INDIAN EDUCATION TODAY

by

André Renaud, O.M.I.

There are two ways of studying an object. The first one consists in classifying it with others, presumed to be of the same species, and to compare it with them or with the abstract ideal which all of them are supposed to represent. The other looks at the object in its natural setting, in relation to other entities of different nature, with which it forms a whole. One can pass judgment on a nose, as noses go. One can look at the same nose as part of a human face.

Education is primarily a social process by which society prepares its coming generation to carry on. It is the complex action and responsibility of practically every element and institution in the community. In our society however, the burden of training the younger ones is more and more officially delegated to one institution in particular, namely, the school. More often than not, when the word Education is mentioned, especially with a capital E, people automatically think of the School. Consequently, having to write on the practical problems of Indian Education today, we feel obliged to center our study on the Indian School, its difficulties, its achievements and its shortcomings. But we will try to use the two approaches mentioned above and to study the Indian School first in comparison with other Canadian Schools in general, and, second as part of the educational process going on in the Indian communities. In this way, we hope to satisfy the curiosity of all those interested in reading this paper either because of its title or because it appears in an anthropological journal. At the same time it will be an attempt at studying the whole of Indian Education according to the true meaning of the terms and not simply as a formal and autonomous institution.

Part One: THE INDIAN SCHOOL AS A CANADIAN SCHOOL

1. - Type of Schools

Indian children or, to be technical, children whose fathers are legally considered as Indians under the terms of the British North America Act and the Indian Act, receive their schooling free of charge, at three types of schools: federal day schools on the reserve, federal or church-owned residential schools and provincial schools.

Day schools are built, staffed and administered by Indian Branch wherever Indian bands are living a more or less settled existence within reasonable distance from a central location. Residential schools were originally built by the different churches and subsidized by the federal. Only a few of those are left. Most present residential schools have been built by the Branch and operate with federal money. They are however staffed and administered, under federal regulations and supervision, by either the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian or United Church, according to circumstances.

For the purpose of this article, provincial schools are simply non-indian schools built and operated by institutions other than Indians Affairs Branch, primarily for the benefit of a non-indian population. They may be public or private, undenominational or separate, day or residential, or combined. Day-schools on the reserves and government or church-owned residential schools cater to an all indian population and are provided or maintained by Indian Affairs Branch. Unless otherwise specified, they constitute the "Indian School" with which we are concerned.

2. - Perspective

It is possible to study the Indian School as a Canadian School as well as a school for Indians because the Indian child himself can be thought of in the same way, i.e., as a Canadian and as the product and member of an Indian community.

There are intimations that most people in Canada, including statesmen and administrators, think of him, and consequently of his school, almost exclusively in the first way. In this perspective, the Indian child is simply a canadian child whose schooling, through a twist of historical circumstances, is the responsibility of the federal government rather than that of the province on whose territory he was born.

Education being constitutionally a provincial concern, the federal government feels that it can best acquit itself of this responsibility by providing the Indian child with schooling facilities and opportunities identical to those maintained by the province in which he lives. Buildings and facilities, textbooks and teachers, curriculum and regulations will as much as possible approximate those of the province. Adaptation to cultural differences and specific in-service training will be kept at a minimum so that at no time it be possible to accuse the Indian school of being inferior, or of depriving the Indian child of what his fellow-canadians of the same age are receiving in their own schools. When it is politically and administratively feasible, as well as agreeable to the parents, the Indian child will be sent to the provincial school.

The federal Indian school therefore aims at being first and foremost a Canadian school, or a school for Canadians, the "provincial way," of course, which again is the Canadian way. It provides its pupils with the same type of schooling as that which other Canadians are receiving, and expects them to graduate with the same information, training and general competency so as to be able to carry on with further schooling at provincial institutions or to take a job and settle in the national community.

The Indian School can therefore be evaluated the same way other Canadian schools are appraised, through examinations, standardized tests, analysis of school records and the comparative life achievements of its graduates and leavers. Unfortunately for the student of Indian Education

this has not been done yet, on a nationwide basis, not even, to our knowledge, on a provincial basis.

It is therefore rather difficult to report scientifically on the problems and difficulties of Indian Education today. This is no reflection on the efficiency of the federal government agency handling Indian Education. On the contrary, Indian Affairs Branch has been too busy building schools, recruiting teachers, appointing supervisors and drawing-up agreements with provincial Departments of Education and local school Boards, to take a good look at its educational accomplishments other than material.

The last annual report describes the number of pupils in attendance at the various types of schools, teachers recruitment, qualifications and salaries, instances of in-service training and minor local adaptations to curriculum, educational supplies of various kinds, transportation facilities and recent initiations in post-elementary vocational training, adult education and guidance. This last item, though barely off the drawing-board, could eventually provide educational research workers and statisticians with better and more complete information than available now. For the time being however the only country-wide data on-hand is the number of pupils in school, according to age and grade placement.

3. - Enrollment

This simple pupil-count in itself is nevertheless useful to understand the complexity of the task with which Indian Affairs Branch is faced, together with the vigorous expansion of services since World War II. In 1945, the Indian population being at 125,686, there were 16,438 Indian pupils in 337 schools (255 day, 76 residential, 6 provincial). This number represented 13.08 per cent of the total Indian population (the same ratio for the general population of Canada that year was 17.6 in elementary and secondary schools). It represented only 48.5 per cent of the number of boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 16. The average attendance

was 80.09 per cent.

In 1956, on a total population of around 157, 850, there were 29,571 children attending 477 federal schools (372 day, 66 residential, 28 seasonal, 11 hospital) and another 5,666 at provincial, private or territorial (Yukon and Northwest Territories) schools. In other words, 22 per cent of the total Indian population was in school, compared to the 20 per cent now quoted as national average.

The 1956 ratio could imply that the Indian Affairs Education Division is doing better than the average provincial school system, and that all Indian children of school age, i.e., between the ages of 6 to 16, are in school. This is not the case yet. There are still close to 2,000 children between the ages of 7 to 16, for whom there are no accommodations. And since the starting-age has been lowered to 6 years old just two years ago, there are hundreds who will wait till they are 7 years old before room can be found for them in the present accommodations.

The 22 per cent can be explained by the fact that most Indian pupils are chronologically behind in their grades so that they must stay beyond school-leaving age of 16 if they want to complete their Grade 8 or carry on with post-primary courses. Furthermore, since the Indian natality rate is almost double that of the nation as a whole, it is to be expected that, notwithstanding a higher (though decreasing) infantile mortality rate, the ratio of the school age group to the total population will be higher also.

Nevertheless, the increase from 13.08 to 22 in percentage is a tribute to the efficiency of post-war Indian Affairs Branch in providing adequate facilities to the Indian school population. That this has been done notwithstanding the acute teacher shortage all across Canada during the same period, the numerous difficulties and obstacles of building schools and teacherages in isolated places, scattered from coast to coast,

within a rather titanic form of government machinery (as compared to Departments of Education within provincial governments) is further evidence of the vigor and initiative with which the Branch has tackled its task. Credit must be given also to the Indian communities themselves whose changes in ways of living and in attitude towards education have made this development possible to a 90 per cent average attendance.

It is not enough to have every child in school with a qualified teacher in each classroom. The question must be asked: how does he fare? How does the average Indian child take to the canadian school, whether federal or provincial, day or residential? Does he proceed at the same rate as the non-Indian child? Does he achieve the same success? Does he truly develop his native abilities to their maximum or at least train them sufficiently to warrant further maturation in the same direction in after-school life?

Again the only information available on a country-wide basis is the pupil-count per Grade reported annually. A comparison between the 1945 and 1956 statistics of the Indian Affairs Branch annual report with statistics secured from the 1948-50 Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education in Canada (Dominion Bureau of Statistics) gives the following picture.

The basis for comparison is the enrollment from Grade 1 to 12 in the public, private and special classes of eight provinces (Quebec and Newfoundland excepted). Grade 13 figures were added to Grade 12 together with those from vocational courses at or below Grade 12 level. The percentage of pupils per grade, of the total enrollment, was calculated and arranged in the following table. There were 16,438 Indian pupils in schools of all types in 1945 and 33,268 in 1956.

Grade	Indian 1945	Indian 1956	Canada 1950
1	35.07	26.6	13.3
2	16.3	14.8	11.13
3	14.6	13.7	10.25
4	12.12	11.7	9.7
5	9.2	9.8	9.4
6	6.16	7.8	8.8
7	4.17	5.8	8.1
8	1.9	3.1	7.5
9	0.4	2.2	6.5
10	---	1.4	4.9
11	---	.08	3.4
12 and others	---	1.3	4.6

The above illustrates quite clearly the speed at which the average Indian pupil travels through the standard grades. The 1945 figures reflect the half-day system then prevalent in residential schools (half the day only spent in the classroom, the other half at manual work) and the poor attendance at day-schools (68 per cent average). Fifty per cent of the pupils enrolled were below a Grade 2, 9th month median and 99.6 did not reach beyond Grade 8. In comparison, the 1956 figures tell a much more encouraging picture, with the median raised at Grade 3, 6th month and 5.7 per cent carrying on beyond Grade 8.

Nevertheless, the 1956 distribution is still far from approximating the national pattern where the median lies at Grade 5, 7th month and 25 per cent are located beyond Grade 8.

The large percentage of pupils in Grade 1 can be explained partly by the fact that new schools were opened where there were none and every pupil had to start in Grade 1, as well as by the admission of more 6 year old pupils than in previous years. But the basic explanation is that in areas where native language is spoken at home, the pupils usually need two years to achieve Grade 1 level, either by spending a year in Kindergarden or repeating Grade 1.

The Grade 3 - 6th month median and Grade 5 - 9th month third quartile together with the thining out percentage of the top grades intimates a high degree of overagedness. Whether this is because the majority of children started school at age seven or repeated at least one grade, the fact remains that too many of them will reach school-leaving age before enrolling in Grade 8.

The question can be asked immediately: how well prepared for life in the Canadian community are the majority of our Indian boys and girls if they do not even complete Grade 8? We must also keep in mind that, though Grade placement policies vary from province to province, it is more and more common, in the lower grades, to promote automatically, on the basis of chronological age. Consequently, we can suspect that the grade placement reported officially does not give a true picture of the "Canadian educational level" reached by Indian pupils. A nation-wide survey somewhat along the lines of the one carried out in 1946-48 by S. Peterson and the University of Chicago for the United States Indian Service (cf. "How Well Are Indian Children Educated?") would be necessary to reach below the surface of official reports and gage the efficiency of Indian schools as Canadian schools. It would be particularly useful to determine what are the educational difficulties of the Indian child under the present set-up.

An attempt at such an appraisal has been made recently in the residential schools administered by the Oblate Fathers. Of the forty-four

residential schools under Catholic auspices, forty-one are managed by the Oblates. The survey covered thirty-two of these schools, west of the Great Lakes. It was sponsored by the Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission of the Oblate Fathers in Canada, which provides educational administration and supervision, consultation and government liaison services to all these schools. It was approved both as a regular professional activity of the Superintendent of schools and as an educational research project. It was conducted personally by the author, with the cooperation of the personnel at the University of Ottawa School of Psychology and Education and the staff at each school visited.

4. - Population Tested

Before entering into the details of the survey and some of its findings, a word must be said about the school population it attempted to measure. By official policy, the residential school is primarily an institution for children from broken homes or whose parents are unable to provide for proper care and direction. It is also used for the children of nomadic hunters and trappers whose way of life makes day-school arrangements impracticable. In practice, it also remains in operation in settled communities where scattered home locations or sub-standard socio-economic patterns are against successful day-school attendance. Finally, in recent years, it has been more and more the practice to transfer to residential schools older students intent on carrying on with the senior grades which cannot be taught adequately in the majority of one or two classroom day-schools.

For all these reasons, the population at each school is usually not normal, homogeneous, as school populations go, and this varies from school to school. In settled areas for instance, culturally closer to the Canadian standards, a good proportion of the children will be "institutional cases" with emotional or mental handicaps: orphans, children from broken homes, sick parents, etc., difficult children who could not progress

under day-school tuition, or dullards who would discredit their ethnic group at the provincial school; the balance will be made up of children from isolated areas with no school facilities of their own and still highly native culturally. In other areas, usually north, pupils will come from regular homes but with little prolonged contacts with the full Canadian way of life.

With new day-schools opening on the reserves constantly, the transfer of the best senior pupils to provincial schools and a fixed authorized pupilage, most schools have, in part, a fluctuating population, with children sort of taking turns at being boarders for two or three years, Overagedness is quite constant. In very few places is the unavoidable institutional side of these schools counter-balanced by the spaciousness of the premises, particularly of the classrooms. On the contrary, with a teacher-pupil ratio fixed at a thirty-five minimum, (fifteen is enough in day-schools) and limited building opportunities, the Branch has not been in position to improve residential facilities according to the present need, let alone expand them according to the rise in population.

All of which explains why, more often than not, the principal and staff at each school would state that the results on the tests were not fully typical of their school. However, because these results have all been lumped together, it is hoped that local variables will offset each other and not interfere significantly with the picture of something that really is, as found in residential schools and, to a certain extent, in Indian schools in general.

Grade 5 to 8 class groups were selected (at least wherever it was possible to do so without breaking the regular routine of the school) for obvious reasons. All the children in those grades would be familiar enough with English and with classroom work to respond somewhat normally to tests printed and administered in English. Furthermore, the bulk of the pupils in these rooms would have spent an average of five years

at that particular school and would be quite representative of both, the local school population in general and the efficiency of that particular school. The following table gives the age and grade distribution of the pupils covered by the survey in the thirty-two schools visited. To illustrate to averagedness underlined earlier for all Indian schools but particularly in the residential, the last two columns give the grade-placement of the average non-Indian-Canadian child of the same age and the subsequent retardation on the part of the Indian pupil on the basis of chronological age.

	No. tested	Aver. C.A.	Non-Indian Gr. placem.	Chronolog. Retardation
Grade 5	512	12y.7mo.	gr.6, 8mo.	1gr. 3mo.
Grade 6	457	13y.6mo.	gr.7, 7mo.	1gr. 4mo.
Grade 7	363	14y.6mo.	gr.8, 7mo.	1gr. 4mo.
Grade 8	230	15y.2mo.	gr.9, 7mo.	1gr. 4mo.

As the survey was conducted around the 3rd month of the school year in most schools, and the figures interpolated to that period elsewhere, the average retardation on grade-placement according to chronological age is one grade and four months. Technically, as far as the children in these grades and schools are concerned, it can be explained by the fact that most of them started school at the legal and (as far as accommodations are concerned) practical age of seven.

5. - Materials Used

Both psychological and educational research on the Indian pupil are sadly lacking in Canada. Except for the odd master's thesis on a particular group of pupils in relation to mental aptitudes or scholastic achievements, it is a complete blank. It is almost as if, compared to the United States, our Canadian Indian did not rate the effort. Perhaps this is just a reflection of the general state of research in Canada, which

is still at the pioneering stage and can barely cope with the problems found in the non-Indian classroom. At any rate, our own can be justly described as virgin land.

It was therefore decided that the first effort on such a trans-provincial scale should be primarily a broad exploration of the field. Different models of standardized aptitudes and achievement tests were sampled with various groups of pupils, following which it was agreed that two items only should be measured immediately: general intelligence and reading achievement. The importance and urgency of gaging the former stemmed from the increasing number of pupils expressing the wish to carry on into High School. As for reading, not only is it the most essential tool of our civilization and the key to further education; but, with pupils for whom English, the language of the majority group in the nation, is a second language, it is a valid indicator of achievement in a new and different way of thinking and communicating.

The use of our standardized intelligence tests with people of a cultural background other than ours can and has been questioned. Intelligence or mental ability is such a general and spiritual power that it cannot be measured truly in the abstract. It must be literally seen in action solving this or that kind of problems, since it develops by solving problems. But problems themselves, even the most abstract ones except perhaps those of pure mathematics, are approached through a conditioning particular to a specific culture, that of the thinker himself, or tester. Therefore, à priori, intelligence tests standardized in a given cultural environment are valid primarily and almost exclusively for the people brought up in that culture. Nevertheless, our Indians are becoming more and more, willy-nilly, part of our nation and drawn into our culture stream. Their children will, for a fair number of them, leave the reserve to earn their living among the "whites." If they stay on the reserve, they will have to assume more and more of the whiteman's way of running their own affairs.

Hence, Indian children must, of necessity, be rated in relation to our standards, even if this does not give a true picture of their native abilities.

The intelligence tests selected were the S R A Verbal and Non-Verbal Forms, the former prepared by Dr. T.G. Thurstone and Dr. T.S. Thurstone as a short form of the American Council on Education Psychological Examination, and a revised edition of the Thurstone Test of Mental Alertness, the latter by Dr. N. McMurry and Dr. J. E. King, both published by Science Research Associates of Chicago. The Verbal Form uses items proved by research to test ability to think with words and numbers, with separate sub-scores for each type. The Non-Verbal assumes that recognition of differences is basic to learning aptitudes, and uses pictured objects to test the ability of reasoning out differences.

Both are group-tests, short, with time-limits, quick scoring, set for ages 12 to 17, attractive and less forbidding in format than the Otis or Dominion. The norms are given in Percentiles, Quotients and Stanine. The validity of the Verbal Form is acknowledged by reviewers as adequate for a group-test though the time limit is sometimes criticized as too short. The Non-Verbal Form is designed for students with reading difficulties, illiterate and foreign born students. Its validity has been acknowledged in practice with immigrants, though it is questioned by reviewers who doubt the value of non-verbal tests in general. The reliability of each Form and both together is stated to be .91, established with the same standardizing population. Though this is not explained too clearly according to the same reviewers, it was this fact, plus the ease with which both forms can be administered, corrected and interpreted, which led to their selection. Since all tests would be found lacking in validity when used with Indian pupils, and this was to be an exploratory survey on a broad scale, it was deemed useless to use more elaborate and complicated devices that would make the survey impractical without adding substantially to its objectivity.

The other test selected was the Gates Reading Survey for Grades 3 to 10, extensively used everywhere as first step in diagnostic and remedial programs. Its three sections, Vocabulary, Comprehension and Speed, contain much more items than the reading sub-tests usually found in School Achievement Batteries. Its norms are well recognized and do spread the groups tested on a wide range. Its format and construction reproduce those of workbooks used practically everywhere and with which all Indian school pupils are familiar.

The background of Indian boys and girls being economically, socially and culturally different from that of the average non-Indian pupil, it was decided that each testee would answer a background questionnaire adapted from the one used by the United States Indian Service in the national survey mentioned above ("How Well Are Indian Children Educated" pp 122-123).

6. - Administration and Tabulation

The background questionnaire was answered by each child under the supervision of his classroom teacher and, revised by the principal before being sent to Ottawa for coding. The tests were administered by the author himself, except for the Reading test at five schools where it was given by the local senior-teacher. The survey in the schools of Northwestern Ontario, Manitoba and Eastern Saskatchewan took place in February and March 1955 with the results interpolated for November 1954, Western Saskatchewan and Alberta schools were visited in the Fall of 1955 and British Columbia at the same period in 1956.

Identical rapport techniques and testing procedures, developed in the pre-survey test-sampling visits, were used everywhere and, except for inevitable differences in material facilities, the same routine was followed at every school with the children responding about the same way.

Tests were corrected on the spot with the help of the teachers. Individual results were studied in relation to school records and, except

for a few surprises on the Non-Verbal Form, they confirmed the known standing of each child in his class-group. Averages for each sub-test and class-group were also tabulated immediately and the profile of the school discussed with the staff. Tests scores and coded background replies are being currently checked and readied for I B M card-punching and computing. It had been anticipated that the complete statistical analyses would be finished by the time of writing this report. Unforeseen delays have postponed it till next summer. However, the means on each test and subtest have already been computed, and an item analysis of the replies on the Non-Verbal and Reading Tests tabulated.

7. - Results on the Non-Verbal Intelligence Test

Man. - East. Sask.

	C.A.	M.A.	QUO.
Grade 5	12-11	12-9	99
6	13-8	13-3	97
7	14-6	14-2	98
8	15-2	15-0	99

W. Sask. - Alberta

Grade 5	12-8	12-5	98
6	13-8	13-1	96
7	14-5	13-5	93
8	15-0	14-8	99

British Columbia

Grade 5	12-7	12-4	98
6	13-4	13-0	98
7	14-4	14-2	99
8	15-0	15-4	102

At first glance, these results speak in favor of both the native ability of Indian pupils as well as the general validity of the test. The slightly below normal average can be explained by a number of factors (besides the fact that the test

was given only once) such as unfamiliarity with certain objects pictured on the tests and not found in the global environment of the pupils, mental or physical fatigue at the moment the test was administered, etc.

Individually, very few of the pupils who scored below the 80 I.Q. mark were acknowledged as sub-normal by their teachers. Most cases turned out to be traceable to emotional disturbances of one kind or another, quite to be expected in residential schools; homesickness, worry over father-mother relationship, etc. A separate count by sex in the first round of schools (Manitoba, Eastern Saskatchewan) revealed that girls in their early teens were more susceptible to these kinds of emotional upsets than the other pupils. This was confirmed repeatedly in the other schools visited to the point where principals and teachers sometimes suspected the administrator of witchcraft in detecting the problem-cases among their pupils. It is the author's impression that the whole field of Indian emotional adjustment, at least under residential circumstances, would well warrant a thorough scientific investigation. What with the Indian's traditional reticence in these matters and perfect facial control, it would be quite a challenge.

Bi-culturalistic growth is also suspected of being responsible for a good number of relatively low scores on the part of pupils known to be average and even brilliant. Grade 5 pupils of known average or superior intelligence scored as predicted on the Non-Verbal Form, regardless of their achievement on the other two tests, provided of course they were not laboring under an emotional disturbance or handicapped by the absence of the appropriate cultural background. Average and bright pupils in Grade 8 and beyond scored well on the three tests, evidencing not only a good native ability but also a sound command of English as language and as thinking process. The in-between group of average and superior children scored relatively lower than predicted on the three tests, or at least on the two Forms, as if their mental processes were slowed

down by an incomplete mastery of the second language. Any one who has gone through the same process of learning a second language seriously can recall the crucial stage where words, sentence structures and spelling got all mixed up in both languages and thus slowed down the mental processes of thinking in anyone of the two.

We cannot yet assume that the test used is 100% valid or fair for the population tested. Only in Grade 5 was the standard deviation larger than expected on a normal distribution. In the other three grades, the scores were more clustered than normal. Whether this is typical of the Indian population as a whole or the fault of the test itself is hard to decide. The latter was somewhat hinted at by the fact that the time-limit itself did not seem to eliminate enough of the pupils. Indians in most places have kept up their traditional sharpness of visual observation and a test unintentionally relying on this cultural trait would favor them seriously. Item analysis and further experimentation will be necessary to decide whether or not the Non-Verbal Form should be used again, modified either in its construction or its norms.

8. - Results on the Reading Survey

As mentioned earlier, the Gates Reading Survey is made up of three sub-tests: Vocabulary, Comprehension and Speed, the latter affording also a percentage score of Accuracy. The norms for each sub-test are given in Grades and Months of school year and also in chronological years and months. The average of the three scores thus gives a Reading Age which can be worked into a Reading Quotient using the formula $\frac{RA}{CA} = RQ$. The following table reports the aggregate average per grade on each sub-test together with the Reading Age and the Reading Quotient. As most of the groups were tested in the Fall and the scores of the others were interpolated to the same period, we class them as being in the third month of the school-year during which they were tested.

	No.	C.A.	Voc.	Comp.	Speed
Grade 5.3	512	12-7	4.2	4.0	3.8
" 6.3	457	13-6	4.7	4.5	4.4
" 7.3	363	14-6	5.3	5.6	5.3
" 8.3	230	15-2	6.0	6.0	6.1

	Aver.	R.Age	Quot.	Retard.
Grade 5.3	4.0	9.8	77	2.8
" 6.3	4.6	10.4	77	3.0
" 7.3	5.3	11.1	77	3.4
" 8.3	6.0	11.10	79	3.7

Though the progression of scores is not from the same group of individual pupils, it can be assumed that, since the children came from the same environment and attend the same schools, the whole Grade 5 group, if tested the following year, would probably have scored the same as their predecessors of the previous year, and so on to Grade 8, unless, of course, a specific program of intensified reading instruction and remedial work was launched immediately after the survey (which, incidentally, was urgently recommended by the administrator and implemented eventually in most schools). On this assumption, the following comments can be ventured.

There is steady improvement from grade to grade in the three departments measured by the test. This improvement is not as great as found in non-Indian schools, averaging 7 instead of 10 months. This slowness is reflected in the Quotients. The Manitoba-Eastern Saskatchewan group averaged 8 months, Alberta 6 and British Columbia 7. In the first group of schools (Man-Sask) it was noted that the bilingual and English monolingual had the edge in number. The reverse was true in Alberta-Western Saskatchewan whilst B.C. was close to 50-50. On the whole however, the majority of the pupils came from non-English speaking homes and for them the Reading Survey was partly a language test as well as a reading survey.

It is all to the credit of our Indian pupils if, after four years and three months in school, they are only 13 chronological months behind their non-Indian classmates of the same grade in learning a second language besides mastering the techniques of reading. (How many of us averaged the same progress in High School French or English?) If they were started to read in their native language and comparable tests were found to measure their achievement, there is no doubt that they would be on par with their non-Indian classmates and even age-mates. Assuming that they would be taught oral English thoroughly whilst learning to read in their own language, their reading techniques would readily transfer to the second language with far less retardation. As it is, a year must be devoted to start them in oral English. It is no wonder then that they should still be one Grade behind in their Reading when they reach Grade 5.

What is more disquieting however is that they do not keep this steady progress in the following grades; by the third month of their Grade 8, they are more than two grades behind. If, on top of that grade-placement retardation we add the chronological retardation mentioned earlier, (cf., last column on above table) it means that, on the average, our present fifteen years old pupils are academically three years and more behind their fellow-Canadians of the same age. Furthermore, Grade 8 is a select group, since most of those who reached age 16 previously dropped out. How far behind are these early school leavers now?

True, there are very interesting exceptions, particularly in the schools where pupils have learned English whilst growing-up at home. But this simply darkens the picture for the others, who are the majority. It must also be recalled that formal lessons in Reading normally disappear with Grade 7. Apparently there is not much incidental reading progress through the content-courses, not even in vocabulary. English and Reading being the keys to these courses, one may wonder how much Grades 7 and 8 pupils gather from

their textbooks. It is a known fact that, though the content of these textbooks is presumably set at the appropriate level, their language difficulties are usually not.

The same question can be raised in relation to general motivation for reading. Indian boys and girls develop normally, as human beings, if not culturally as Canadians. As they grow older physically, they also grow mentally and emotionally. The results on the Non-Verbal Form are only an instance of this normal growth. Their interests in life and their concern over its different problems mature at the same rate as with non-Indians. At age 15, how many of these interests can they satisfy through reading, how many of these problems can they solve if their command of the language and their reading techniques limit them to a Grade 5 level of content? This is the case of the great majority of boys and girls in residential schools who do not, for the most part, eventually reach a true Grade 8 level, not only because, having attained age 16, they can leave school at once, but because they probably find schoolwork either too childish or too confusing.

A comparative study of the sub-tests results show a slight edge in Vocabulary over Comprehension, Grade 8 being an exception that can be explained by its selectiveness. On individual scores the difference would not be significant, with the whole group, however, it can be assumed to be. It would suggest that the pupils are somewhat better in utilizing skills and abilities involved in learning and recognizing individual words and their meanings than they are in comprehension of connected materials. It would be worthwhile investigating to what extent this points out to Verbalism, or to translating, which would be only natural in learning a second language.

The Speed of Reading lags significantly behind in Grades 5 and 6, evidencing the mental effort of thinking in a second language and, again, translating. Yet the content of the exercises in this sub-test is Grade 2.5 level. Senior Grade

pupils have picked up Speed not from reading their textbooks but from reading easy materials which is at their level of English comprehension. In a few schools, the scores on the Speed test were quite superior to the average reported above, thus raising the overall Reading average for the whole school. Inquiry into the particular circumstances of these schools showed that, one way or another, these schools were providing more time, better facilities and extra books for recreational reading. Unfortunately, these conditions could not be duplicated immediately everywhere, the various material facilities of residential schools being necessarily kept at a minimum essential.

The Quotients remain desperately constant from Grade 5 to 7. This does not reflect the true picture of all the schools visited. In most places, the quotients rise slowly but regularly as the older pupils drop out and those who remain keep bridging the language gap which separates them from their fellow classmates of non-Indian background. This rise in Quotients is further evidence that retardation in Reading is not due to mental retardation but to an unmeasured variable: English and the whole Canadian cultural background. That this rise is not shown on the overall statistics, except in Grade 8, must be credited to a few large schools where the pupils, reflecting their parents' attitude towards education as leading to assimilation, do not go beyond a Grade 5 level of English and Reading achievement, thus contributing lower Quotients per grade to the whole aggregate.

9. - Results on the Verbal Form

The SRA Verbal Form aims at testing ability to think with words and numbers. 84 items are grouped in blocks of seven, each containing two same-opposite word identification, one arithmetic-reasoning, two vocabulary-recall (with only the initial letters of the right answer as part of the multiple-choice design) and two number series items. The blocks are sequenced according to increasing difficulty. While the four item-types would permit separate part scores, only language (L) and Quantitative (Q) sub-scores are

computed, following the practice with the American Council on Education Psychological Examination. Each sub-score can be translated into a Quotient, and so is their sum, the latter quotient or I.Q. not being necessarily an average of the sub-Quotients. The following table lists the quotients on each sub-test, the I.Q. and Mental Age on the whole test, followed by the average chronological Age for each group and the apparent mental retardation to be drawn up.

	No.	Long.Q.	Quant.Q.	I.Q.
Grade 5	512	70	72	72
" 6	457	74	78	74
" 7	363	74	80	75
" 8	230	77	84	80

	M.A.	C.A.	Retard.
Grade 5	9y. m.	12y.7mo.	3y.7mo.
" 6	10y. m.	13y.6mo.	3y.7mo.
" 7	10y.11m.	14y.6mo.	3y.7mo.
" 8	12y. 1m.	15y.2mo.	3y.1mo.

Anyone placing too much faith in Intelligence Tests as such (and there are many who do) would immediately conclude that Indians just do not have the what it takes and that, to be perfectly frank, they are an inferior race. Fortunately, we know this is not the case. If the results are so below normal, it is simply the fault of the test, not of the pupils. As an intelligence test therefore, the Verbal Form does not rate our Indian pupils properly: it is not valid. Two things militate against its objectivity in relation to them: language or cultural patterns in general, and time-limit, which again is cultural. The test is prepared for a non-Indian population where thinking takes place in English, with abstract as well as concrete situations, and where time-saving is supreme. Most of our pupils still think in their native language, or at least, in their native or rather cultural pattern. (The

author is often aware that, by choice as well as habit, he uses thinking patterns typical of the French, even when thinking with English words), and all of them practically look at "time" primarily not as something to "save" but something to enjoy. Everywhere the pupils comments were: "Yes, it was much harder than the picture test or the reading test. But if you had given us more time, we would have done much better, particularly with the problems."

Be it as it may, these pupils live in a non-Indian and western european Canada where English and all it implies are the socio-mental tools of the majority, and where the one who can do the most the fastest is acknowledged as superior to his fellow-men. The test is valid therefore in comparing our pupils with their fellow-Canadians of non-Indian descent, with which they will have to associate or compete. Consequently, we must find out why they scored so low and what can be done to bring them closer to our cultural mental standards and patterns. We know, à priori, from experience and partly from the Non-Verbal Form, that they are endowed with adequate mental alertness; how can we channel this power into our own cultural stream for their own benefit?

There is a constant rise in Quotients from Grade to Grade in both the sub-tests and the total. This is not due exclusively to the elimination of the over-aged pupils, since the results on the Non-Verbal Form, measuring more adequately native intelligence, were apparently not influenced by this elimination. A selection does take place, of course, but along academic lines; however, it does explain the increase in Quotients altogether. In a permanently handicapped or retarded school population, the quotients remain relatively constant and this is why they are reliable. In the present situation, a variable factor not included in the construction of the test is present, namely, English as a language and as a culture. This is shown by the discrepancy between the Quotients on the two subtests, Language and Quantitative. Mathematic or number problems require less translation and

cultural interpretation.

The language-culture handicap is also demonstrated by comparing the results on the Reading Test, with those on the Verbal Form. In terms of Quotients, the one on the Language sub-test starts well below the Reading Quotient (which remains somewhat constant) and eventually approximates it. In many schools, both run parallel all along. The overall average of the Language Quotients is weighed down by the large group of children for whom English is definitely a second language and culture. In Grade 5, they understand written English reasonably enough but are far from being able to reason things out or think in English to the same degree. As they become more familiar with this second language, they can think to the extent that they know it. In terms of Retardation on Mental and Reading years, the average for the four grades is almost identical, with this difference however that the Mental Age Retardation in Grade 8 has decreased by 6 months whereas the Reading Age retardation has increased by the same amount from Grade 5 to 8. The decrease in Mental Age Retardation could be attributed to the selectiviness of the Grade 8 group whilst the increase could be the fact of decreasing formal Reading instruction from Grade 5 to 8.

It would be an over-simplification on our part to credit the below-standard results of Indian school pupils on one Intelligence test to the language handicap alone. There must be other factors such as the time-limit, already mentioned, the newness of the situation, the traditional attitude still strong in many areas of not taking a guess or not answering unless absolutely sure (it appeared more prevalent among the girls), the practice of attempting each question one after the other instead of picking up first those personally found easier and coming back to the others later, etc., etc. But these are all cultural factors rather than personal psychological ones. They are the very same factors which will interfere with the successful adjustment of these same pupils in non-Indian situations, where they might seek employment or carry on with their studies.

Generally speaking however, language, as the most essential component of our culture and channel of communication, remains the most important barrier between the Indian's native intelligence and its full and efficient application to problems of life in a non-Indian Canadian environment. No matter how much endowed with intelligence by nature in an English speaking environment, an Indian will understand directions and keep step with his superiors or associates to the extent that he has mastered English as a language and thinking process. This might explain why so many Canadians think of him as a physically grown-up but mentally childish individual. How conducive to successful integration can this assumption be?

10. - 1957 Fall Re-test

In August 1957, a one-week workshop was held in Ottawa for Indian residential school Principals. It was sponsored by the Oblate Fathers Commission on Indian and Eskimo Welfare and planned by the secretariate of the Commission, with the help of the staff at the University of Ottawa School of Psychology and Education. Among other resolutions it was decided that, for guidance as well as educational supervision and research purposes, pupils in Grade 5 to 8 would be tested twice a year (Fall and Spring), using the same test both times and in all the schools, in order to ascertain progress and to have some kind of national norms (to be drawn by the Secretariate of the Commission from the aggregate results). The test would vary each year, according to a cycle, so as to cover periodically the most important areas of Indian Education. The original survey had apparently convinced every one of the multiple value of standardized tests, and had also initiated enough staff-members at each school into the same techniques and procedures to warrant local administration.

The test selected for the first year was the Modern School Achievement Tests, skills Edition, prepared by Arthur Q. Gates, Paul R. Mort and Ralph B. Spence (Bureau of Publications,

Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1948). The following reasons led to the selection of this test: the norms were similar to the Reading Survey previously used; it had not been administered in any school anywhere; it was rated slightly less favorable to the Canadian school than the other two American Achievement Batteries currently used, and finally, it would not interfere with a similar survey intended by Indian Affairs Branch with the Dominion Achievement Tests.

The Modern School Achievement Tests are made up of five sub-tests, namely, Reading Comprehension, Reading Speed, Arithmetic Computation, Arithmetic Reasoning and Spelling. As with the Gates Reading Survey, the norms for each sub-test are given in terms of School Grade and months and average Chronological years and months. The thirty-one schools who sent in their individual pupils results averaged the following scores, reported in terms of School Grades and months, except for the average on the whole test which is further reported in Chronological years and months, and in terms of Educational Quotients. Again the test was given around the third month of the current school year.

Gr.	No.	C.A.	R.Com.	R.Sp.	Ar.Com.	Ar.Rea.
5.3	661	12-3	4.2	4.4	4.3	3.8
6.3	528	13-3	5.0	5.1	5.1	4.4
7.3	361	14-0	5.9	5.7	6.0	5.5
8.3	241	14-11	6.4	6.3	7.1	6.6

Gr.	Spel.	Ave.	E.A.	E.Q.	Ret.
5.3	5.0	4.3	10-0	81	2.2
6.3	5.8	5.1	10-11	82.5	2.4
7.3	6.6	5.9	11-9	84	2.4
8.3	7.4	6.8	12-7	84.5	2.4

Comparing this table with the tables of results from the first survey, we find a larger enrolment in the lower grades and a lowering of the average age. On the whole, the present aggregate averages 3 months younger per grade, which

immediately reduces the margin of retardation on grade placement itself with non-Indian pupils of the same chronological age. The results on each sub-test and on the whole test average higher than on the Gates Reading Survey. This could be the proof of a definite improvement in teaching techniques and pupil achievement. It could also be brought about by a variation in norms between the two tests. Finally, it could be credited to the fact that, the test being administered locally, a time more appropriate to maximum efficiency on the part of the pupils was probably selected, rather than one fitting the circumstances of a traveling schedule.

The comparison between the two series of results must be made in terms of the profile projected by each test. The increment from grade to grade in Reading Comprehension on this year's survey is 8 months between Grade 5 and 6, 9 between 6 and 7, 5 between 7 and 8. In 1955-56, it was 5, 7 and 8 respectively. On Speed, 7,6 and 6 in 1957 for 6,7 and 7 in 55-56. This would imply a definite improvement of reading-instruction in the middle Grades coupled with a broader but less academic promotion into Grade 8, but little change in facilities and opportunities of reading for recreation.

Spelling is the highest scored department almost everywhere, even in most isolated non-English speaking areas. This might be caused by the ease with which it can be drilled. We think it can also be related to language learning patterns, particularly if the scores are compared with the other two reading sub-tests. It recalls the edge in Vocabulary on the Reading Survey, and the comments made earlier on Verbalism. Perhaps the traditional trait of visual observation mentioned about the Non-Verbal Form has also something to do with these results.

The increase from Grade to Grade in both departments of Arithmetic is the closest to normal, as far as rate is concerned; in fact, it is one month better than normal in the two senior grades, thus confirming the results on the

Quantitative section of the Verbal Form and their interpretation.

The average on the whole test however still average twelve school-months below the grade placement listed, which is quite significant. The average Educational Quotients show an increase, from grade to grade, partly due to elimination of weaker pupils but also, we like to believe, due to an increasing familiarity with English and Canadian culture in general. The true retardation, based on grade placement according to non-Indian chronological age (cf. last column on table) is almost a constant two years and four months. This is the result of perduring averagedness and cultural retardation.

General Conclusions

On the basis of these results, the Indian Residential School does not yet compare favorably with the Canadian school. The achievement in content courses has not been sampled, but as these courses are more or less diversified combinations or applications of reading techniques, language comprehension and reasoning with or without numbers, it is doubtful if standardized tests in those departments would have produced better averages and change our verdict. Furthermore, we have been dealing with mean scores exclusively, and the rapidly increasing number of Indian pupils from residential schools entering High School reminds us of this fact. But these pupils are only exceptions, mostly from areas where Indian communities are culturally much closer to our standards than is the case in most districts serviced by residential schools.

Can the residential schools as such be blamed for these results, as is sometime done in certain quarters? Definitely not. As has been stated more than once already, the residential school deals with children from communities where English is at best a second language and where cultural patterns are still quite at variance with those of the Canadian community at large. It cannot by any stretch of imagination achieve

in an eight-year period what the non-Indian child, through his family, his community and then his school achieves in fifteen. It cannot do so if it follows the provincial course of studies because this course of studies is the institutional product of an autonomous culture, developed by that culture as part of the enculturation process of its coming generation, pre-supposing cultural foundations of the same nature, which it expands and completes. These foundations being absent, the school most efficient in imparting this course of study, whether it be residential, day or provincial, cannot do its work properly and expect the same lasting results. If, on the other hand, the residential school catered to the true educational needs of its pupils, it would not be able to follow the whole course of study, and many of its graduates would lag in certain departments. However, they would, we like to think, catch up with the non-Indians on fundamentals and essentials, something which they are not doing apparently now. The experiment has been tried in the U.S. and this assumption substantiated in the survey mentioned earlier. (Cf. How Well Are Indian Children Educated, p. 18, no. 11).

Are the federal day-schools in the same predicament? In selected areas where long association with non-Indians and favorable economic acculturation have produced settled communities quite similar if not identical to nearby non-Indian communities, no. There, the Indian school stands to its community in the same relation as the provincial schools to those communities. In fact, under these conditions, if distances are not prohibitive and racial prejudice absent, there is no reason why the pupils should not attend these provincial schools, as is the present policy of Indian Affairs Branch. The pupils are culturally Canadians and they can profit just as much from the provincial schools as their fellow-citizens. If, for one reason or another, they attend their own federal school as a community school, that school should turn out the same type of graduates as the average Canadian school, and it probably does.

When the overall cultural life and patterns of the Indian community, from which its pupils come, are anywhere closer to the aboriginal, the day-school operates under the same handicap as the residential school. It probably does so at a disadvantage, if for instance the homes are too small for home-study and if, going back to these homes at the end of the school day and for the week-end, the pupils are re-exposed to their native culture, however diluted, from which the school is trying to separate them during school hours. Furthermore the residential school usually offers better grouping through a bigger enrolment and more numerous classrooms. It has a larger, more specialized and usually more permanent staff. It can surround its pupils almost twenty-four hours a day with non-Indian Canadian culture through radio, television, public address system, movies, books, newspapers, group activities, etc. It can maintain their interest longer through better organized recreational and athletic programs and through vocational training of all kinds. For all these reasons, except in those selected areas mentioned above, it is doubtful if the federal day-school does a better job as a Canadian school than the residential schools are trying to do.

Part Two: THE INDIAN SCHOOL AS A SCHOOL FOR INDIANS

The present-day Indian School, residential or otherwise, has difficulties in competing with its model the Canadian School because the majority of its pupils do not have a cultural background similar to that of the non-Indian Canadian pupils for whom the Canadian school was designed. This leads to the question: is the Canadian school as such the ideal school for Indians? Does it meet their particular educational needs in relation not only to their home-background and upbringing, but also in relation to their individual and collective future? This is the other approach to the problems of Indian Education. We like to think that it is more objective, as it does not raise the school, Indian or Canadian, into an absolute, but focusses the discussion on the Indian child himself for

whom the school is provided.

Now that Canada is maturing into a nation, her citizens more and more think of themselves as Canadians, first and foremost, reducing the ethnic extraction or cultural descent to the role of statistical background. This is not true as yet of most Indians. Psychologically as well as historically, they are Indians first and Canadians afterwards. Or, to put it differently, their way of being Canadians is to be Indians. Consequently, and contrary to current opinion, setting the Indian pupil apart from his non-Indian classmates in order to study his particular problems (or, for that matter, to deal with those problems more adequately), does not, imply racial segregation but a long overdued recognition of the Indian community as a genuine and culturally distinct human community with an educational problem and process of its own.

The comments that make up this second part are not immediately the end-product of exact scientific research, since all the background information, collected from each child taking part in the survey, has not yet been co-related, by item, with the results on the tests. Nor has it been possible immediately to mark out the school and after-school life-orbit of each pupil tested. Nevertheless, they are based on verified factual information.

At each school visited, in order to understand the results of the tests and to interpret them to the teachers as objectively as possible, on-the-spot information was sollicited from the principal and area field-workers (superintendents, farm instructors, nurses and missionaries) concerning the home and community background of the children in school. Special attention was given to the size and kind of homes, family patterns, income-producing activities and schooling of the parents. Pertinent questions were asked and records consulted about the out-of-school performance of graduates and leavers of the preceding five years. This information led to certain hypotheses as to the possible explanations for the

school's profile on the survey. These were verified through analysis of extreme individual cases at both ends of the curves and through discussion with the teachers. Revised hypotheses were verified again at other schools and confronted with research findings from Psychology and Educational Anthropology as well as with experiences and practices in countries with similar problems. The following notes are an attempt at summarizing these partially tested conclusions, as an interpretation of the achievements and shortcomings of the Indian school and a re-definition of its fundamental problems.

1. - The cultural background of the Indian pupil

The Indian child entering school for the first time is different from his non-Indian classmates in more than "legal" terms, scil., as heir to the right of living on the reserve. This difference is not biological or genetic, as would have it those who attribute his scholastic success to his "white blood" when he happens to enjoy both. Racial variations that have persevered have no direct, immediate and essential bearing on his psychological personality, though their concomitance may provoke social reactions which in turn will influence the development of this personality.

At time of birth, the differences already present in the Indian child's temperament are purely individual, the product of his particular combination of genes. He has the same physiological and psychological needs, and the same undevelopped powers to satisfy those needs as any other child born anywhere in the world. However, like any other child, he is not born in a laboratory or social vacuum. He is born in a given family which belongs in every way to a given community and, from then on, his growing personality starts differenciating itself, other than individual-wise from that of children born to other families in other communities.

Because his family is part of a community that has been in existence, at one place or another, in one form or another, for hundreds of years and, consequently, has its own traditions and culture (in the anthropological sense of the word), he does not develop his physio-psychological powers and apparatus in exactly the same fashion as his fellow-Canadians of the same age. His acquired techniques and habits of communication and reasoning, for instance, are, in most areas, still those of his native forefathers, even if part or perhaps the whole of his vocabulary is English or French. The type of life his parents lead is different and so are his own games. The needs he shares with all other children of the world are not satisfied the same way nor are their expression encouraged in the same manner.

Little by little, at or as the core of his conscious personality, a sense of values develops which is that of his people, to whom his parents refer when they say "We..." rather than that of the Canadian people at large. Individual freedom, economic well-being and ownership, authority within the family and the community, self-discipline, association with peers and elders, status and prestige within the groups, relationship with strangers and outsiders, outlook on nature and the world-at-large, relationship with the Invisible, these and many others acquire meaning, engender attitudes and criss-cross into a pattern of habits which relate him personally (rather than theoretically as in the case of the anthropologist specialized in amerindian culture) to the oldest and most venerable tradition of human community-living in this country. These values, meanings and attitudes condition his reflexes and color his psychological reactions in their own way. Consequently, though he be a normal child born on Canadian soil, the things that bring him satisfaction or sadness, that arouse his curiosity or puzzle his mental alertness, are not, by necessity, those that draw out the non-Indian child of the same age. The drives may be the same, since he is just as human, but their related objects, their rate of development

as well as their patterns of expression are deeply typified by his social environment.

"The experiences of people living in different cultures may vary in such a way as to lead to basically different perceptual responses, lend a different meaning to their actions, stimulate the development of totally different interests and furnish diverse ideals and standards of behavior (Cf. Anastasi, A. and J.P. Foley Junior, Differential Psychology, Rev. ed., New York, Macmillan, 1949, p. 733).

The aperceptive mass of ideas, associations, explanations and other type of information which slowly fills his mind and imagination in his early formative years is also far from being identical to that of the non-Indian Canadian child. Most of the time, his parents have had relatively little formal schooling and cannot but impart to him a mixture of scientific and natively empirical answers to the questions that he asks. In typical Indian tradition, he will usually ask these questions, or simply listen, to his grandparents, and they, in turn, less acculturated than their children, will relay what they rightly think is the supreme wisdom of their own tribe. Other sources of non-Indian information found in average Canadian homes, such as books, encyclopedias, magazines, newspapers, radio and television are also missing for the most part. If they are present, they are seldom used to the same extent and along the same patterns as in non-Indian homes.

This leads us to mention the material conditions of the Indian home. Roughly seventy-five per cent of these homes, if not more, are below the average Canadian standards. Even the houses recently built under the housing program of the Branch are still in many areas below the ever rising standards preferred by the majority of Canadians, though all of them, it must be stated, are well above the old one-room and curtain log-cabin. As for furniture, facilities and interior decoration, only the poorest newcomers to this country, would be satisfied with them, though seldom permanently.

Though it may not be felt as a privation by the Indians themselves whose supreme social value is not material wealth, this poverty of the houses reflects the sub-standard level of economic life of most Indian communities. The average income is still insufficient and it is doubtful if, without family allowances, rations, free health services, education and other forms of subsidies, some communities would survive very long. Such socio-economic factors have a definite bearing on the cultural growth of Indian children. Not only do they account for a limited early exposure to our culture and for certain operational and behavior patterns that are found in similar socio-economic groups of ethnic background other than Indian (including French or English Canadian); they also explain the perseverance of many cultural traits and traditions at variance with the global Canadian cultural complex. There is no such a thing as a cultural vacuum. The elements, traits and patterns that, through circumstances, are not replaced by new ones, persevere automatically, even when not reinforced by reactionary nationalism. If the Indian does not live like a "whiteman," he cannot grow-up into one.

The socio-economic and non-Canadian cultural circumstances of the Indian home are also those of the Indian communities themselves, as neighborhood in which the Indian child grows up. With few exceptions, Indian communities are rural as opposed to urban, and thus immediately share in the relatively different cultural level of our own non-urban minority. Most of them are not rural in the same way as the latter, being anywhere between a technologically modified native food-gathering economy and a type of food-raising complex usually quite inferior to the average Canadian one. The learning and living experiences of the Indian child in such an environment cannot but be different of that of the average urbanized Canadian.

The picture of the Indian child that we have attempted to describe and of his home background does not apply to all individual pupils, homes and communities in an identical way. There

are variants and differences. These stem from 1 - the cultural and geo-economic differences originally present before the European occupation; 2 - the variety of historical contacts with the newcomers; 3 - the type of permanent association with the dominant culture which has followed. In other words, there is a sub-culture particular to each region, if not to each Indian community: it is the perduring local native culture, or its residual structure, acculturated according to its own experience of prolonged contact with the developing Canadian culture and its own appreciation of this culture. The Indian child is first and foremost the product of this local "group-memory."

2. - The Indian school in relation to the cultural background of its pupils

In an autonomous society, the educational process that begins at birth has a twofold function: 1) to impart to the newcomer the current culture of the group so that he can associate freely in the various activities of the community; 2) to equip him with the skills he will need as an individual to provide for himself and his family whilst contributing to the economic and social welfare of the community. In our society, the school-system handles only part of the cultural transmission process, that which the other institutions and forces in society delegate to it. Eventually it diversifies its channels so as to provide every young adult with specific information and skills leading to gainful employment. In other words, it carries on the enculturation of the child initiated in the home and brings it to maturation or near completion in one given direction, scil., occupational training, leaving it to the other forces present in society and to the individual himself to complete the process in the other departments.

The Indian child enters a school system which is not an institution or product of his native community and over which said community has little control, if any. The enculturation process that he has been undergoing up till then was quite different from that of the other

Canadian children for whom this school-system has been tailor-made. It will not, in most areas, serve as cultural basis for the educational activities of the school nor, if it perdures, will it share these activities to the same extent as in non-Indian communities.

By force of historical circumstances of which everyone is aware, the sociological function of the school attended by the Indian child is not to transmit whatever blend of native culture is operating in his community but to make it possible for him to integrate, either individually or through his community, in the socio-economic complex of the Canadian nation.

The school must not only equip him with the information and skills commonly essential to all Canadian and with specific knowledge and techniques for individual employment. It must help the child to integrate these into his culture personality whose behavior patterns and inner structure must, in turn and at least in part, be modified and adjusted so as to make possible, meaningful and renumerative the use of this information and the practice of these skills. All this must be done in the eight or nine years that he is obliged by law to attend school, or, at least, initiated successfully enough during those years to motivate him either to remain in school till the process is completed or to carry on by himself till then.

On account of his pre-school life experience, the educational needs of the Indian pupil are therefore much greater and, in part, different in kind, from those of his non-Indian classmate if he is to associate with the latter later on in life or lead a similar life in his own community.

Like any other Canadian child, he must master the three r's and other fundamental essentials of our civilization acknowledged as minimum schooling standards in Canada. He must learn the same language and communication skills, but without the benefit of a culturally rich home-background

of the same complex, and with a quite different attitude towards self-expression and social relationship in general. He has to learn computing with problems borrowed from an economic system with which his parents are not yet fully familiar and which operates on attitudes and values that are quite different from those developped by his people over the centuries. Human community development in his own native country is taught to him from a perspective almost opposite to that of his grandparents and with little reference to his forefathers' contributions to it, thus affording him little opportunity of identifying himself completely with the new nation. The world of nature with which he has begun to commune is broken into bits and fragments, each one with a specific explanation that seems to by-pass its life and beauty. His motivation for such a process does not arise spontaneously from the content of the program or the nature of the skills taught, since they are not fully in line with the meanings and interests he has acquired at home. Thus, even in relation to the basic objectives of the Canadian school and in terms of enculturation, the Indian pupil's needs are greater and somewhat different from those of his non-Indian classmate. Unless these needs are acknowledged and taken care of, schooling will not produce lasting results any more than fitting a steel-head on a wax-handle will manufacture a genuine ax.

At the same time, the Indian must furthermore acquire some of the generalizations, attitudes, interests, personal and social habits that make up the operative basis of our common culture and which, contrary to the experience of the non-Indian child, are seldom fully present and identical in his home and community. For his own as well as his community's promotion to a genuine level of Canadian culture and life, it is not enough to know how to read, reckon and write and to train as a laborer or a professional. Concrete and relevant information about various occupations, walks of life and about various ways of despatching one's personal or social responsibilities, accepted forms of emotional expression

and control, home-management, health-habits, value-judgments on people and actions, these and so many other elements of our culture, which non-Indian children acquire unconsciously simply by growing up, are lacking in his "integration-kit." Sometimes they are radically opposed to those in which he has been reared.

The school cannot impart to him all these facts and traits and thus change him into a "whiteman." But it must familiarize him with those that are functionally essential to his carrying on non-Indian life-activities, on or off the reserve. When possible, it should also create a conscious and rational awareness of the others so as to foster self-acculturation, if desired by the individual. It must tactfully relieve him of whatever traits or attitudes that could definitely interfere with his success in life as well as make him a stranger to the average non-Indian Canadian. His typical use of income and money, for instance, must be brought in line with that of our culture, if he is not to remain a pauper for ever. His group-consciousness and cohesiveness must be either attenuated or else harnessed to promote the welfare of his whose class-group or native community.

Whether the school can do all this transculturation single-handed or by drawing upon other institutions and social forces is a different question. The educational needs are there and again they must be met squarely; otherwise as in the past, the whole schooling effort, no matter how pedagogically correct from our point of view, will prove of little benefit both to the individual and to his community.

3. - The socio-economic future of the Indian pupil

If the school must accept the Indian pupil the way he really is, (rather than the way we would like him to be or the way other Canadian children are) it must also keep in mind where he is going to work and live after he graduates. In other words, the school must prepare him for life. This is a frequently repeated truism but its

implementation is too often taken for granted, particularly in the case of Indians. Sending them all to school is a worthy objective but will not automatically prepare them for a better life unless this betterment itself is methodically planned by the school. This can only be done by taking a cold hard look at what usually happens to the majority of boys and girls after they leave school.

In most areas, upon completing either their studies or simply their legal number of years in school, from 75 to 95 per cent of the Indian boys and girls presently in school return or remain on their native reserve. The boys for the most part occupy themselves, off and on, with helping their parents, relatives or neighbors at small scale farming or cattle-raising, fishing, trapping, wood-cutting, house-building and other seasonal activities. An increasing number, though still a tenuous minority, look for and find similar occupations and others, such as trucking and loading, in the nearby area and district. On the whole, a very small number secure permanent year-round employment on or off the reserve.

The girls will assume house chores at home or at relatives, trying to put in practice, in living-accommodations and with household-equipment inferior to that of the average Canadian's summer cottage, the techniques and skills they have learned in school with up-to-date fixtures. It will be easier for them than for the boys to find salaried employment in restaurants, schools, hospitals, hotels and private homes though seldom above that of junior domestic. Many will marry non-Indian men of the lower class and others will keep house for temporarily isolated lumberjacks, miners, trappers and prospectors. This exodus of girls of marriageable age sometimes creates an acute shortage of partners for the boys who have far less opportunities or freedom to marry non-Indians.

When these young people settle down, marry and start having children, they often enough

have to live with one of the parents or relatives in already crowded habitations. They may put up their own cabin or move into one abandoned by an older family whose turn has come to occupy one of the newer houses constructed by the government or by the band. Outside of family allowances, their income will remain irregular and, partly because of economic, administrative and demographic conditions on the reserve, partly because of their wrong consumer's and managerial habits, it will be years before the best of them will raise themselves to a higher standard of living, closer to the Canadian average and above the one of their parents.

As for their active participation in the embryonic, federally supervised and steered, self-government activities of their community, the traditions of the tribe usually postpones it till they have reached full middle-aged maturity. When they can afford it, they will entertain themselves in white settlements, at the movies, poolrooms or, if legally authorized, beer-parlors. If they can get hold of a car or truck, they will travel around. Otherwise they will stay on the reserve, grouping at one home or another to talk, listen to the radio, dicker around with machinery, play records, etc. The radio of their working hours to times of idleness will approximate that expected in our own society when automotion finally sets in.

Why will they not leave the reserve altogether and settle in town or city? Many of them try but end up with less than they can enjoy at home and eventually drift back to the reserve. Their failure to secure permanent and lucrative employment will be primarily the fact of their lack of training which will have been denied them because they will have left school before completing Grade 8 (to say nothing of Grade 10), which in turn will be mostly due to their home-background and canadianwise cultural retardation. Should they manage to overcome this handicap, become semi-skilled and find employment, again wrong consumer's and managerial practices will keep them at a sub-standard level of life. Some

of them will be recuperated by the recently initiated young adult vocational training and placement program of Indian Affairs Branch, which is hoped to gather momentum as the years go by. But the bulk of prospective "bread-winners" and "children-raisers" will remain on the reserves, thereby assuring the continuity of present-day Indian communities of socio-economic conditions inferior to that of the nation.

The small minority of Grade 7 and 8 pupils who will carry on and move into the senior grades are not so much better off. The majority of them will choose academic rather than vocational or technical training, as it proves more readily accessible to them everywhere at one of the larger residential schools or any of the provincial high-schools, and also because they, as well as their parents, have greater knowledge of an respect for white collar occupations, examplified on the reserves, than of and for the hundreds of lucrative employment opportunities of skilled labor. A small percentage of them will complete this academic course but, by this time, unless they had in mind all along a specific vocation, few will find enough patience, self-control and energy to carry on into university or anything that would postpone a few more years the moment they can look for employment and raise a family. Thus the high-school students and even sometimes the graduates, particularly the boys, will find it hard to secure employment outside of the reserves because they will not have a trade or a profession.

Such is the immediate future which lies in wait for the larger and consequently more nationally important proportion of the boys and girls presently in school, federal or provincial, outside of a few priviledged areas of better economic opportunities and longer acculturative association with the Canadian community at large.

4. - Schooling Indian pupils for life, as individuals

The average Indian pupil, growing-up in a partially acculturated and integrated community, must be prepared for life in a very realistic way. This is perhaps the area where the solution of continuity between the Canadian school and the socio-cultural life of his community shows the most, detrimentally to every party concerned, including the whole Canadian people.

The Canadian school prepares its non-Indian pupils for life not only because it carries on the enculturation process initiated in the home but also because it equips its pupils with information, skills and habits directly related to the kind of occupation and life in which they will enter after graduation. It concentrates on these objectives, leaving it to the family and to the other institutions and forces in the community to round up the enculturation process, at the end of which the individual young man or woman will be competent to take his place in every activity of the community, besides providing for his own needs and that of his family. All these things it can do or agree to leave to other factors, because it is aware of both the kind of life and opportunities which its graduates will meet and the substantial contributions of these other factors (clubs, home, peer-group, unions, churches, community groups and activities, T.V., etc.) towards the same end. The whole process coordinates smoothly, and relatively efficiently, because it operates in a broadly homogeneous and autonomous cultural society and it is also geared to the rate of mental and academic development of its natural school population.

In comparison, the preparation of the Indian pupil, by the school, for a culturally more Canadian way of life, on or off the reserve, is not substantially shared and fostered by the ongoing cultural life of the Indian community. Nor can the majority of Indian pupils be prepared, in fact, for the same wide variety of vocations and avocations as are opened to the

average non-Indian, partly because most of these occupations are not practiced by Indians on the reserves, which the majority of them are not inclined to leave, partly because the off-reserve variety of employment opportunities is little known to them or felt beyond their range. Even if, through radical changes of one kind or another, these two handicaps were overcomed, there remains the academic and cultural retardation illustrated by both surveys, which bars them from admission to provincial vocational schools.

Yet, without some sort of vocational training before they leave school, the majority of these boys and girls are doomed to become second-class citizens, on or off the reserve, and to raise another generation of under-privileged and culturally handicapped children. Whether this type of training is offered before school-leaving age or at the young adult level, it must be given, if we want to live up to our principle of "equality of opportunity" and acquit ourselves of the duty we have assumed by taking the country away from its first occupants.

5. - Educational needs of the Indian pupil in relation to his community

Up to this point, we have considered the problems of Indian Education in terms of the average individual pupil, trying to gage his schooling needs as he stands in comparison with his non-Indian Canadian classmate, i.e., the task that the school must perform to equip him with the equivalent kind of knowledge and skills for employment and living, taking into account the Canadianwise cultural indigence of his particular background. The school catering to the Indian pupil has to assume this extra burden because the other educational factors at work with non-Indian children in our society are not operating in the Indian community in an identical cultural complex and direction.

The final question is: will this be sufficient? If, through a course of studies and methods adjusted, one way or another, to their

true acculturation needs, followed by a terminal period for all those who have not achieved a true Grade 6 or 7 level two years previous to their leaving school, the present generation of Indian pupils as adequately prepared for gainful occupation and economic self-support, would our Indian problem be automatically solved? Education is said to be the key to successful integration. Will the above key really open all the doors that are presently closed to the majority of our Indian citizens? Will it mark the end of the present cultural lag which handicaps the Indian pupil? Will the next generation be so highly acculturated as to be able to enter the Canadian school, particularly the provincial one, and fall in step immediately with the non-Indian pupil?

The question is worthwhile asking. Our Indian communities survive at a disheartening and almost shameful sub-standard socio-economic level not only because their native economy has been upset but more precisely because, in the meanwhile, they have not been able to adjust their culture adequately to this environmental change. The historical circumstances that are responsible for this failure are not of our concern, nor the socio-psychological factors that keep the communities together. The fact is there: Indian communities perdure as valid communities and most of them show an increase in population. The question is: will they keep rearing children in a truncated cultural tradition or will they eventually give their children basically the same kind of home-background as non-Indians? There is only one way to prevent the former and insure the latter: "ad hoc" education.

In any society, the most steadfast patterns of behavior and the least susceptible to radical change are those connected with family-living and child-raising. They belong to the core of this local culture and deal with the conscious life-line of the community. As modern Psychology and Anthropology have established, they constitute the most potent social factor in the personality development of any child. Partial and usually superficial changes are brought about

indirectly by modifications in the other fields of activity that affect the culture of the whole group, viz., switch over from food-gathering to food-producing, from temporary shelter to permanent housing, etc. Studies in the dynamics of acculturation show that "for the child, undergoing his early enculturation within the family, the influence of an ongoing acculturative situation is minimal." (Herskovits, M.J., Introduction to the Proceedings and Selected Papers of the XXIXthe International Congress of Americanists. Cf. Tax, Sol, ed. Acculturation in the Americas, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952, p. 56).

The majority of Indian boys and girls now presently in school will establish themselves on the reserves, or nearby, within their native communities or the equivalent. Even if, through a schooling and follow-up process meeting their individual needs and prospects, they do so in economic surroundings of a kind and level closer to Canadian standards, they will probably bring up their children the way they themselves have been brought up. There will be some variations, particularly in the technological field of homemaking and family living. Basically however, it will remain in the same cultural tradition. It will be natural for them to do so, partly because of the presence of parents from both sides, partly because they will not have learned otherwise. This is what has been going on in practically every Indian Community in Canada, even those that have had schools with them for two or more generations. It explains the perseverance of so much native culture, particularly of those elements which handicap both the pupils in school and the adults trying to integrate. (Incidentally it also accounts for the edge which children of mixed blood often evidence when they come to school. "Whether the miscegenation occurs through legal marriages, or illicit unions, the presence of the white parent will, on the whole, tend to bring about a closer contact with the white culture than is the case in families where no such mixture has occured." (Cf. Anastasi, op. cit., p. 748).

The cycle must be broken somewhere, by the Indians themselves, since it is their culture and their socio-economic betterment which is at stake. Just as they need special assitance from the school and later on, from other agencies, to accede to culturally non-Indian sources of income, they will not readjust their family-living and child-raising patterns without the same type of outside help and guidance. Again this special educational need of Indian pupils varies in degree from one community to the next, at least from one region to another. However, it is fairly constant.

This sociological perspective must be given effective recognition notwithstanding the increasing number of Indian students moving into High or Vocational Schools and away from their native surroundings. This increase is not in itself immediately significant in relation to Indian communities as such, since the whole Indian population is increasing and, consequently, there is also an increase in the absolute number of pupils leaving school without truly terminating their formal "life-preparatory" education. As for the exodus of the brighter, better educated and therefore more acculturated young Indians, however profitable it may be for themselves individually, encouraging for their teachers and enriching to the Canadian community at large, it may deprive many native communities of their natural leaders, thus making it harder for them to regain control over their own affairs and successfully integrate, as autonomous communities, in the socio-economic life of the nation.

General Conclusions

Such are, then, the educational needs of the vast majority of Indian pupils and the obstacles that the Indian school must overcome if both are to be integrated in the Canadian nation. To sum up, Indian children must receive from the school: 1) the minimum schooling essentials common to all Canadians, particularly language, integrated into their psycho-cultural background and personality; 2) methodical

enrichment of this background and careful adjustment of this personality to foster closer association with other Canadians; 3) "ad hoc" vocational training for permanent and renumerative occupations on the reserve or in the vicinity; 4) instruction, help and guidance in family-living and child-raising to foster an earlier acculturation of the next generation.

When the Indian school has to meet these needs, in part or in toto, it cannot compete academically with the Canadian school, as we have seen on the survey. When it patterns itself too closely on the Canadian school, it is not a good Indian school since it does not meet the socio-cultural needs of the majority of its pupils, as explored in our second part. Singly taken, none of these needs can be said particular to the Indian pupil exclusively, any more than any of the individual traits usually ascribed to his cultural personality. As both needs and traits are human, they are bound to emerge here and there with other human beings and communities. What warrants special consideration and justifies group-treatment is their simultaneous presence, their psycho-social concatenation and their interrelationships in the life-pattern of permanent, homogeneous "child-producing" communities.

In other words, these specific needs are common to the Indian pupils "qua" Indian culturally, not directly because of their legal status or their racial heredity. These two do come into the picture and are far from improving it, even in such a supposedly benevolent state and broad-minded nation as Canada. Basically, however, from a combined anthropological and pedagogical point of view, the obstacles to the Indian pupil's successful schooling or, to put it differently, the special problems that challenge his teacher, stem from the conflict between two living cultures, that of the Indian community in which the pupil has grown up and will probably live most of his life, and that of the nation into which both child and community must eventually integrate.

For that matter, the teacher himself should be included in this inventory of the Indian child's educational needs or difficulties. He is the product and representative of one culture, that of the dominant group. Unless he has been sensitized to such notions and facts as cultural differences, cultural change and acculturation, either theoretically or by experience, in broad terms or with reference to his particular situation, he can by-pass the problem altogether and never fully understand the sociological process in which he has agreed to take part.

In that respect, the average teacher simply reflects the general attitude of the Canadian people whose misconceptions of what the Indian was originally, ignorance of what has happened to him historically and overall cultural superiority-complex render only to prone to accept, if not to urge, rash solutions that are over-simplifications of the problem.

Indian Education as a social process at work in the Canadian nation must, therefore, go beyond the academic schooling of present-day Indian boys and girls. Not only must it prepare the way for the next generation on the reserve, it must also involve practically the whole Canadian people, ultimately responsible for the plight of the oldest Canadians. It will be economically successful and culturally enriching, let us not delude ourselves, only to the extent that it will rally the active participation, at all levels of social communication and responsibility beginning with the family, in terms of adults as well as school age children, of both societies implicated in the process: the Indian communities on the reserves and the Canadian community.

Indian and Eskimo Welfare Oblate Commission,
Ottawa University,
Ottawa, Canada.