his discussion of the value-attitude system, Rokeach (1968, p. 160), says ". . . a value is a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes, and actions of at least some other--our children's, for example." Assuming this to be the case, the "failure of realization of misunderstanding" that occurs in Indian education might be seen as an "attempt to ignore the other person's point of view." Perhaps, however,

commitment to a particular value-attitude system strong enough for one to proselytize for that system, may result in a lack of awareness that a different point of view really exists, or that anyone entertaining a different value-attitude system can fail to see the superiority of that being taught. It is doubtful that teachers and administrators deliberately ignore the point of view of the Indian children they teach, or that Indian adults deliberately ignore the point of view of the people involved in the education of their children. That misunderstanding occurs and that it is often not realized is quite clear: the Eurocanadian teacher assumes that his good intentions are seen as good intentions, the Indian that what he sees as an effort to destroy or belittle his way of life is an effort to destroy or belittle his way of life.

In the United States, arbitrary efforts to educate Indians along the lines laid down by the federal government's Office of Indian Affairs had for many years an inglorious outcome. MacGregor (1946), concentrating on the disastrous consequences to Dakota Indian children, emphasizes (1946:134-137): 1) the children's fright at encountering large numbers of strange children in the government boarding schools maintained for Indians; 2) fear, by these non-competitive Indian children, of the competitive situation created by white school-teachers; 3) fear of white teachers because whites had always been looked upon as enemies of the Indian; 4) severity of school discipline as contrasted with the more permissive atmosphere of Indian family life; 5) linguistic difficulties, so that many children could not even understand "the teacher's simplest directions" (Henry, 1960, p. 284).

The conditions of misunderstanding, of perceiving and interpreting a situation as fearful, are as likely the result of lack of awareness of the viewpoint of the Indian child as a deliberate attempt to ignore that viewpoint. Henry (1960, p. 268) suggests that one of the ways in which learning in man differs from learning in other animals is that ". . . in man, learning is dominated by symbolic processes." If learning in man is dominated by symbolic processes, it seems to this author to follow that differences in the perception and interpretation of an act would lead to differences in the symbolic intent of that act, and to misunderstanding on the part of the people involved in perceiving and interpreting the act. Assuming the Indian child has a different symbolic understanding of information than that understanding his teacher has, he would not learn the same thing the teacher expects he is learning: if the Indian child sees a teacher's lessons in hygiene as a condemnation of the living conditions of the child, he is likely to learn the condemnation rather than the lesson in hygiene. Examples of this kind of dysfunctional communication are frequent in the literature on Indian education.

CHAPTER III
ATTITUDES REFLECTED IN THE LITERATURE
ON INDIAN EDUCATION

The material presented in this chapter is not intended as an exhaustive study of the literature on Indian education, but as a review of a body of literature in which prevailing attitudes toward Indian education can be identified. This author assumes that attitudes conducive to Indian education do exist; it is those that are detrimental to Indian education that are of concern in this thesis. In some cases of attitudes harmful to Indian education, the harm lies in the nature of attitudes directed toward Indian children; in other cases, the harm is in the incompatibility of attitudes or values of Indian children with the attitudes and values of the Eurocanadian society which controls the schools those children must attend, by decree of the Eurocanadian society.

Misconception, insensitivity, and ethnocentricity have been offered as broad categories into which stereotypical attitudes which are detrimental to Indian education might fall. Kinds of behaviours which reveal these attitudes have been suggested (see p. 2). Among Indians, such attitudes as cooperation, reserve (reticence), individual responsibility and decision-making have been identified as incompatible with attitudes and values which prevail in white-middle-class schoolrooms.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND MISCONCEPTION

In discussing attitudes toward ethnic groups, Anderson and Cote' suggest that ". . . the most significant variable which affects an individual's bias for or against members of other races or ethnic groups is his perception of the other's beliefs as being either similar or contrary to his own beliefs' (1966, p. 477). Perceived dissimilarity of beliefs seems to be the basis for ethnocentrism, for purposes of this thesis defined as ". . . belief in the inherent superiority of one's own group and culture accompanied by a feeling of contempt for other groups and cultures" (Barnhart, 1958, p. 413). Misconception refers simply to mistaken beliefs or ideas.

Attitudes that can be categorized as ethnocentric or misconceived have to do with intelligence, language, cultural deprivation, degradation and defeat, and motivation of Indians. Separating these categories is virtually impossible, because of the inter-relatedness of ethnocentrism and misconception, each, in the case of attitudes toward Indians, being dependent to some degree upon the existence of the other. Particular behaviours may reflect one more than the other, but delineating for example attitudes toward the intelligence of Indians as either ethnocentric or a misconception is for this author outside the realm of the possible.

To enter discussion of the attitudes resulting from ethnocentricity or misconception, an article which surveys

ideas about intelligence, language, cultural deprivation, degradation and defeat, and motivation is presented, following which each concept is considered in the light of other literature.

In an article entitled "How Well Do We Teach Indian Children?" the authors, all teachers in British Columbia, begin by stating:

Understanding is the universal key to the solution of most problems. Applied to the Indian problem, as in all human relations, understanding is a two-way street. We must understand the Indian and the Indian must come to understand us (Heshidahl, Hoff, Douglas and Harding, 1970, p. 148).

Clearly, the intent of the article is to clarify areas in which misunderstanding exists, and to help non-Indian teachers to understand their Indian students; in some areas the authors fulfill this intent. However, within the article, there is support for stereotypical attitudes harmful to Indian children, possibly the result of misconceptions the authors themselves hold. Indeed, they begin by characterizing the Indian as "problem". The implication of the article is that Indians, and therefore, Indian children, are not quite bright: "Most Indian people are very deliberate in their decisions, and need time to ponder and decide. When the decisions are made they will be largely intuitive. . . ." (p. 149, italics added by this author). Positive characteristics Indians are credited with are manual dexterity,

artistic ability, originality, loyalty, generosity, absence of drivenness, and being ". . . more concerned with the humanitarian than the materialistic approach to life" (p. 149). "Indian children excel in such things as woodcraft, fishing, boating, and so on" (p. 151). The value placed on "woodcraft, fishing, boating and so on", is not particularly high in Eurocanadian society, except in terms of avocation. The attitude evident here is one of the Indian as a lesser human being, outside the scientific, materialistic, upwardly mobile white society. The intimation is that the Indian is a trifle slow-witted and simple.

In areas in which there is high value in Eurocanadian society, Indian children tend to fail: "Indians perform poorly on tests, including IQ tests, because of their different basic pre-school training" (p. 150). That the measures for intelligence may be inadequate for people not of the cultural groups for which they are designed and for which norms have been established is not considered.

Constant emphasis is given by Heshidahl, et al. to the notion that Eurocanadians must extend themselves to provide enriching experiences for Indian children and their parents, the assumption seeming to be that Indians lead intellectually impoverished lives.

The subsistence existence of partially educated Indian parents on the reserve allows for only a minimal amount of experience and background for their children (p. 150).

. . . . Indian children lack social experiences, they are not future-oriented, they do not value possessions; therefore, they are difficult to motivate (p. 151).

Holding such ethnocentric attitudes leads one to believe that prior to entering white-controlled schools, Indian children live in an intellectual, cultural and educational vacuum.

Indians must learn to stand up for themselves. Many have allowed themselves to become degraded and defeated. They are too timid to speak up and be heard. . . . must increase their participation in the thinking and planning that must be done (Heshidahl, et al., 1970, p. 149).

The attitude expressed here is that it is the Indian who is responsible for the problems he experiences in his encounters with the Eurocanadian society, in that "many have allowed themselves to become degraded and defeated". That being seen as less than intelligent, less than capable, perhaps even less than human, is degrading, is not recognized in such comments. The implication is that it is up to the Indian to somehow rise above the degrading and defeating influences of the larger society, and take responsibility for the education of his children, within the limitations for responsibility allowed by the society that has degraded and defeated him.

On the question of language, Heshidahl, et al. suggest that English should be taught to Indian children "as though it were a second language" (p. 150). Indeed, for many Indian children, English is a second language; and, if not, the

English of the classroom may represent a dialect unknown to the Indian child. The problems Indian children experience with English are considered from a decidedly ethnocentric point of view by these authors: "The Indian child's experience with abstract language is limited. . ." (p. 150). As the development of the ability to deal with abstractions is one of the skills highly valued in Eurocanadian education, the suggestion that Indian children lack experience with abstractions is one more suggestion that they may be deficient intellectually.

Some Indian groups have trouble pronouncing certain sounds, especially the sh sounds. In the very early stages of learning the skills of the English language children who have speech defects should be given remedial work (p. 151).

The implication here is that children grappling with a language which may (in fact, for some Indian children does), include sounds not a part of their native language, and therefore difficult for them to learn to pronounce, have speech defects which require remedial care.

Intelligence

On the subject of the intelligence of Indians, and the ability of Indian children to perform on intelligence tests, MacArthur (1968), in examining intelligence measurement devices to determine culture bias that might influence test results, concluded that it is the measures that are

lacking, not necessarily the ethnic minority group members taking the tests. He found that culture-free measures are virtually non-existent, that Eurocanadian norms are not appropriate for Indian, Metis, and Eskimo people, and that on the basis of scores achieved on such culture-reduced tests as were identified, ". . . large proportions of Canadian native pupils of early school age have the general intellectual ability to participate fully in the larger Canadian community" (p. 122).

In his study of a Yukon residential school, King (1967), posits that lack of experience with standardized tests might be in part responsible for low scores achieved on IQ and achievement tests written by Canadian Indian children. He administers the Scholastic Aptitude Test, the California Test of Mental Maturity, and the Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children to the students in his class as part of a programme to develop test sophistication. He considers the ". . . most striking results of the entire testing procedure are the indications of 'normalcy' among the Indian children, measured by means of test instruments devised for non-Indian populations" (p. 84).

Individually, the comparable SAT scores show the same variations that can be expected among any population, ranging from little or no gain to almost two age-grade years gain. From these results there seems to be no basis in terms of academic potential for predicting that Indian children will not perform as well academically as non-Indian children at a given

grade level (King, 1967, p. 85).

In King's study, the lack of familiarity with English under which Indian children labour is clear in verbal scores on the two intelligence tests. In discussing results on the WISC, King notes that ". . . the gross scores (verbal and nonverbal) of the intelligence tests show no significant differences from what might be expected among a non-Indian group drawn from among the population for whom the tests were standardized" (p. 85). He notes that this gross score level is a ". . . function of the uniformly above average performance of the Indian children on the nonverbal components of the tests" (p. 85). On the basis of these test results, King posits that there is no reason not to expect ". . . a full, normal range of ability and performance from a group of Indian children in school" (p. 86), and that such expectations might lead to changes in teacher attitudes and behaviour toward Indian children. "All the evidence at the residential school indicates that the usual expectancy of teachers in past years had been that they were working with dull students" (p. 86).

Such findings indicate to this author that something other than basic intellectual ability is responsible for the performance of the Indian child in the classroom, and insinuations to the effect that Indian children are of inferior intelligence are simply based on the misconceptions held by those who make such insinuations. Perhaps attitudes toward

the Indian to the effect that he is of inferior intellectual ability are in part responsible for the performance of Indian children in school. As Mitchell (1970), points out in response to the Heshidahl, et al. article, ". . . but nowhere do they confer upon Indians that prized possession of white North Americans--intelligence" (p. 66).

Lane (1970) proposes that non-Indian teachers underestimate the abilities of their Indian students ". . . on the basis of limited verbal virtuosity or on their reactions to verbal stimuli" (p. 12). It is noted that a similar phenomenon occurs in assessing the progress of Indian patients in psychiatric wards, where doctors use an an indicator of recovery the amount of verbal interaction of patients with one another and with staff. Indian patients, as Indian students, are frequently judged to be withdrawn on the basis of verbal behaviour which is normal to them, but which differs from that of Eurocanadians. Such differences in cultural background place the Indian child at a disadvantage in the classroom (Lane, 1970, p. 12).

The best teacher, unaware of these cultural differences, can only assume that the child who has difficulty remembering to follow orders promptly, who has trouble sitting and listening to the teacher, and who is verbally less effective in expressing himself, is either immature, inadequate, or both (Lane, 1970, p. 12).

When cultural origins of behaviour are unrecognized, that

behaviour can be misinterpreted, leading to misconceptions about the abilities of children:

For a variety of reasons, teachers underestimate the ability of Indian youngsters in the early grades. This judgment is seldom lost on the child and he in turn loses confidence and mirrors the teacher's expectations. This, I hasten to add, is not a specifically Indian reaction. Educators and psychologists agree that children tend to perform according to the evaluation of their abilities by others and underevaluation creates a self-fulfilling prophecy (Lane, 1970, p. 12).

Hence, misconceptions about the abilities of Indian children result in attitudes about their intellectual capacity as being less than that of Eurocanadians. These misconceptions result in part from ignorance of cultural differences that exist between Indian and Eurocanadian patterns of communication, and in part from reliance on inadequate use and interpretation of intelligence measures designed for Eurocanadians and administered to Indians. Further, both Lane and King suggest that the performance of Indian children in school might be expected to change in the direction of greater success, were the attitudes of teachers to change in favour of viewing Indian children as in possession of the intellectual capacity to succeed scholastically.

Language

In her rebuttal of the Heshidahl article, Mitchell (1970), notes that ". . . North American Indian languages

are just as abstract and idiomatic, as complex in grammatical structure and syntax, as rich in metaphor and imagery, as capable of satire and irony, humour and drama, as ambiguous and as precise as any other language, indeed as all other languages" (p. 67). This is in answer to the suggestion that Indians need particular help in the use of abstractions. On the question of the Indian's ability to abstract, Lane states:

The erroneous notion that native Indian languages are somehow deficient because they differ from our own is another example of ethnocentric thinking and one which seems to be rampant in educational circles at the present time. With increasing and distressing frequency one hears from educators and reads that Indian languages have a paucity of abstract words and therefore Indian students require special remedial language classes in order to enable them to deal with abstract concepts. . . . To the best of my knowledge there is no competent linguistic or psychological evidence to support either the contention that native Indian languages lack words for abstract concepts or that Indian students have any special difficulty in handling abstract concepts (Lane, 1970, p. 14).

That language is important among Indian people, that it is used in dealing with abstractions, and that it is used as a teaching device, is clear from ideas about learning expressed by Indian people. George Clutesi in the introduction to his book Son of Raven, Son of Deer, talks about the use of parables and tales to teach young Indians about the relationships of all living things.

Quaint folklore tales were used widely to teach the young the many wonders of nature. . . The young were taught through the medium of the tales that there was a place in the sun for all living things. . . . The Indian parent refrained from the non-Indian adage of "Don't do this. Don't do that." Instead, he taught his children in parables and tales in which all the animals in his own world played important roles. It was not long before the child realized that all animal life was an integral part of all creation (Clutesi, 1968, p. 10).

That the Indian child was able to make undirected connections between the lore of his elders and the actualities of his own life is evidence to this author that he was able to abstract in the best Eurocanadian tradition. Is Aesop not used similarly for teaching Euro-North American children, and with the "moral" of the story included to be sure the connection is made?

The role of language in the education of Indian children in the traditional society is discussed by Pelletier (1970a), in his reminiscences of life in an Indian village. Again there is evidence that the children reached unprovoked conclusions.

All young children were allowed to grow, to develop, to learn. They didn't tell you that this was mommy, daddy, desk, ashtray, house, etc. We learned about these things by listening to the words adults spoke, what they said when they were talking, and built our own kind of relationship with the article (p. 21).

He also notes that a difference in the use of language between

Indians and Eurocanadians is that Indians do not fill in all the details for a listener, while ". . . in English most people tend to talk of details also about the obvious" (Pelletier, 1970b, p. 5).

When the Indian child goes to school, he is denied the use of a native Indian language or, in some cases, the use of the English dialect with which he was reared. The children are sometimes brutally punished for using native languages, and are led to believe that to do so is stupid or demonstrates inferiority. As this kind of experience is repeated, the child comes to think of people who do use Indian languages as stupid or inferior--himself, his parents, his relatives on the reserve (Pelletier, 1970a, p. 22).

Lane indicates that the problem of language is compounded for the native Indian child as compared with ". . . the immigrant Polish, Yugoslav, or East Indian child, for at least their mother tongue is of the same Indo-European linguistic stock" (p. 11). Because of basic structural differences, the native Indian child trying to learn English is confronted with a much more difficult task than ". . . simply learning a new vocabulary"; he must master ". . . utterly different categories of thought and expression" (Lane, 1970, p. 14).

Linguistic differences per se may not be the worst problems relevant to language facing the Indian child in the classroom: different attitudes toward the use of language

may be an even greater obstacle to learning. Lane compares Indian and Eurocanadian attitudes toward speech behaviour which are incompatible.

We set great store on verbal virtuosity. As parents we anxiously await our infant's first words, take considerable pride in translating these to any captive audience, and seem thoroughly convinced that precocity in speech is a sure indication of superior intellectual endowment. We coo at our babies and coax them to speak, allow our toddlers to chatter incessantly and worry if a child is not loquacious by the time it is a year old. . . .

Indian parents assume that the early vocal utterances of babies are speech and merely unintelligible to adults. They are confident that eventually the child will translate and be understood, and this confidence is usually justified. 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 (1970, p. 14).

This disparity in the use of speech and attitudes toward speech creates misunderstanding between the Indian child and his teacher. While the teacher of white-middle-class culture values verbalization highly, the Indian child does not. Such incompatibility of attitudes, combined with ethnocentrism on the part of teachers, results in the Indian child being seen as verbally deficient, rather than in acknowledgement that his speech behaviour is simply different from that of Euro-canadians. This conflict between teacher and child is

considered further (see p. 65-73), in discussion of silence on the part of Indian students, a related phenomenon which results in attitude discord in the classroom.

Cultural Deprivation

In reference to language problems experienced by Indian children, Mickelson and Galloway (1969), typify Indian children as exhibiting the characteristics of the "educationally disadvantaged" (p. 188). The concept of "educational disadvantage" is closely related to that of "cultural deprivation", as used by Heshidahl et al. in references to the home situation of Indian children. It will be remembered that these authors referred (see p. 24) to the need of Eurocanadians to provide enriching experiences for the Indian child and his parents, to the minimal amount of experience and background provided for Indian children being reared on reserves, and to the lack of social experience of Indian children. This remarkably ethnocentric evaluation of Indian culture is not unique.

Harkins, Sherarts and Woods (1970) in a study of public education for Sioux Indians from Prairie Island Reservation, examined the attitudes of teachers and administrators from two schools which are attended by Indian children, and those of administrators for the district in which the schools are located. Of the 16 elementary school teachers who participated in this study, 12 thought Indian

children had a poor home life (p. 34). They typically exhibited a ". . . quite vague sympathy for Indian children as youth and as people who are disadvantaged, but had little or no conception of the problems Indian children face" (p. 31). Of the 30 high school teachers who participated, 18 saw poor home life ". . . as a significant problem contributing to poor overall school adjustment and attitudes toward higher education on the part of Indian young people. Only one teacher indicated that her Indian students had a good home life" (p. 46). Seventeen of these high school teachers demonstrated a ". . . vague empathy for Indian youth as young people who were disadvantaged, but they had little or no conception of the specific problems faced by these students." Five were vaguely empathic, but did not see the specific problems of Indians as those of a distinct ethnic group; four had a good understanding of Prairie Island people and their problems and saw culture conflict experienced by Indian children attending predominantly white schools some distance from their homes as a real problem (p. 41). Among the six high school principals and counsellors included in the Harkins, et al. study, two counsellors saw culture conflict as a major difficulty for Indian students, while the most serious problems were considered by all to be irregular attendance and lack of motivation, while ". . . parental apathy was regarded as a problem by the three counsellors, as was a 'poor and disruptive home life'" (p.

58). It would appear from these outcomes of the study that Indian culture is seen by school personnel as at best poor, with a few individuals recognizing that there indeed exists an Indian culture, with which there may be conflicts with Euroamerican culture, those conflicts creating problems for Indian children attending schools operated and controlled by non-Indians.

In responding to the attitude that Indian children enter school from a cultural, educational and intellectual wasteland, Lane (1970) states:

It does not follow that if pupils lack experiences and/or resources which the school expects them to have, that these students live in some sort of cultural vacuum and have no other valuable experiences or resources. Yet this appears to be the unwarranted assumption which underlies the endlessly repeated view among educators that Indian pupils "lack social experience."

Most Indian youngsters in this province probably experience a richer social life in the sense of inclusion in family and community than do their non-Indian counterparts. The fact that these experiences may be different in no way makes them less (p. 13).

She goes on to discuss the cultural experiences of Indian children which are not generally encountered by Eurocanadian youngsters. Indian children are often included in what would be considered "adult" activities by non-Indians: such activities as helping with domestic chores and economic pursuits; joining in all-night dances; and observing gambling

games, birth, illness, and death. "Indian children are, as a general rule, allowed much more freedom in wandering from house to house and engaging in conversation with adults than are non-Indians" (Lane, 1970, p. 13).

King refers to the same behaviour when he reports that ". . . [Indian] children spend most of their days outside playing or roaming around town where they know almost everybody and everything that is going on" (1967, p. 24). Further, he observed that "Children frequently listen closely to adult conversations, but are seldom included. These conversations, mostly in English, seldom seem modified by the children's presence" (p. 24). Elders remember having been taught by their elders how people ought to behave with each other and care for their families, but, as one informant told King, ". . . a lot of them things is pretty hard to say in English" (p. 25).

Pelletier, in talking about his childhood in an Indian community, tells of the kinds of experiences Lane and King attribute to Indian children:

We lived wherever we happened to be at that particular time when it got dark People would feed you even if they didn't know you. We'd spend an evening, perhaps, with an old couple and they would tell us stories. Most of these stories were legends and they were told to us mostly in the winter-time. In the summer people would generally take us out and we would do a number of things which would allow us to learn about life and what it is all about:

That is, by talking about some particular person and demonstrating what that person did (1970a, p. 21).

Such accounts of Indian childrearing practices do not indicate to this author any kind of cultural deprivation, but rather a rich and varied cultural experience that is different from that of most non-Indians. Recognition of this difference is important in understanding what attributes the Indian child has when he comes to school.

That non-Indian children in general are not judged to be culturally deprived, Lane suggests, is owing to the fact that they possess the skills which are valued by the schools. There is relatively little conflict between what the school expects a child's pre-school experiences to have been and what those experiences are for the middle-class Eurocanadian child. But for the Indian child, pre-school culturalization does not reflect the expectations of the school.

Those educators who equate cultural deprivation relative to school expectations with cultural poverty in Indian communities display an ethnocentrism which is disturbing. Quite simply, they are wrong. Many Indian youngsters bring to school information learned at home, a set of values, and an ability to get along with others which could make a positive contribution to the school setting were it not for the inappropriate assumption that these pupils and their communities have nothing to offer (Lane, 1970, p. 14).

This echoes Chief Dan George's questions of the dominant

society: "Do you know what it is like to feel you are of no value to society and those around you? To know that people came to help you but not to work with you for you knew that they knew that you had nothing to offer?" (1970, p. 186).

The persistence of Indian spokesmen for educational reform in demanding that Indian culture be included in curricula taught Indian children, demonstrates Indian awareness of Eurocanadian ethnocentricity that has resulted in Indian culture's being ignored, as if indeed it did not exist; or, if recognized, being belittled. A position paper of the Union of B. C. Chiefs calls for Indian languages to be recognized in place of French or other languages in high schools and universities, and for changes in the course content and general curriculum to provide for cultural recognition of Indians (Indians Tired of Being Welfare Cases, 1970, p. 9).

Philip Paul, at a Southern Vancouver Island Tribal Federation conference calls for courses in Indian history, culture and law to be taught throughout the Province (Paul, 1970b, p. 23). George Clutesi is quoted in the Victoria Daily Colonist as stating that too few Indians are being paid to teach Indian culture and that the Indian must regain his pride before he can become a productive member of society. He notes the success of a course in Indian culture and language he taught in public school in Port Alberni, in

which the enrollment of the Indian students increased during the progress of the course (I Have Been Called a Dirty Siwash, 1970, p. 9).

Harold Cardinal describes what he sees as having been the results of Canadian education for Indian children, beginning with the church-controlled residential schools which were primarily designed to turn "savages" into "Christians":

The residential schools even failed in their first purpose--turning out good little Christians. They alienated the child from his own family; they alienated him from his own way of life without in any way preparing him for a different society; they alienated the child from his own religion and turned his head resolutely against the confusing substitute the missionaries offered. Worst of all, the entire misconceived approach, the illogical (to the Indian children) disciplines enforced, the failure to relate the new education in any pragmatic way to their lives, turned the child against education, prevented him from seeing or appreciating the benefits of a real education (1969, p. 54-55).

These protestations are testimony in themselves to the fact that Indian children indeed do have a cultural background, of which they are aware if their Eurocanadian teachers are not, and which is in conflict with the Eurocanadian culture of which the school is a major representative.

Murray and Rosalie Wax, in writing on the "Ideology of Cultural Deprivation" as relevant to the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation, suggest that holding an attitude about the Indian child as being empty of culture or thought or experience

when he enters school serves several functions for the educators holding them.

. . . First, it places the responsibility for scholastic defeat on the Indian home and the Indian child; since the child is seen as entering school with an empty head, then surely it is a great achievement if he is taught anything whatsoever. Second, the Ideology is a carte blanche that justifies almost any activity within the school as being somehow "education"; for, if the child is presumed deficient in every realm of experience, then the task of the school can properly be defined as furnishing him with vicarious experiences to compensate in every aspect of his life. Finally, the Ideology justifies the educators in their isolation from and ignorance of the Indian community; for, if the child actually had a culture including knowledge and values, then they ought properly to learn about these so as to build on his present status, but if he is conceived of as a vacuum on entering school, then the educators may properly ignore his home and community (1964, p. 16).

That non-Indian teachers are ignorant of Indian cultures and values as they are accused of being by Wax and Wax, is indicated by King in his discussion of residential school personnel in the Yukon:

All the non-Indian adults of the school shared an attribute. . . . ignorance about Indians. This ignorance was surpassed only by their willingness to offer snap judgments, usually unfavourable, about basic Indian motivations or character. Not only is there no background of systematic study about Indians or social-change concepts among the residential school personnel. . . their perceptual. . . ranges are so limited to the immediate environment that each tends to arrive at self-sustaining generalizations which determine daily activities from the daily activities themselves (1967, p. 65).

The foregoing may be considered a rather harsh judgment about teachers and their awareness (or lack of it) of the cultural backgrounds of their Indian students. The Harkins, et al. study (1970) cited earlier, however, offers substantiation from teachers and administrators themselves. Burnside school teachers (teaching grades one to six), indicated typically that they know little about the Prairie Island Reservation community whose children they teach, little about Indians, and little about the Indian way of life. Two of the 16 had visited Prairie Island for powwows. Further, four of these teachers saw special teacher-training for working with Indians as unnecessary, two saw such training as "good for them", five as positively helpful but not necessary, and four as required to achieve broad improvements in their own teaching and understanding of Indian children (p. 33).

Among the 30 secondary teachers included in the Harkins, et al. study, none had more than limited experience with Prairie Island. Their knowledge ranged from freely admitted ignorance of Indian people to limited experience and minimal knowledge of Prairie Island. Three of these teachers did not understand the "Indian situation" and were critical of Indians. Six secondary teachers felt that no special training for teaching Indians was necessary; four that such training would be "good" for them; 12 that minimal training in Indian education and culture was vaguely positive;

eight that such training was necessary for effective teaching (p. 44). Counsellors and principals felt that teacher and administrator training about the Prairie Island community and Indian culture, along with curriculum changes, more funds, tutorial sessions for Indians and better guidance counselling would improve the quality of education provided for Prairie Island Indians (p. 50). Among the "influential persons" included in the study (school board members, a social worker, a resource person and the school superintendent), the general feeling was that increasing success of Indian students depended on changes Indians should make in themselves, except for two who felt as well that teachers should become more aware of Indian culture (p. 57).

Recognition of Indian people as culturally different as opposed to culturally disadvantaged or culturally deprived seems to this author fundamental to changing attitudes toward Indian children in the school. A report of the National Indian Youth Council states clearly and unequivocally that it must be realized that the poverty of Indians is material, not cultural (Give It Back To The Indians, 1970, p. 6).

Dumont and Wax, in reference specifically to Cherokee children, reiterate the necessity of avoiding the conception of Indians as subject to cultural poverty.

. . . we must disregard the material poverty of the Tribal Cherokee families and their lower-class status and avoid any of the cant about "cultural deprivation" or "cultural

disadvantage." These children are culturally alien, and for the outsider. . . to enter into their universe is as demanding as the mastering of an utterly foreign tongue (1969, p. 220).

These authors are adamant in their statements to the effect that Cherokee Indian children when they enter school are as deeply socialized into Cherokee tribal culture as any other child of the same age is into his own culture (p. 220).

That Indian children who, as is recognized by some authors, are exposed freely to a multitude of adult experiences, should be considered culturally deprived by people who, by their own admission, are all but totally ignorant of Indian culture, is simply absurd.

Degradation and Defeat

Attitudes that have contributed to degradation and defeat, as those characteristics are attributed to Indians by Heshidahl and her colleagues, are identified by Paskell (1968), as inherent in the education to which Indians have been subjected. He recognizes an almost universal effort on the part of white teachers to mold Indian children to middle-class values through persistent insistence on hygiene lessons which introduce the child to ideas that he is inferior, through condescension; and through insistence that English, rather than the child's native tongue, be used both in and out of the classroom, thereby inferring that the Indian language is inferior (p. 30). Such behaviours

indicate Eurocanadian ethnocentrism.

King points out that the children at the residential school he studied are easy to direct. The adults at the school characterize the children as lacking initiative and the ability to make decisions for themselves, all the while seeming to fail to see the connection between lack of self-direction and the constant supervision of all activities to which the children are subjected. The assumption seems to be that the children are incapable of making even the least decision for themselves, hence all decisions (even to the kind of treat they will select at the school store), are made for them, depriving them of any opportunity to made decisions (1967, p. 75). King quotes a career civil servant, who operated a hostel for Indian students boarding away from home to attend secondary school in Whitehorse, as saying:

. . . Why I even think like an Indian. .
. . The background of the Indian boys and girls at the hostel is such that our program is geared to control every element of their living. The minutest details are carried out under strict supervision (p. 34).

The "strict supervision" of "the minutest details" indicates to the child that he is considered incompetent to look after even the least of his own affairs, an attitude not consistent with the way Indian adults seem to think, as revealed in comments about childrearing cited above (see p. 32). Adams (1970) considers that instilling feelings of

incompetence and inferiority is a kind of violence done on Indian children:

You cannot get rid of violence. I even feel that the children, the Indian-Metis children who are being forced to go to the present white-man schools are faced with violence. They are taught to be inferior creatures, they are taught to be humiliated. They are given insights about our heritage, our history, that are an insult and create a feeling of unhappiness about everything Indian. This is violence in the minds of the children (p. 3).

Given the difference in cultural attitudes between the Eurocanadian and the Indian, which are apparent in the classroom and which from the classroom seem to contribute to the cultural conflict felt by the Indian, it is perhaps easier to understand the debilitation described by Chief Dan George, an hereditary chief of the Coast Salish tribe and honorary chief of the Squamish tribe of British Columbia:

I found myself and my people adrift in this new age. . . but not a part of it. . .

What did we see in the new surroundings you brought us? Laughing faces, pitying faces, sneering faces, conniving faces. Faces that ridiculed, faces that stole from us. . .

Do you know what it is like to have your race belittled and to come to learn that you are only a burden to the country? Maybe we did not have the skills to make a meaningful contribution, but no one would wait for us to catch up. We were shoved aside because they thought we were dumb and could never learn.

What is it like to be without pride in your race, pride in your family, pride and confidence in yourself? What is it like?

You don't know for you never tasted its
bitterness (1970, p. 186).

The bitterness and despair of the Indian who has been conquered, who knows degradation and defeat, is reiterated in the lines of the song "My Country 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying", by popular Indian recording artist Buffy Sainte-Marie:

Now that your big eyes are finally opened,
Now that you're wondering how must they feel,
Meaning them that you've chased 'cross
 America's movie screens;
Now that you're wondering how can it be real
That the ones you've called colourful, noble
 and proud
In your school propaganda--
They starve in their splendor--

Now that the longhouses breed superstition,
You force us to send our toddlers away
To your schools where they're taught to
 despise their traditions.
Forbid them their languages, then further say
That American history really began
When Columbus set sail out of Europe. . . .

And yet where in your history books is the
 tale
Of the genocide basic to this country's
 birth,
Of the preachers who lied,
How the Bill of Rights failed. . . .

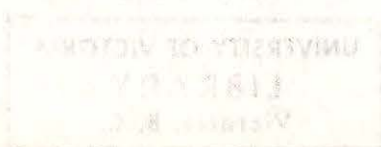
Now that the pride of the sires receives
 charity--
Now that we're harmless and safe behind laws--
Now that my life's to be known as your
 heritage--
Now that even the graves have been robbed--
Now that our own chosen way is a novelty--

To feel, as these two representatives of Indian culture so obviously do, that they have been the objects of ridicule,

that they have been deprived of the pride of ancestry, that Eurocanadian education for Indians has been designed to obliterate Indian culture and traditions, is, not surprisingly, deeply degrading. Further, to hold the Indian people themselves responsible for the defeat and degradation they experience at the hands of the white world is symptomatic of the peculiar ethnocentricity which results in the attitudes that lead to degradation and defeat. As Adams expresses it, "The terrible part about it is that Canadians think they are not racist. They think they are free of any kind of racial prejudice. They don't even understand that this society is racist" (1970, p. 6).

Mitchell suggests that it is not the Indians who have been reluctant to speak out, as is maintained by Heshidahl, et al. (1970, p. 149), but the Eurocanadians who have refused to listen who are responsible for the current plight of the Canadian Indian people.

. . . the authors state that many Indians "are too timid to speak up and be heard." What is more to the point is that when Indian leaders do speak out, no one listens. In spite of the relatively limited access to white channels of communication, these spokesmen have been telling non-Indian Canadians for a hundred years and more that the Indian people were robbed and cheated of their land, that treaties they made in good faith have been broken or ignored, that promises made them by white men are seldom kept. Few white people have been willing to "hear" the Indian who speaks out on these subjects (1970, p. 66).



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That Indian people have in recent years chosen to stop asking for redress from the Canadian and U.S. governments and have begun taking action to demonstrate clearly their demands for fulfillment of treaty promises or their rights to share the wealth of the land lost to them (as in the cases of the occupation of Alcatraz Island in California, demands for fishing rights in Washington, legal action by Nishga Indians to regain control of or be paid for land in British Columbia, and seizure of control of schools in British Columbia and Alberta), indicates the degree of frustration they have reached in attempting to be heard by the white society. Control of Blue Quills school in Alberta was gained by occupying the school and demanding that it not be closed, as proposed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Blue Quills Take-over, 1970, p. 32). Control of the Tsartlip school on Vancouver Island in British Columbia is being accomplished through the election of an Indian school board to control the school (Paul, 1970a, p. 39). The methods employed are not necessarily consistent with Indian attitudes of cooperation, which have resulted in no action, and certainly do not reflect the behaviour of people who have accepted degradation and defeat as a permanent way of life.

Misiaszek, in her discussion of the "cultural dilemma of American Indians," suggests that because the education of

Indians does not include Indian culture, Indians do not know about the native cultural influences on them, or understand the results of the impact of the larger society (1969, p. 438). This ignorance of the situation in which Indians find themselves, she opines, is one of the factors leading to confusion and lack of success at school. That Indians are, indeed, aware of the cultural conflict in which they find themselves seems evident to this author from statements made by Indians:

And now you hold out your hand and you beckon me to come across the street. . . . come and integrate you say. . . . But how can I come? I am naked and ashamed. How can I come in dignity?

I know you must be saying. . . . tell us what do you want. What do we want? We want first of all to be respected and to feel we are people of worth. We want an equal opportunity to succeed in life. . . . but we cannot succeed on your terms. . . . we cannot raise ourselves on your norms. We need specialized help in education. . . . special courses in English. We need guidance counselling. . . . we need equal opportunities for graduates, otherwise our students will lose courage and ask what is the use of it all.

Let no one forget it. . . . we are a people with special rights guaranteed to us by promises and treaties. We do not beg for these rights, nor do we thank you We do not thank you for them because we paid for them. . . . and God help us the price we paid was exorbitant. We paid for them with our culture, our dignity and self-respect. We paid and paid and paid until we became a beaten race, poverty stricken and conquered (George, 1970, p. 188).

The unvarnished truth is that the

missionaries of all Christian sects regarded Indians as savages, heathens, or something even worse. They made no attempt to understand Indian religious beliefs, virtually no attempt to appreciate Indian cultural values and paid little heed to Indian ways. The true purpose of the schools they established was to process good little Christian boys and girls--but only Christians of the sect operating the school. In those early church schools, academic knowledge occupied one of the back seats. Since the Indian was expected to live in isolation from the rest of society, obviously all the education he needed was a bit of reading, writing, figures and some notion of hygiene (Cardinal, 1969, p. 53).

. . . in grade eight I found myself taking over the class because my teacher. . . couldn't speak English well enough to make himself understood. Naturally, he knew no Cree. When we protested such inequities, we were silenced as "ungrateful little savages who don't appreciate what's being done for you" (Cardinal, 1969, p. 54).

The so-called integration program in B. C. education is really an assimilation program, mainly because the present provincial system is based on the idea that Indians have nothing to contribute.

Through the historical process Indian people are made to feel ashamed of what they are.

The education process makes them identify with something they are not (Paul, 1970c, p. 21).

From these statements, it seems clear to this author both that the Indian people understand the forces that have resulted in the degradation and defeat attributed to them, and that Indians have been and are taking the initiative to change the direction of Indian society toward self-respect and self-determination. Perhaps if ignorance of cultural

forces is in part responsible for the confusion and lack of educational success Eurocanadians assign to Indians, it is the ignorance of Eurocanadians that is in need of examination. As long as non-Indians continue to conceive of Indians as degraded and defeated, the Indian people initiating changes will be confronted with a dual task: convincing the Eurocanadian as well as the Indian that the degrading attitudes toward Indians which have placed them in an inferior position are the manifestations not of "Indian-ness" but of Eurocanadian ethnocentrism and misconception.

Motivation

Lack of motivation and the difficulty involved in motivating Indian children in the classroom has been referred to by both Heshidahl, et al. and Harkins, et al., as cited in the discussion of cultural deprivation (see p. 35-45). Pelletier indicates that curiosity is encouraged among Indian children, who are allowed to ". . . explore, discover for themselves on their own terms their own feelings and in their own way by observing and making decisions for themselves" (1970a, p. 3). He suggests that this curiosity is the motivating force for learning in the school among Indian children, and that when curiosity is replaced in the schools by material incentives and authoritarianism, the Indian child is caught in a conflict that is not easily resolved.

Lane points out that, while Indian children have been

taught at home to find their own solutions, to be accommodating and unaggressive toward other people, the school requires conformity in learning, rewards only success, and operates on the basis of competitiveness.

The difference in values requires that the Indian child learn new skills and new attitudes which directly conflict with those he holds at school entrance, and which his family and community still hold. Such conflicts create tension in the child, and in order for him to unlearn old values and internalize the new ones, he must have a strong desire to succeed at school (Lane, 1970, p. 12).

Repeatedly, relevant to the motivation of Indian children, it is charged that Indian parents are remiss in their responsibilities for instilling in their children an appropriate attitude toward the value of school specifically and education generally. The National Indian Youth Council notes that in interviews with teachers of Indian students in fourth grade or beyond, children were described as ". . . apathetic, difficult to motivate, uninterested in school or learning, and occasionally openly hostile to the teacher" (Give It Back to the Indians, 1970, p. 7). Clement cites a lack of appreciation for the value of education on the part of parents of Indian children in accounting in part for discouraging Indian youth from completing courses designed to equip them for competition in the industrial world (1968, p. 9). Harkins, et al. point out that the lack of encouragement from parents is considered by school teachers and admini-

strators one of the factors involved in poor attendance and lack of success in Indian students (see discussion of cultural deprivation, p. 35-45, for references).

The attitude that Indian parents are not interested in the education of their children and do not encourage their children to do well in school is based on lack of awareness of the attitudes of Indian parents. While Indian adults are not unequivocally in favour of schools as they exist for their children, there is a consistent appreciation of the value of education. King notes:

Despite all other feelings, school is still viewed by Indians as the avenue to social and economic advancement. They want their children in school and invariably give as their reasons some form of, ". . . so they can get a good job. You can't get no good jobs without education."

These positive inclinations are tempered by the many negative memories among adults, memories that are known to children, and that form a part of the children's expectations when they come to school as well as part of the parents' expectations of what school holds for their children. Tales of abuse are legion, abuse that is interpreted now as Whiteman prejudice. Such tales are of different periods of time and involve different individuals. Dishonesty, cruelty, and sexual deviance or promiscuity are recurrent themes. Further inquiry almost invariably leads to memories of good teachers and valued learnings at the school, but these are seldom mentioned first (1967, p. 36).

In the Harkins, et al. study, nine Indian parents were surveyed. They all wanted education for their children, and expected them to graduate from high school and go on to

college. They either had occupational goals for their children or were ready to accept the children's goals. They had only vague notions of how education would affect the adult lives of their children, mostly relevant to job choice (p. 62). Of these parents, three indicated they helped their children quite a bit, and two indicated they provided much instruction for their children at home. Only one of these parents felt very involved with his children's lives at school, visiting classrooms and helping effectively with homework (1970, p. 63). These people were asked about their attitudes toward Indian teachers for their children, the advisability of teaching their native language to their children in school, the advisability of teaching tribal culture in the school, and the effectiveness of school personnel. That there were responses to these questions, ranging over a wide continuum of attitudes, indicates to this author that attributing apathy to Indian parents is an over-simplification resulting from misconceptions about Indians.

Dunn (1970), reports on the request for an Indian home-school coordinator for schools attended by children of the Cowichan band (p. 43). This request was initiated by band members, who recognize the need for a consultant to act as liaison among the student, his home, and the school; to identify problems in communication between home and school; and to visit individual students regarding their studies.

Harold Cardinal demands Indian control of schools and educational programmes for Indians (1969, p. 61). The Indian parents Harkins, et al. interviewed indicated they have, by and large, very little contact with the schools their children attend, and experience no influence in affecting decisions on school programmes (p. 64). To interpret these feelings as apathy is to deny or be ignorant of the recurrent rebuffs Indians have experienced in the history of their contacts with Eurocanadians.

Still the Indian adult attempts to make his influence felt in the schools. The activities cited in reference to degradation and defeat having to do with efforts to gain local control of schools for Indian children are not likely to be initiated by people who are apathetic about the education of their children.

INSENSITIVITY

Attitudes that demonstrate insensitivity include ideas about personal autonomy, competition and cooperation, and silence. In the cases of these concepts about Indians, the non-Indian frequently is aware, rather accurately, of the Indian attitude, but does not seem to be even remotely aware of what these things mean to the Indian people.

Personal Autonomy

That Indians are striving to regain control over their lives is consistent with attitudes held among Indians of high regard for personal autonomy. Misiaszek points out that the characteristic Indian respect of an individual's autonomy is applied to very small children, suggesting that the children are allowed to do very much as they please, and lack adult direction (1969, p. 439). Such behaviour is not highly valued in Eurocanadian society, in which, as Lane indicates, a school-age child is used to being ordered about, to being told what to do and what not to do, and ". . . is conditioned at an early age, and often by physical means, to respond appropriately to the orders he is given" (1970, p. 11). Several authors, among them Lane and Lee, indicate that Indians do not think in terms of "allowing" children freedom, or treating them permissively.

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-rearing 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 (Lane, 1970, p. 11).

Among the Wintu Indians of California, the principle of the inviolate integrity of the individual is basic to the very morphology of the language. Many of the verbs which express coercion in our language. . . are formed in such a way that they express cooperative effort instead. For example,

the Wintu would say, "I went with the baby", instead of, "I took the baby". . . . A corollary of the principle of individual integrity is that no personal orders can be given or taken without a violation of personal autonomy; we have been familiar with this corollary, particularly in rural areas where the farmer and his wife had "help" but not "servants" (Lee, 1959, p. 8).

Speaking more generally, (i.e., not of a specific tribe of Indians), Wax and Thomas (1967) reiterate the attitudes attributed to Indians by Lane and Lee, and disclose areas of incompatibility with white attitudes. Indians do not reward for good behaviour, which is expected. Bad behaviour is punished by shaming; hence, one does only that at which one is adept, or waits to see what is expected of one before acting. This contrasts with the Eurocanadian practice of asking school children to perform tasks they may not be able to perform successfully. Whites equivocate, being "brother's keeper" on the one hand, and advocating freedom on the other. Indians are unequivocal; interference is forbidden. Voluntary cooperation on the part of Indians contrasts with coercion among Eurocanadians (p. 145).

Among Indians, Wax and Thomas claim, there exists an ethic of noninterference which

. . . implies a profound respect for the interests, occupations and responsibilities of others. To interrupt a child at play, or to force it to do something against its will but for its own good, are contrary to all precepts of Indian childrearing. It usually does not occur to Indian parents to permit or forbid their children to do anything (1967, p. 145).

This attitude of noninterference contrasts considerably with Eurocanadian-controlled school attitudes, which sanction constant interrupting of whatever a child is doing in order to begin doing something else. Children in the schools are continually being told what to do, and when and how to do it.

In discussing the effects of modern American education on the middle-class child of European ancestry, Moustakas refers to a "recent study" that indicates a reluctance on the part of college students to make choices for themselves, or to assume responsibility for the decisions they make and for the directions in which they want to go (1970, p. 2). He attributes this reluctance to an educational system which reflects the attitudes toward the control of children which are apparent in Euro-North American society.

Such an education process takes the student further and further away from his own self. Being directed by external signs and symbols and being motivated by external rewards are acts of self-denial very similar to the self-denial and estrangement of early life, when the child is taught that his parents are the authorities in the home; they are the statement-makers and the ones who know; thus he sets his sights on achieving their standards and expectations and gives up on the judgment of his own senses. . . . Submission and telling people what they want to hear are rewarded with attention, recognition, approval, privilege, and status, but there is a price to pay in loss of self-esteem, personal integrity, and meaning in living (Moustakas, 1970, p. 3).

Pelletier (1970b, p. 3) characterizes the western education system as killing psychologically and mentally, resulting in

the isolation of every individual from another. In describing his childhood in the Indian village in which he was reared, he states, "We were all somehow equal; the class structure in the community was horizontal. There was only one class. Nobody was interested in getting on top of anyone else (1970a, p. 20).

Assuming the self-denial noted by Moustakas is, as he maintains, damaging to the self-esteem of the Euro-North American children for whom the school system reflects the attitudes of the home, it seems logical to this writer that the Indian child, for whom that school system reflects attitudes strikingly inconsistent with those of the home, would be mystified by the school. On the one hand, the child is encouraged to explore and examine his world on his own, coming to his own knowledge of and conclusions about that world; on the other, he is told in school what to do at any given time and how to do it, at the same time being told that originality of thought and action is good, and being punished for too much display of originality in thought and action. In the traditional Indian community, according to Pelletier, ". . . the values that adults placed on things in the community did not necessarily carry over into their child. . . . Children discovered the value of these things on their own, and developed their own particular relationships to them" (1970a, p. 21).

Competition/Cooperation

Another area of attitudes attributed to Indians is in the realm of interpersonal relationships. That Indians prefer cooperative effort to competition is apparent from some of the foregoing discussion of other attitudes. The difficulty seems to be that school personnel see the cooperative attitudes of Indian children as a problem to be overcome, rather than a positive virtue to be incorporated into the learning process of the classroom. Aside from that consideration, there seems to be some confusion about what lack of competitive attitudes means to Indian children.

While school personnel seem to know that competitive behaviour for acquiring personal recognition and advancement is anathema to Indians, they continue to express an opinion that Indian students will be motivated by praise of superior work. Heshidahl, et al. state that "Encouragement and praise for any kind of good work achieves better results than reprimands for poor performance" and proceed to point out that "Competition is foreign to Indians. This is why it is considered 'bad form' for someone to answer a question in the presence of another student who does not know the answer" (p. 151). Misiaszek says that cooperation, sharing, and "utilizing the talents of all age groups for the continuance of the tribe" (p. 438) are characteristics valued by Indians and that "The traits that were discouraged included boasting

of one's accomplishments, loud behaviour, being stingy and lying" (p. 438). Yet grades for achievement are utilized to determine an Indian child's success in school, and these grades are based on a competitive system.

Pelletier discusses what he considers to be the particular dilemma of the Indian child he characterizes as cooperative and non-aggressive when he is confronted with competitive, aggressive Eurocanadian classroom situations:

Can you imagine then--you're raised in a community, allowed to feel your way through life to the point when you become six or seven, then someone tells you all these things are not so, but that this is how it is, and that you are to be aggressive and you must compete--so does anyone help you understand these things, oh no--because you might then know what they know, and you too might get a star and so on (1970b, p. 3).

In another context he explains that Indian children do indeed participate in competitive games and sports, but that what these games mean is not the same as what they mean to non-Indian children, because no one knew who won or lost.

I'm glad I can remember that as a kid I was able to become involved with a community with others and nobody was competing. Even if we did formally compete in the games we did, no one was a winner though someone may have won. It was only the moment. If you beat someone by pulling a bow and arrow and shooting the arrow further, it only meant that you shot the arrow further at that moment. That's all it lasted. It didn't mean you were better in any way whatsoever. It just meant that at that particular time the arrow went further; maybe it was just the way you let the bow go. These kinds of

things are very important to me (1970a, p. 20).

How different is this attitude from the fact that one's marks in school are permanent, forever, and follow the child around through the entire course of his public school career, and are used as the basis for employment, and thus, for the status a person achieves as an adult.

Adams refers to the lack of competition in the political affairs of tribal culture. He points out that leadership is traditionally assumed by whomever is most adept at the task to be completed by the tribe at that time, and assumed by virtue of the members of the tribe following a person's lead, not by virtue of their being forced to do as directed.

But I'm beginning to believe that one of the blessings is that we have not been structured into this bureaucratic world and into this institutionalized world. We don't have the same kind of hero-worship and respect for leaders and Emily Post rules. We are unstructured people, therefore we are able to operate in very ad hoc, very temporary, very spontaneous relationships. We don't look and depend upon structures to guide us, we can relate quickly. Sure we fall away quickly, but in an ad hoc situation you don't want it on a permanent basis anyway. You set up an ad hoc committee dealing specifically with an issue and then as soon as it's over you disband (1970, p. 5).

These attitudes are simply inconsistent with the highly institutionalized, bureaucratic Eurocanadian society with which Indians are forced to function on a day-to-day

basis. And because of the insensitivity of the people responsible for the education of Indian children, lack of competitive fervor and drivenness is seen as a problem. The Indian apparently does not see it that way, but, if Pelletier is to be believed, the Indian child is confused by the competitiveness of the Eurocanadian.

Silence

That Indian people tend to be reticent in certain situations is recognized by non-Indians, as demonstrated in much of the literature about Indian education. However, what the silence of Indians means or what the cultural situations are that call for silence seem to be subject to considerable confusion or misinterpretation on the part of non-Indians. Misiaszek (1969), indicates that childhood training which values reticence results in the Indian child not volunteering to talk in the classroom, and that this lack of verbosity is interpreted as sullenness by non-Indian teachers. Misiaszek herself attributes Indian silence to shyness (p. 439).

King (1967), attributes the silence of Indian children in the Yukon residential school to the fact that "The one mode of communication that is neither rewarded nor encouraged, is volunteered information of a nonemergency nature" (p. 76). Heshidahl, et al. do not attempt to evaluate the nature of silence on the part of Indians, but

state "If we offend the Indians. . . we may never know it because most Indians will not tell us; they will endure in silence" (p. 149). "Indians are traditionally shy in the classroom. It is best not to make an issue of any lack of response because an Indian never wishes to be singled out publicly" (p. 150). Dumont and Wax (1969) note that teachers typify Cherokee students' silence as timidity or shyness, their control or restraint as docility (p. 220). These authors point out that silence is not necessarily a negative thing, but may be a very positive force among Cherokee children:

. . . by seventh or eighth grades the students have surrounded themselves with a wall of silence impenetrable by the outsider, while sheltering a rich emotional communion among themselves. The silence is positive, not simply negative or withdrawing, and it shelters them so that, among other things, they can pursue their scholastic interests in their own style and pace. By their silence they exercise control over the teacher and maneuver him toward a mode of participation that meets their standards (1969, p. 222).

In various places in their discussion of the attitudes of teachers toward Indians, Harkins, et al. point out that teachers typify Indians as "passive", "not participating in class", and as "uninterested" in academic aspects of school. These attitudes, it should be remembered, are those teachers attribute to themselves.

Basso (1970), in a study of silence among the Western Apache of the United States, identified a number of

situations in which silence is called for, and discusses the nature of silence as used by the Apache. He notes that the Indian is often characterized as reticent, if not truculent, and indicates that "In the popular literature. . . it [silence] is commonly portrayed as the outgrowth of such dubious causes as 'instinctive dignity,' 'an impoverished language,' or, perhaps worst of all, the Indians' 'lack of personal warmth'" (p. 213). He also points out that "For a stranger entering an alien society, a knowledge of when not to speak may be as basic to the production of culturally acceptable behaviour as a knowledge of what to say" (p. 215). Among the Apache, Basso finds ". . . the critical factor in the. . . decision to speak or keep silent seems always to be the nature of his relationships with other people."

Several situations are denominated in which silence is the acceptable rule in Western Apache society: meeting strangers, courting, "children, coming home", "getting cussed out", and "being with people who are sad". Strangers may be any of a number of people with whom one is not intimately familiar, but in all cases are separated by social distance. "And in all cases it is considered appropriate, when encountering them for the first time, to refrain from speaking" (Basso, p. 217). The decision to stop being strangers is up to the individuals who do not know each other. Introductions from one who knows both "strangers" are considered ". . . presumptuous and unnecessary" (p. 218).

People who are quick to initiate conversation are regarded with "undisguised suspicion" (p. 218), and are suspected of wanting something; if such a person is Euroamerican, it is suspected that he "wants to teach us something" or "wants to make friends in a hurry" (p. 218).

In the courting situation, the Apache informants indicated that silence in the early stages of a courtship are the result of extreme "shyness", "not knowing what to say", or "acute self-consciousness". Girls who are loquacious in the early stages of a relationship are suspected of having had previous experience with men, or of inviting sexual congress. Indians equate ". . . the ease with which a young couple talk and how well they know each other" (Basso, 1970, p. 219).

The most frequent situation in which the ". . . children, coming home. . ." silence is observed ". . . involves boarding school students and their parents" (p. 220).

According to my informants, the silence of Western Apache parents at (and after) reunions with their children is ultimately predicated on the possibility that the latter have been adversely affected by their experiences away from home. Uppermost is the fear that, as a result of protracted exposure to Anglo attitudes and values, the children have come to view their parents as ignorant, old-fashioned, and no longer deserving of respect (Basso, 1970, p. 220).

What these silences upon meeting their children just home from boarding school mean to the parents is clarified by statements Basso quotes from his informants.

At school, some of them learn to want to be White men, so they come back and they try to act that way. But we are still Apaches! So we don't know them any more, and it is like we never knew them. It is hard to talk to them when they are like that (p. 220).

And from another parent:

Yes, it's right that we didn't talk much to them when they came back, my wife and me. They were away for a long time, and we didn't know how they would like it, being home. So we waited. Right away, they started to tell stories about what they did. Pretty soon we could tell they liked it, being back. That made us feel good. So it was easy to talk to them again. It was like they were before they went away (p. 221).

How different are these interpretations of Apache Indians of the silence that prevails when they greet their children coming home from school, from the interpretation of incidents by school personnel which is described by King (1967). The incidents in the latter case are the visits of Indian parents to the school to see their children, who had been away from home for some months. Typical behaviour of both parent and child is tense and extreme silence and avoidance, aggravated by any chance presence of school personnel.

Parents seem pleased to see their children, but a little bewildered and embarrassed by the avoidance responses of the children. . . In such situations the avoidance behaviour of the children increases the tension. They become very uncomfortable, never respond verbally, and often exhibit extreme behaviour, such as turning to face another direction, twisting their hands, sometimes crying, and at best

mustering a grimmacing smile beneath the hung head (p. 52-53).

King notes that school staff members attribute the behaviour of the children in such cases to the fact that the children are so much better off at residential school than at home, that they do not want to be subjected to visits from their parents. He quotes one staff member as exclaiming, "Why, when her mother visited, that child could hardly stand to be near her! What kind of a life would she have at home?" (p. 53). Such an interpretation of the behaviours of parents and children making contact in the school setting seems to this author to serve a function similar to that of the concept of cultural deprivation: if the children are so unhappy at home that they cannot bear to see their parents, then what the school does in taking them away from home is doubtless a good thing. King himself construes the behaviours exhibited by the children in another way, one that is considerably more sensitive to the possible interpretations the children may put on such situations themselves.

(I feel that children in these situations are unable to reconcile their dual identities. A child's school identity as an unobtrusive group member is inconsistent with his family identity as an accepted, if peripheral, individual. Nothing in his life experience either at home or at school has equipped him to be a center of attention. Much as the child may feel a need for attention from both relatives and school personnel, he has no acceptable behaviour patterns available for expressing this need.) (p. 53).

"Getting cussed out", according to Basso, is used by the Apache ". . . to describe any situation in which one individual, angered and enraged, shouts insults and criticisms at another" (p. 221).

The silence of Apaches who are "getting cussed out" is consistently explained in reference to the belief that individuals who are "enraged". . . are also irrational or "crazy". In this condition, it is said, they "forget who they are" and become oblivious to what they say or do. Consequently, they lose all concern for the consequences of their actions on other people. In a word, they are dangerous (p. 221).

"Being with people who are sad" refers to contacts with people who have experienced the death of a spouse or kinsman. The Indian informants suggested three explanations for the silence observed in such situations.

The first is that persons "who are sad" are so burdened with "intense grief". . . that speaking requires of them an unusual amount of physical effort. . . .

A second native explanation is that in situations of this sort verbal communication is basically unnecessary. . . . talking about it even for the purpose of conveying solace and sympathy, would only reinforce and augment the sadness felt by those who were close to the deceased. . . .

The third explanation is rooted in the belief that "intense grief", like intense rage, produces changes in the personality of the individual who experiences it (Basso, 1970, p. 222-223).

Basso summarizes Apache silence in three points, which are pertinent to the interpretations of silence mentioned above.

1. In Western Apache culture, the absence of verbal communication is associated with social situations in which the status of focal participants is ambiguous.
2. Under these conditions, fixed role expectations lose their applicability and the illusion of predictability in social interaction is lost.
3. To sum up and reiterate: keeping silent among the Western Apache is a response to uncertainty and unpredictability in social relations (p. 227).

Although ethnographic work on the nature of silence is insufficient, and cross-cultural data are not available, work is being done among the Navajo. It is found that in the situations described for the Apache, the Navajo demonstrate remarkably similar behaviour and attribute that behaviour to remarkably similar attitudes about ambiguity and unpredictability in social situations. Even though it is not appropriate to claim that the Apache and Navajo research explains silence in all cases for Indian people of other cultural backgrounds, it is appropriate to suggest that in the question of silence much is not known. It is quite likely that interpretations of sullenness or disinterest on the part of Indian children in the classroom are inaccurate; or, that an interpretation of ambiguity in the social situation and lack of predictability or uncertainty in the relationship is at least as accurate, and has some substantiation from the research that is available.

The point is that the reticence recognized in Indians by Eurocanadians is subject to misinterpretation.

Eurocanadians tend to verbalize in situations in which at least some Indians find it inappropriate to do so. This difference in attitudes, combined with Eurocanadian ethnocentrism, results in the least favourable interpretation being put on Indian silences.

CHAPTER IV
IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING

The implications for counselling discussed in this chapter originate from the observations and opinions of this writer, who assumes full responsibility for them. It is also recognized that the views of this author are at considerable variance from those of the larger Eurocanadian society, which has demonstrated a desire to make of Indians "brown white men". Calling for recognition of Indian values and attitudes to be accepted and fostered, for Indian culture to be preserved within the context of socio-economic equality with the Eurocanadian society, puts the writer in the camp of Indian "radicals", who are demanding the same kinds of recognition. What is being advocated is social and political activism on the part of counsellors.

Indian control of the schools Indian children attend seems to this author the best solution to the problems that confront Indian children; at least in such a situation there would be some assurance that the children would be taught by people who love and respect them as worthy human beings, rather than condescend to them as something at best undesirable. Teacher training institutions can provide special programmes for Indians seeking teacher education, to fulfill provincial certification requirements and to provide counselling for those struggling with culture conflict. While "segregation"

is currently an unfashionable word, in areas in which Indians initiate action for local control, they should be supported.

That it does not seem likely that Indians will win total control of all the schools their children attend, nor that the public school system as it exists will collapse in the immediate future, indicates that changes must be made in the current educational system to provide greater possibilities for the success of Indian students. Some of these changes are relatively innocuous, and seem so obvious to this writer that it is difficult to understand why they have not been made in the past. Others are likely to meet with opposition both from the people in the best position to initiate them and from the non-Indian society at large.

The major implication for counselling and change in schools is, obviously, that non-Indians of any professional commitment who are, by virtue of desire or accident of employment, to work with Indian children, must devote themselves to learning as much as they possibly can about Indian culture, the expectations and desires of Indians, and the attitudes of Indians toward education and participation in the larger society.

It seems that there are several areas in which counselling personnel could profitably involve themselves, among them 1) the education and training of school personnel, 2) teacher attitudes, 3) the development of special programmes for counselling Indian children and their parents,

4) the improvement of communications between the Indian and the school, 5) standardized testing, and 6) motivation. That counsellors are in need of specialized training themselves in order to be productive in these areas, and that counselling personnel alone are not likely able to bring about major changes in the educational structure, is accepted. However, counsellors, by virtue of their rather specialized training in attitudes, behaviour, and human growth and development, and their particular function in the school structure, are in a position to initiate change.

The intention of the government of Canada to abrogate the responsibilities it has assumed for Indian education in the past and to provide interim financing for the provinces while they assume full control of Indian education, as indicated in the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969, makes it particularly expedient to examine the role of counsellors in Indian education at this time, in anticipation of the change-over proposed. One of the results of such a revision in the education programme that now exists is that Indian children will be sent in considerably larger numbers than at present to public schools throughout the province.

Education and Training of School Personnel

Large numbers of an ethnic minority group about which existing attitudes include some that are strongly negative

are likely to be entering public schools, indicating to this author the need for people trained in the teaching and counselling of these children. Nowhere in the existing programmes for teacher training in the Province of British Columbia is there a required cross-cultural programme to provide teachers with the training necessary for dealing with the problems of such a minority group. Counsellor training programmes also ignore cross-cultural needs.

Teachers are trained in this province in the three universities; Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and the University of Victoria in Victoria. The Simon Fraser University calendar for 1970-71 indicates that for the Professional Development programme in education, students should select courses from Arts and Sciences consistent with their teaching plans.

Students should plan their studies in Arts, Science, or Education to include a Major or Honors program in subjects which are widely taught in the schools, e.g., Biological Sciences, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, English, Geography, History, Modern Languages, or which are related closely to Education, e.g., Psychology, Sociology, Philosophy, Kinesiology, Behavioural Science Foundations, Social and Philosophical Foundations (p. 180).

Within the SFU Faculty of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology, there are courses students in teacher training can take which may be relevant to teaching native Canadians: 244-3, Canadian Society and Politics, includes

"pressure groups and social movements"; 217-3, Types of Authority in Traditional Societies, may be of some relevance (p. 160); 373-5, Regional Studies in Anthropology, North West Pacific (p. 163), might be assumed to concentrate on the British Columbia Indian. No courses are offered in this department specific to the problems of cross-cultural education. In the Psychology department, two courses are listed which might be pertinent to studies concerned with cross-cultural education; 106-2, Social Issues, and 360-3, Social Psychology (p. 169). In the department of Social and Philosophical Foundations, SFU offers a course, SPF-432-5, Contemporary Issues in World Education, which may be of value in cross-cultural studies. Nothing specific to cross-cultural education for Indians is offered at Simon Fraser University, nor is there any indication of a programme in counsellor training.

The University of British Columbia calendar for 1971-72 suggests that first year students in elementary education enroll in a course in ". . . History, Geography, or other Social Science" (p. 155). Presumably, "other social science" might include a course devoted to the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. For prospective secondary teachers, in all four years, courses related to academic concentrations or majors are recommended. It could be construed that a student concerned with Indian education might locate courses specific to

this area. The Guidance concentration at UBC has been discontinued (p. 160), effectively eliminating undergraduate training in counselling. UBC does offer a course entitled Cross-cultural Education (Native Indians), for which the prerequisites Education 470 (Educational Sociology) and Anthropology 301 (B.C. Indians) are recommended. These courses are not required of all students in teacher training, but it is conceivable that anyone interested might enroll in them. UBC offers an MA in guidance and counselling, but no courses in cross-cultural education are listed on the graduate level. It is possible that a graduate student interested in this field might devote himself in part to courses in anthropology and sociology which would provide background that could be useful.

At the University of Victoria, a course entitled Anthropology and Education is listed in the 1970-71 calendar as being offered in the Faculty of Education (p. 240). In anthropology, students may enroll in 335 (Minority and Ethnic Group Relations), 339 (Indians of the Pacific Northwest), and 414 (Culture and Personality), all of which might have relevance for people teaching Indians in public schools (p. 83-84). Only Education 425 (Anthropology and Education), indicates from its course description that it might be of value cross-culturally, and then only if one assumes that "Theory and perspectives from cultural anthropology relevant

to the processes of education and operations of schools", as the course is defined, might include work of a cross-cultural nature. The University of Victoria offers undergraduate work in counselling, none of which is specific to counselling cross-culturally.

The University of Victoria also offers an MA and a PhD in Counselling Psychology, but no courses designed for cross-cultural counselling are offered on the graduate level. Again, it is conceivable that, as in the case of this author, a graduate student might design his programme to include courses from the anthropology department with a view to fulfilling this need in part.

It seems that, with the sizable minority of Indian children currently attending public schools in the province, and with the likelihood that that minority will grow in the near future with the implementation of the federal government's policy, it is important to require of teacher and counsellor trainees courses relevant to the specific needs of Indian students; or, at the very least, courses designed to teach Indian culture, history (from the Indian's point of view, not Custer's), and contemporary life. Any teacher in the province would benefit from such cross-cultural training, be it specific to native Canadians, or designed to include other large minorities who live and attend school in the province. There are considerable numbers of East Indians,

Oriental, and immigrant Europeans in British Columbia, for none of whom is special training in their culture, language, or life-style required of the teachers who work with their children in the public schools.

Counsellors could be instrumental in the establishment of such courses, through demands that their needs be met by the training institutions. Until such time as the universities are made aware of the need for cross-cultural training, it simply will continue to be offered at best in a haphazard fashion, and on an elective basis.

Pertinent to counsellor training, every possible effort should be made to provide for Indian students to be trained as counsellors. Perhaps the only realistic way to implement a programme of this nature is to provide special economic and academic incentives for Indians desiring to enter the field. It is not outside the realm of possibility to develop a training programme for Indian students who might lack the usual high school graduation requirements for entering university, and to provide for these people financial aid to permit their participation. Protestations of "lowering standards" by such a process are nothing more than a smokescreen to avoid facing the issue, considering the present apparent lack of cross-cultural training required of people entering counselling in schools attended by Indian children.

Teacher Attitudes

As has been indicated earlier in this thesis, the attitudes of school personnel toward Indian students are in part the result of a lack of training about Indian people. Teachers, by and large, are ignorant of the Indian child as a member of a distinct ethnic minority group with a distinct cultural background, and with specific problems in education. Counsellors, on the basis of the evidence cited earlier, seem to be little more aware of the Indian student and his culture than is the teacher. If counsellors are to be in any way responsible for attitude-change on the part of teachers, they must first examine their own attitudes toward Indian children, and achieve consistency between those attitudes and their attitudes toward counselling as a helping profession. From that consistency, counsellors might then be in a position to confront other school personnel with inconsistencies in their own attitudes. Doubtless such confrontation would be met with some opposition: if attempted in a positive, non-threatening manner, however, it seems possible to facilitate change without creating animosity.

That there is inconsistency in teachers' attitudes toward Indian children is clear from the preceding discussion of attitudes represented in the literature on Indian education. Indian children are praised as being cooperative, and condemned for lacking motivation. Indians are praised for the sense of individual autonomy and personal

responsibility they seem to display, yet condemned for allowing themselves to become degraded and defeated. Indian adults are chided for not becoming involved actively in educational decision-making, all the while their efforts to do so are bemoaned. These inconsistencies create difficulties for the counsellor working with Indian children, those children being aware of, and confused by, the contradictory attitudes about themselves that are held by non-Indian educators.

"Teacher" implies to this author a person who is employed by the community at large to teach, to help people learn. If attitudes teachers hold are inconsistent with "helping", the teachers must be confronted with those attitudes. It may be the counsellor who is responsible for helping other school personnel recognize contradictions in their attitudes toward Indian children, and helping them to achieve consistency. If Rokeach, and Stotland, Katz and Patchen are to be believed, insight into inconsistencies in attitudes is one of the bases for attitude change.

Anyone who takes upon himself the task of initiating changes in attitudes must, of course, evaluate his own attitudes and his motives for desiring change in the attitudes of his colleagues. There are moral implications here: has one the right to attempt to change the attitudes of others; is there any guarantee that consistency will be in the direction of more positive attitudes toward Indians rather

than toward more negative attitudes; will successful attitude change result in a sense of the problems of Indian education as being solved; will counsellor-intervention simply make it possible to survive in what is essentially an untenable situation? These considerations are very real. However, this author is of the opinion that further research will serve more to reveal additional questions than to produce change, and change is needed if Indian people in Canada are to survive the educational system. Debate and "further research" seem to be delaying tactics. Involvement in change is necessary, and someone must have the courage to take responsibility for initiating it.

Perhaps the area in which counselling personnel can be most productive in regard to the attitudes of other school personnel is that of understanding the ramifications of perceiving the same thing from different, sometimes opposing, points of view, as described by Laing, et al (1966, p. 11-13). If teachers were to understand that there is a point of view other than their own, that Indian children might see teacher behaviour in a way teachers themselves don't, there may be an alteration in teacher behaviour in the direction of discovering and learning to respect a point of view other than their own. Cultural differences in attitudes toward speech and silence, childrearing and respect for an individual's integrity, are important factors to consider in

examining differing points of view. In-service training in hearing and understanding, in interpersonal relationships, seems a valuable project for counsellors to involve themselves in.

Special Programmes and Communication

Counselling personnel can become instrumental in developing programmes to familiarize the Indian student and his parents with school structure and function, and to create positive relationships between the school and the Indian. The school counsellor is in a position to create an atmosphere in which Indian child, Indian parents, and non-Indian teacher might communicate openly about the values and attitudes of the Indian which are incompatible with the school programme and ways in which the teacher can understand what these attitudes mean. There is a need for such liaison work, initiated and supported by people trained in facilitating inter-human communication. There is a feeling among Indians that counsellors for Indian children are not doing an adequate job. An article which appeared in Indian Voice (Counsellors for Indian Students Prejudiced, 1971), accuses counsellors of being biased against Indian students:

"Most counsellors of Indian students are prejudiced and consider them risks," Benny Paul, counsellor for the department of Indian Affairs Educational branch told participants in a symposium on Indian Education held at the Malaspina College in January. . . .

Paul stated further, "They may be

sincere, but how sincere? Would they socialize with Indians?". . . .

"Professional counsellors tend to talk down to Indian students. . . Their attitude makes [Indians] feel that they have to crawl," he said. "We must have more Indian counsellors who understand the problems of their own people" (p. 10).

That such feelings exist, and are a reflection of counsellor behaviours as interpreted by the Indians with whom they work, indicates to this author that much work must be done in counselling to create trust and understanding between school personnel and the Indian child and his parents. Because it is the counsellor in the counsellor/parent relationship who represents the larger society, it seems that approaches to greater understanding must be initiated by the counsellor. As noted earlier, the Indian has tried to make himself heard for generations; it is time for someone to listen, and the counsellor, in his unique position in the schools, is that someone. The important point here is that the counsellor make himself available to hear what the Indian student and his parents want of the counsellor, to be prepared to act in behalf of the Indians; not to tell the Indian what he should do or how he should be. That has already been done, and has resulted in nothing but Indian distrust and fear of Euro-canadians whose only consistency in relations with Indians has been self-contradiction and deceit: It is time for honesty and respect.

Standardized Testing

Again because of his position in school structure and his training, the counsellor is often given responsibility for administering and interpreting individual and group intelligence, aptitude, and achievement tests. That attitudes about Indians as being intellectually inferior are rife, in part because of findings in testing that is not designed for children not of the larger Eurocanadian society, implies that changes in testing procedures are needed. Counsellors charged with testing responsibilities need to be aware of measures that are biased against members of an ethnic minority group, and avoid such tests for use with Indian children. Further, the purposes for testing and the use to which test results are put, must be examined to ensure that they are in the best interests of the child. There is a responsibility, if testing is considered advisable, to locate and utilize such culture-free or culture-reduced measures as are available, and to see to it that Indian children are given every opportunity to perform at their optimal levels in test situations. It is possible that a programme for developing "test sophistication" such as that designed by King would be appropriate in work with Indian children.

Motivation

That Indian children are not motivated by the same system of rewards and punishments that seems to be effective

with Eurocanadian children indicates to this author that there is need for discovering what motivating forces are acting in the Indian child. Pelletier indicates that "curiosity", supported by the childrearing practices of Indian communities, was a motivator for Indian children. Others have suggested that cooperative effort might be considered a positive motivating force rather than a negative characteristic to be exorcised from Indian personality. Still others suggest that the lack of relevance of the standard curriculum to Indian culture serves to stifle any interest the Indian child might have in school and learning.

Counsellors might engage themselves in curriculum revision, attempting to effect changes in the curriculum in the direction of inclusion of information which can be supportive to positive self-concepts in Indian children. The federal structure of the United States, for example, is a derivative of the Iroquois tribal federation. Numerous food items were introduced by Indians to early white settlers in North America. Attitudes of cooperation and communal effort among Indian peoples are currently being examined by members of the dominant society who are disenchanted with competitive drivenness.

The dissemination of information about Indian contributions to Eurocanadian culture might serve to reverse attitudes of the larger society toward Indians, and the

inclusion of such information in the curricula used for the education of Indian children could not but improve Indian self-concepts. Having been driven off his land, deprived of the culture that was his ancestors', and having been made an object of contempt, recognition of the Indian by the society which accomplished these things as people to be respected and people from whom non-Indians can learn a great deal, would permit the Indian child to find pride and self-respect in the attributes of his ancestors and himself.

Conclusion

That a lone counsellor in a given school, responsible for a number of students from a variety of cultural backgrounds, would find himself overwhelmed in attempting the concentration on Indian students suggested in the foregoing discussion is a legitimate complaint. But lone counsellors anywhere can make it obvious to those who administer schools that specially-trained personnel are needed, and that each counsellor should have some training in cross-cultural education and counselling. As Chief Dan George notes:

But you have been kind to listen to me and I know that in your heart you wished you could help. I wonder if there is much you can do and yet I believe there is a lot you can do. . . when you meet my children in your classroom, respect each one for what he is. . . (1970, p. 188).

Supportive counselling from people who are trained in cross-cultural education, who have "high positive regard"

for Indian children, who are sympathetic with the positive cultural wealth of Indian children, and who are consistent in their own attitudes toward Indian children and the helping professions, is a start toward changing the direction of education for Indians. Such supportive counselling is, in the opinion of this writer, a necessary, but not sufficient, factor in improving the quality of Indian education. Antiquated teacher education curricula must be revised to provide for training in cross-cultural education. A public school curriculum which encourages understanding of and respect for Indian cultures, would serve to foster positive attitudes in children of Eurocanadian background. Finally, attitude changes on the part of all school personnel from seeing the Indian child as "problem", as some kind of misfit to be assimilated into the dominant society, in the direction of seeing the Indian as an intelligent, worthy person in command of a rich and varied culture that can contribute positively to the value of Canadian life and culture, and as a person competent to handle his own affairs, are also necessary.

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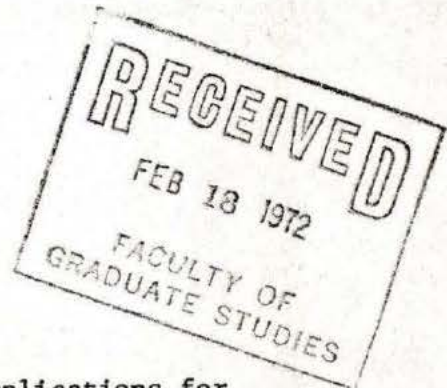
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