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ABSTRACT

In this 3-month study of aims and objectives for educating Canadian Indians in the Ontario schools, data were collected largely via secondary sources, field observation, and interviewing. It was found that the Ontario government has no policy directed specifically for Indian students; however, the federal government does have policies developed for registered Treaty Indians. In this report, these policies are described along with educational objectives and recommendations to provide for equality, accommodation, and autonomy for Ontario's Indian children. (LS)

THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS IN ONTARIO

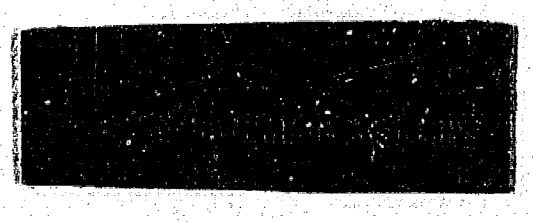
BY

R. ALEX SIM

A Report to the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario

North Gower, Ontario

April 1967



C O N T E N T S

PART I: SOCIAL FACTS AND ASSUMPTIONS

I. PROBLEMS AND PANACEAS

"Most of the one hundred thousand Indians of this province are living in dire poverty. A high percentage are unemployed and are educationally and socially unequipped to obtain and hold a job. Little real effort has been made to help the Indians develop new industries to replace the declining industry of hunting and trapping. It has been easier to give relief than to develop industries."

The Royal Bank of Canada, in its Monthly Letter (February, 1966) quotes with agreement this statement from a 1964 brief of the Ontario Division of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. Yet the conditions referred to here, only now beginning to be understood and appreciated, persist in spite of millions of dollars' expenditure intended to alleviate distress and change things for better.

"A great opportunity brilliantly disguised as an insoluble problem". This is how John W. Gardner characterized his new task when he entered the Johnson Administration as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. He might have been referring to the Indian question in North America, or in Ontario, or in Kenora, or in Cornwall, or in Toronto. Certainly there is a problem, as we shall soon see. But whose problem is it? Those who see that Indians are not motivated to work, to be thrifty, to attend school, apparently see it as an Indian problem.

Indian spokesmen see it quite differently. There is the fatalistic lament of an old Indian who said "Once we were men". Things are not what they were and he does not say how or why. There are others who see, as one Indian writer put it, "the Indian as an anonymous face in the crowd, invisible, alienated from the main stream of our Utopian Canadian society... Yet these are the men who once had a way of life, language, culture, religion and a sense of values which were very unique. We can never imagine what civilization, what culture, what cities and towers might have been. All this was squeezed out of the Indian nation in the same way juice is squeezed out of an orange...Now you have named the residue the Indian problem, and you wonder what to do with it." (Lavallée, 1967.)

In her address, Mrs. Lavallée left little doubt that there was a problem, that the white man had created it, but both sides must work at it now. There are

still other Indians who, perhaps unconsciously, use passive resistance to efforts at amelioration. They go limp when a new policy is announced, for they know in advance it has a trick behind it, not visible to the Indians' eye, but there, nevertheless. One Indian leader described this point of view:

> "They believe that if the white man were to give North America back to the Indian with all its real estate just as it stands, there would still be a great debt to be paid."

Not often would the case be stated so strongly in public and in this case the speaker was revealing how others felt. He, himself, did not hold these extreme views, indeed there is not a coherent Indian position, a point of view. There is no Indian party, no strong union binding many disparate points of view into a single voice. These Indians have no Ghandi, or Nehru. Relatively few in number, with great regional and language differences, they lack the resources to create a strong organization. The result is that building any solid combination of forces within the Indian community is slow and arduous.

Under these conditions the Indian people are particularly vulnerable to two kinds of "help". First, there is the enveloping and stultifying effects of governmental support, over which their control is limited. Second, there are the local messiahs, and little sects and cults that spring up here and there, each offering panacea to dependency, alcoholism, poverty. Whatever the evil, the messiah will attack it. For some the schools cause the problem; for others moving to the city is bad; for others failure to leave the reserve is responsible for ill effects; each forming a little group, each making promises and raising hopes. All the while, in spite of government spending, in spite of messiahs, in spite of research, and new proposals, the problems persist. What then is the solution?

One joins the problem-solving chorus with hesitation. It is particularly sobering, after having studied the proposals others have made, to agree that they are sensible enough. Indeed the work that is going ahead now to ameliorate the situation is what one would propose, if it were not already being done. Yet the

good ideas, the new innovations are often splendid on paper, but put forward too late, too timidly, tried once for the sake of publicity then dropped before the results could be tested. In short, the good ideas are not applied with a flare. They do not catch anyone's attention. Their failure, when one thinks of the millions spent, is puzzling. Was something forgotten in the elaborate programme? Perhaps it is a small but essential item (such as genuine participation by Indians in the planning). The big, more obvious and more costly ingredients have all been provided for. If we had been baking a cake we would say that the baking powder has been forgotten, for the cake is as flat as a plate.

The conventional solution to the Indian situation, the popular panacea, is education, but we see little evidence that the approaches now in vogue will bring about significant changes soon enough to be useful. A new approach is needed. It is for this new approach, or at very least an approach to an approach, that we seek in this study. If the small single ingredient, the baking powder, can be identified, then the larger items will be found, and will fit into place.

What is being done now, or what is on the drawing boards, should go on. But the way it is done should change. The relationship between helped and helper should somehow be reversed. The Indian problem is Ontario's problem. Let us hope the Indians can help us solve it.

Education could be the bond through which a partnership could be forced between the Indian, who has far to go, and the majority group, who must learn the hard lesson of humility for a job badly done to a once proud people.

The Indian group in Ontario is numerically small with about 50,000 registered Indians, with an additional number probably another 50,000 who are not registered but who can be culturally identified as Indian. It is a relatively small group, only about .08% of the Ontario population. But it is not a population likely to disappear. On the contrary, the birth rate is the highest of any ethnic group; for the province as a whole, 11% are under 5 years of age, while for the Indian it is 17%. (See Appendix for more data.)

Most of them are segregated in reserves in isolated territories, in urban slums, or in shacks outside mining and industrial centres. A very small part of this group, the numbers unknown, has moved into the middle class and have white collar occupations in our cities and towns. It is estimated one hundred school teachers of Indian origin are employed in metropolitan Toronto, more than all the Indians teaching in federal schools in Ontario. But this small group we must ignore in this study except to say it is too small, too little known to give children now in school effective incentives.

It is the poor Indian who must engage our interest. The isolation, poverty and low social status tend to retain the population artificially in concentrated pockets, where conditions we have come to know are perpetuated and worsened. It is true there are few full blooded Indians in Ontario today. A number, perhaps a majority, could "pass" in a Caucasian society without the colour identification obtruding. * Yet for most of these who do pass, this is no solution. Passing leaves a sense of betrayal of a social legacy. They prefer to have their origin known, and to have it known proudly. Most Indian persons, however light skinned, when they wish to distinguish the majority group, will use the popular labels one hears in any Indian meeting. "We are Indians, they are white".

On the other hand the majority group, either when attempting to do good in the over-solicitous way that too often accompanies calculated acts of charity, or in the more brutal language of the street corner or the school ground, the racial label is there, explicit or implicit, to injure and scar the one receiving this perjoritive word. Even the classroom, informants tell us, is not free of invidious ethnic comparisons. They

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*It is striking how the original designations of redskin and paleface survive in modern nomenclature.

will recount, without much prompting, that the stereotypes of lazy, dirty, drunk, are freely handed out. Middle class Indians, immaculately dressed when they go into a bar, must brace themselves for slights and taunts from persons, who, in a more sober mood, would avoid all contact. Indian women are particularly vulnerable to such chance remarks, especially in northern towns.

It is in the context of the social realities that education policy must be conceived. Education cannot concern itself either with preparation for work and citizenship, or the classical goals of personal liberation and individual enrichment, without facing the social environment which has formed students of all ages, without considering where they are to go as they leave the classroom each day, as they graduate, or drop out. Such considerations may be avoided when considering the middle class student, though many would say they should not; for the Indian student consideration of the whole person (himself and his milieu) is a condition, a mandatory condition of effectiveness.

The environment of the student must be changed and the past is part of his environment. This cannot be changed, but we must try to alter and bring more close to the truth the oral, written and visual record. The present must be changed. With improvements in home and community; improvements in housing, diet, recreation opportunity, income and freedom from the thralldom of dependency. These are the elements out of which family life will be changed. Second to the family is the school in its claim upon the child, in its potential use to the adult. The school must be changed - a formidable task since it is now a subsystem caught up and operated by interlocking arrangements between a series of immensely powerful provincial, municipal and professional bureaucracies.

Where the student is on a treaty basis, there is the additional fact of federal involvement. It is the source of additional resources it is true, resources that Ontario has not seen fit to make available to non-treaty Indians. But it is another government, another elaborate bureaucratic chain of command; another structure to allow for overlap, (and underlap), buck passing, and jurisdictional squabbling.

The necessity for changes in the school and hence in its controlling bureaucracies is essential. We hear much about the need to motivate Indian students and parents toward high attainment in the school. The under-

lying thesis in this paper is that the change must first come in the educational institutions. It is here that motivation must be evidenced in concrete changes. Change is in the air in Ontario schools, and the proposals now being made are such as to benefit Indian students. But we must make a realistic prognosis of the speed with which these changes are to be made, and the possible effects on Indian students. In this paper we will make a number of recommendations in teacher training, curriculum planning and resources, school control. None of these are original; some were made years ago. Meanwhile, another generation of children has moved into the schools from homes where an uncounted number of parents are functionally illiterate, where English, if spoken at all, is a second language.

Can one entertain a realistic hope that these changes will be implemented on time, and in time to be effective? We think not. As a consequence we are suggesting, besides the more routine and obvious changes, other courses of action. These are suggested for two reasons.

First it is thought that action in the private sectors can be put in motion more quickly, and applied more precisely on the sensitive areas where change is most needed. Public or governmental services can follow up and incorporate lessons learned and gains made in these sectors. The private venture is flexible, can easily be dropped without maintaining a residual structure long after it has outlived its usefulness.

Second, the changes that are expected and required are such that there is no visible cause and effect relationship. There is no way of knowing, or showing that changes A, B and C are linked to school performance, much less to the less easily measured but critically important question of majority acceptance of Indians. The Indian people carry a large measure of hostility and resentment to the white man's world. They see the school as a device to control their thinking and win away their children to an alien world.* The Indian leaders will need a visible and symbolic manifestation of the white man's generosity of purse, and magnanimity of spirit to accompany the other necessary

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*One exception is in the Six Nations Schools in the Brantford area, where all, or almost all teachers are Indian.

but less dramatic changes which are recommended.*

We do not speak of restitution of something wrongfully taken, nor expiation of guilt, but only of a large minded symbolic act of trust and friendship. Yet there is an obligation, as the Royal Bank of Canada News Letter (February, 1966) puts it. "We newcomers took the land of the native people. Whether it was a good thing or not; whether it was inevitable in the march of history or not: these are irrelevant. We took their land, disrupted their way of life, ruined their way of livelihood, and undermined their culture. We are challenged to discharge our obligation to them."

As a codicil, almost as a footnote to the foregoing, a word of warning and qualification. The Indians of Ontario, representing less than 1% of the population, do not loom so large demographically (as do the Negroes of Alabama, or Mississippi) that a threat of "Indian power" hangs over the future political life of the province. Yet the manner of this grouping in certain areas of the province gives them a good deal of leverage at election time, if they chose to vote en bloc. The franchise exercised this way is not condoned in a democracy, for it opens the door to many forms of exploitation. Yet it is a minority's middle weapon. The ultimate weapons which much smaller minorities than this can use, with paralyzing effect, must also be considered as alternatives to swift and generous action. There are many weapons of attack and withdrawal. So far the Indian has shown himself adept at withdrawal - the stoop, the hooded glance, the abject agreement to official proposals, alcoholism, the maintenance of traditional languages, the persistence of nativistic religious practices. Not often are these practised deliberately or manipulated consciously by sophisticated leaders. These are the latent weapons of withdrawal. The Sons of Freedom, a mere 2000 persons in British Columbia, representing a fraction of the population of the province have shown the impact of more skillful use of passive resistance. Hunger strikes, sit down or coup in operations and incendiarism are all self-inflicted wounds which the powerful state can not easily combat unless it uses completely totalitarian methods.

Ontario is in the happy position, before it is too late, to be able to plot a magnanimous course ahead. It will not cost much more than is now being spent with little effect.

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* The American people, through their government, took certain actions in Hiroshima, such as we propose. In contrast the Germans have made no such large gesture to the Jews, nor have the governments of British Columbia and Canada taken any such action to the Japanese who were "relocated" by force from the west coast in 1942.

A plan to integrate Indian children in the schools has an implicit assumption about the status of the Indian groups in Ontario. This is that they should be gradually assimilated into white society. Officials will deny that this is so, but what evidence is there that in the educational enterprises available for examination that there are other goals? Our view is that assimilation is at variance with the foundation on which Canadian society has been established, that minorities have an immense resistance to assimilation, and that much is to be gained from encouraging rather than discouraging minorities. (Sim, 1959). Since the Indian group is a minority not like the rest, this contention is greatly strengthened.

This disinclination to deal with minority groups as minority groups in the schools is undoubtedly founded on good political sense. The majority group in the province will not brook a system of public education; will not pay for a system which recognizes minority rights. Private and separate schools, whether they are based on religious or cultural differences, are not illegal. They are permitted provided there is no charge to the taxpayer. This position, we say, is based on good political sense. We suspect that because the powerful majority will not support a more liberal policy, either toward supporting ethnically separate schools, or toward giving them substantial recognition within the state system. This fact, of benign intolerance to the emotional and humane needs of the minorities, must be established as a solid appurtenance in the social landscape of Ontario, before we can properly assess the prospects for the education of Indians in Ontario. It is the insistence upon Anglo-conformity * throughout the history of education in Ontario which makes it difficult to foresee how the Indian question can be dealt with effectively.

The powerful and wealthy minorities can find a way to separation. For a long time the big private schools have been offering culturally selective environments for a child from an upper-middle and upper class

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* This phrase comes from the Coles, and while it referred to American Society it seems to apply equally to Ontario despite our bicultural heritage. See Cole and Cole, 1954, Chapter 6.

home. Some of these are operated with denominational religious sponsorship. Academically these are perhaps not superior to the better state schools. What then is their justification? Not since the days of Grant of Upper Canada, and McCulley of Pickering do we hear public utterances justifying them because they experiment with new methods. They seem now to serve several uses. They have a welfare function for children from well-to-do homes that are, for some reason, unsuitable for child rearing. They offer a haven for children who cannot survive in the large state schools. And then they provide a place where useful friendships and differential behaviours, including an unmistakable accent, can be acquired.

Other groups, usually with strong religious or ethnic convictions, are willing to "pay twice" to maintain a private school system. They may be fully organized boarding schools. They may be day schools. They may only offer after 4 o'clock or weekend exposure to specialized instruction in language, religion or cultural inheritance. For many of these groups the maintenance of a private school is a heavy financial burden, but it is accepted in the belief it is the only means of cultural survival. It is the only way of replenishing and maintaining group membership. If these groups are already in the middle class, if they do not suffer heavy occupational disabilities, if they are not visibly different, then the group memberships would easily be dissipated through inter-marriage and indifference to the norms of the sub-culture.

These private schools are an elaborate and expensive device to opt out of the state system. They are maintained, usually at the expense of parents, although Children's Aid Societies continue to send some of its wards to private schools. The charges are not made to the taxpayer, but ultimately it must be seen as a social cost. What of other minorities who are too poor, too divided ideologically, too dispirited, too lacking in leadership to resist the state system with its dominant middle class orientation. They do resist covertly by apathetically preparing their children for school, by allowing for an inferior performance at school. But this apathy of parents and children must not be taken as an indication that it is "their fault" they are doing badly in school. Apathy is their last sure weapon, lacking other means or skills to change the school system itself. As it is costly to society, a humiliating failure for the schools, and a limiting and stultifying

experience for the child. Let us examine this aspect of school performance. The usual tendency to look at the performance of the child is necessary; but the school system must also be evaluated more closely, since the Indian child is manifestly affected by the school's capacity to deal with poor children.

The lower-class handicap has been examined in a variety of studies relating to school performance and environment. Further, it has been established within certain limits that deprivation in the form of inadequate school buildings in lower-class districts, hostile attitudes on the part of teachers, school administrators and boards, results in loss of true educational equality. (see Davis, 1941; Reissman, 1963, Jones, 1966). Standardized intelligence (IQ) tests which attempt to measure inherited or fixed intelligence or ability, have been widely used in an attempt to fit the child into a standardized curriculum. But even here this supposed objective scientific type of text has been shown to carry unwittingly significant "class biases" which tend to down grade the child who has not been brought up in an environment where pencils, paper, books, and even working against time have been part of the cultural environment of the child. This fact has been emphasized by a research worker in the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

> "The largest disadvantage is in the home. In its own way, the home is an educational agency. Thus a home where there is poverty, disease, indifference, a hand-to-mouth existence and a sense of defeat can hardly prepare a child for a productive school life. In other words, he is apt to be a poor reader and a poorly motivated student. The school programme which assumes a certain level of general knowledge from its students, may require from him a degree of understanding which is outside his experience. Thus, while he receives a programme of instruction which is equal to that given all the children, it may not give him equality of opportunity, since he is not equally ready for this programme.
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> "Moreover, his disadvantage may be compounded by streaming in the schools. The IQ tests employed in streaming measure not only ability, but also, to some degree, socio-economic status as well; that is to say, they tend to favour children from middle class backgrounds." (Channon, 1964, p. 15).

Values of the "culturally privileged" (and most teachers come from the middle class) tend to be imposed, often unintentionally, on lower-class children. Such things as cleanliness, politeness, punctuality, which are stressed in schools may have little meaning for slum children, except to sharpen their feeling of inferiority.

> "The disadvantaged child may be offered a less demanding and more limiting programme which does not necessarily reflect his true potential. Where both home and school create barriers of this nature many children can be marked off as early drop-outs from the day they enter school." (ibid, p. 19)

The Indian children are different from other poor children, and other children from minority groups. Some of these children are different because they have legal rights under Treaty arrangement. Those without legal rights have moral claims for some consideration, when it is realized that they lack these rights often by "errors in bookkeeping", as one Indian put it. Leaving aside the question of moral right for a moment, the children with Treaty status do have a separate school system by right. This, however, is disappearing as the numbers increase of those admitted to integrated schools. For most of the children today with Treaty status, this option is now no longer available to them. It may or may not be true that federal schools have in the past shown an inferior performance and their graduates have been less successful in occupations off the reserve, * but if graduates of integrated schools perform better in school and after leaving school, is this due to the one variable: mixed classes as opposed to all-Indian classes. There are other variables as well: the quality of the teaching and equipment and the location of the reserve (is it near cities or is it isolated?)

The condition of the Indian in Ontario, if measured by the commonly accepted yardsticks of progress and well-being, is so poor that it is almost impossible to believe that he could have arrived by accident at such low levels of income, health, and educational attainment.

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* Dilling examined this question in detail for one group of Indian students but the findings were not conclusive. (Dilling, 1965).

Yet to say that their deprivations were deliberately engineered by the high-minded agencies who have assumed custodial responsibilities leads to implications that are difficult to face. That descendants of men who once occupied this continent, who once ruled themselves, who had a coherent understanding of the world and man's place in it, should be in custody at all requires explanation. The answer that it is the Indian's own fault he stands where he does today is no better than the supposition that he could not have come so low if men had not plotted his downcome.

Perhaps the explanations of such a deep-seated problem are deeply hid in man's murky subconscious, since human values have been so terribly destroyed. It must be that war and the humiliations that go with it, murder and retributive capital punishment, the condition of our jails, the failure of our mental hospitals, all these dark failures in social organization are akin to the Indian question. They bring forth the ambivalences that were evoked by the trial of Eichmann. For then Everyman was in the bullet-proof docket, as Steiner has shown powerfully in his recent writings. He says:

> "We know now that a man can read Goethe or Rilke in the evening, that he can play Bach or Schubert, and go to his day's work at Auschwitz in the morning. To say that he has read them without understanding or that his ear is gross, is cant...Moreover, it is not only the case that the established media of civilization - the universities, the arts, the book world - failed to offer adequate resistance to political bestiality; they often rose to welcome it and to give it ceremony and apologia. Why?" (Steiner, 1967)

The impulse to punish and destroy others, coming as it does from man who is also capable of love, poetry and music is part of the human condition. It is part of the enigma of history. Could it be that it suits our guilt better to have the Indian poor and deprived, to have him in a custody so enclosing that even he is unwilling to give up? What would we do if the Indian, who was defeated by a superior technology, his patrimony taken without recompense, his lands shrunken by subterfuge to miserable holdings; what would we do if he had become powerful and influential, if he had proven himself superior

in science, letters, management. Surely it is easier to live with the past when it can be demonstrated that the Indian would have done badly with beautiful Ontario, if it had been left in his hands.

Whatever the true account of debits and credits, the time is here to test the capacity of the white majority to obliterate the past and to reshape the future on humanitarian grounds. Some proposals are offered that are conceived in the light of these assumptions.

3. EDUCATIONAL POLICIES FOUND WANTING

17/18.

The Ontario government has no explicit policy directed specifically at Indian students. Since it does not distinguish students of different ethnic backgrounds, it is assumed that no special provisions are made for Indians. It is recognized of course, there is much unofficial concern among departmental authorities.

The federal government has a special interest in registered Treaty Indians and does have policies for them. Its current programme was recently outlined by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Hon. Arthur Laing, speaking to the National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences, March 15th, 1967. He states that close collaboration with provincial school systems is now an essential part of federal policy.

Educational objectives

(1) All Indian children of school age in school.
(2) All Indian children of kindergarten age to be served.
(3) All Indians who wish to continue their schooling beyond high school as far as their talents, ability and willpower will take them are to be helped.
(4) All adult Indians who wish to improve their educational status are to be helped.

Educational policy

(1) A complete education is to be provided for every Indian child for whom the government has responsibility, according to his needs and his ability.
(2) Close collaboration will be carried out with the provinces to provide education for Indian children in provincial schools, colleges and universities; the transfer of federal schools in reserve communities to public school boards where the Indian community agrees to this transfer; provincial inspection of Indian schools which remain as federal schools.
(3) Fuller participation by Indian parents in school affairs will be arranged through consultation between parents, Band Councils and reserve community school committees;

the participation of Indian people on the established school boards where Indian children are a significant part of the school population in provincially established school districts will be sought.

(4) School curriculum in federal schools is to be that of the province in which the Indian schools are situated. Curricula will be modified only where this is necessary to meet the special needs of the pupils.

(5) Residential schools will be used only for those primary school pupils for whom they are an absolute necessity. They will operate under the full control of the Department under regulations established in close consultation with the churches who operate them.

(6) All federal schools will operate at the provincial standards applicable in their locality.

(7) The educational programme will be closely co-ordinated with the Development Directorate of the Branch to ensure that the needs of the rapidly developing Indian community are adequately met.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the federal government through the Indian Affairs Branch is actively pursuing a policy of contracting with provincial schools to accept Indian children in the regular class rooms. Those are known as integrated schools in contrast to federal schools, which are almost entirely populated by Indian children. In pursuing this policy the federal government is "renting" and "buying" services. Legally it has not abdicated its responsibility for the children who are on band lists and are recognized as legal Indians. These transfers are just one more step in a long trend toward first class citizenship. Already the provincial government has accepted the responsibility for inspection of federal schools, already provincial curriculum and textbooks are being used in federal schools.

There are powerful arguments in favour of this policy, or cluster of policies, which is in effect a policy of equality and desegregation. In line with the general trends in North America today the idea of segregation is repugnant. There is also substantial,

even if it is not definitive, evidence that those who have passed through mixed schools have a better chance of finding a comfortable place in urban society and in employment. They are accustomed, the argument goes, to mixing with and competing with non-Indians on an everyday basis.

During the past decade while this transfer has been accelerating, the numbers of Indian children attending school has increased, and the proportion continuing into the higher grades has also increased. It has not been possible within the limited scope of this study to establish a cause - effect relationship between the new policies and school attendance as we know such trends may not be casually linked even though it would be comforting when the trend is in a "good direction" to believe that they were. Moreover there are other trends; the total population increase, which is running at 25% per decade, is one. Another trend is the increase in crime and court convictions of persons of Indian origin. We also know that the more Indian children that attend school the more drop outs there will be. We suspect a youth who attends up to grade 10 or 11, then drops out, does not find employment, then drifts back to his native haunts is less effective as a human being, is less capable of seeing himself in a positive way than if his school attendance has been indifferent and desultory.

The transfer of functions to the provincial governments, and specifically to the Ontario government raises other questions about the competence or willingness of the Ontario Department of Education, already serving 1,738,781 students, to meet what we believe to be the special problems of the majority of Indian students in Ontario. The Ontario government has, and always has had, a substantial number of non-federal Indians in its care. It is not unreasonable, before renting more services from the provinces for Indian children, to ask "How well has Ontario done with its own Indian students?"

This is a question that no Ontario educational official will answer officially because departmental policy does not recognize ethnic differences. So far as the department is concerned officially there are no Indians in Ontario. We cannot help but ask how can the federal government, with the long-standing commitments it has to Indians, justify a policy which reduces its own role to that of a bookkeeper and lessee of services. For it is a policy that removes federal

authorities from an effective voice in policy. The federal responsibility to Indians may have precedence over jurisdictional arrangements between the federal government and the provinces on questions of education. But in the practical politics of this period does anyone imagine a federal civil servant will alter the management of education in any Canadian province?

All the questions that have been raised are admittedly speculative, but then too it seems to me proof is lacking that integrated schools are better because they are integrated. Perhaps, if they are better, it is because the federal schools are inferior. The federal schools could be inferior for reasons that bear no relation to the ethnicity of the students. While it is not our purpose here to evaluate the federal schools, the Hawthorn-Tremblay study will do that, it is relevant to suggest that the province of Ontario should examine carefully the situation into which it is drifting on the basis of a series of individual contracts between school boards and the federal government. In some cases the federal government is making substantial capital payments to meet the equivalent cost of the additional facilities needed to accommodate additional children. These arrangements are advantageous to local boards, as are subsequent annual subventions to meet operating costs. These are eagerly sought in some communities where there is serious discrimination in the street, on jobs and in the playground.

Indian Affairs officials report that Indian parents are unanimously in favour of integration, and that only a vocal few are opposed. They seriously believe this to be true on the basis of reports filed by their own personnel. The comments received on the restricted probe we made showed that the support was less than enthusiastic. Integration is accepted in principle for it is considered superior to the old residential schools, but one hears too much complaint about discrimination, and too many complaints about the methods used to secure agreement among Indian parents.

The extent of discrimination is difficult to establish, but its existence is accepted as commonplace in northern towns where the Indian population is sufficiently large to attract notice. A study in northern Manitoba established the fact of discrimination (Dallyn and Earle, 1965), while Hawthorn has this to say about conditions of employment

> "Even where Indians have the necessary educational or skill qualifications for employ-

> ment, they face widespread discrimination from potential fellow workers as well as from employers. Many firms follow a definite policy (informally or unofficially, where such policies are illegal in terms of provincial legislation) of refusing to hire Indians at all, or in token numbers at best. Such discrimination is not against Indians as Indians, in most cases; it has developed as a result of unfortunate experiences with or observations of them as workers which tend to build up an unfavourable stereotype. Awareness among Indians of these attitudes tends to evoke counteracting attitudes and behaviour patterns that reinforce and justify the whites' judgement of them. And so on, in a vicious circle." (Hawthorn, 1966, p. 55).

If discrimination is present on the street, can it be absent from the school playground? Indeed a vocational counsellor informed me that attendance dropped in one integrated school because the teachers examined the children's hair for lice in front of non-Indian children and made other aspersive remarks, with that air of unconscious superiority hich breeds bitterness and resentment among those to whom it is directed.

These teachers doubtless had good intentions - cleanliness, but if intentions are in fact good, there must be absolutely no ambiguity. It is in the Hon. Mr. Laing's statement, quoted above, one would wish to find more clarity. Could there be something less bleak than the objective to offer "a complete education"? This is strictly a tactical statement, but what is the strategy? It is easy to deploy troops and arrange manoeuvres and even to win battles, but winning a war is another matter. That is when ideals and goals must be stated. There would appear to be an insufficiently sophisticated appreciation of the Indian question both in federal and provincial official statements, for one to expect new and substantial gains over past performance. The next section will attempt to examine the dimensions of the problem.

4. INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

23/24.

Creation of "integrated schools" for Indians is the present policy of Canada, as it has always been for Ontario. This is actually a policy of assimilation, under the misleading title of integration. Integration unites elements of unequal size and strength in mutually enhancing new combinations. Assimilation destroys the weaker partner, thus losing the qualities of the smaller element to the general good. The destroyer has lost the enlivening qualities that go with diversity; the destroyer, which is the agent of assimilation, must live with his guilt. This is the tragedy of North America. The poor, the Negro, the Indian are objects of continuing concern because values of conformity and coercion, anathema as they are to the liberating force of education, have crept into the school. Where the state superimposes manpower values and training techniques on the school, there is a corresponding loss in human potential. The fundamental character of education is forgotten.

Socialization is a broader more comprehensive notion than either training or education, since it has to do with the total process of maturation. Education and socialization are relatively simple in a stable society with little personal mobility and a slow rate of change. The prince learns to be a prince, and the peasant learns to be a peasant, but today the survival rate of all occupations is a matter of concern. Not only do princes become peasants, and peasants become princes, but the conditions under which one person pursues his life and livelihood, how he relates to persons older and younger than himself, how he regards religious leaders, teachers, political leaders and law enforcement officers changes from year to year.

For the middle class child, growing up to be a middle class adult is challenge enough, and many today flounder in the attempt. A lower class child has still more difficulty if he is to be a middle class adult. The Indian child has still more obstacles in his way.

It will be interesting to see how the concept of socialization will clarify the dilemma facing the educator. We have recognized that both education and socialization are relatively simple in a stable society, but in a changing society with many levels of class and status, with a high rate of mobility the situation is bewilderingly complex. For the school, the more bureaucratic and centralized its control, the more difficulty it has in dealing with these human variations.

Some other conceptual tools can be used to look at the problem. In looking at the structures of a complex and changing society we use the loose term of sub-culture. It refers to a segment of a larger culture, related to the whole, but nevertheless self-contained. For instance, the social classes and the professions are considered sub-cultures. The lower classes are also given this designation because they are a way of life with a certain coherence in values, group arrangements and social controls. Age groups, occupations, ethnic and religious groupings are also sub-cultures.

The Indian in North America is one of these. It is an understood category with wide tribal and regional differences. If the Indians in one place are examined there is, in each of these a bewildering overlap of sub-cultural values. The Indians of the Kenora region, the middle class Indians of Toronto, the Six Nations people near Brantford - each is an understood segment. Each one has a local identity. It is a more or less coherent whole, a community, yet containing within it numerous sub-cultures that are linked to the outside world. Young people are Indian but they are affected by the music, hair styles, the heroes, the certainties and uncertainties that affect other young people, yet still are Indian, still part of the local band. Others are automobile workers belonging to the union; others are members of a religious denomination, a political party. The middle class person has many such linkages with the outer world which helps to make it intelligible. A network of institutions and associations exists to make him feel worthy in that environment. They range from fiction, cinema, the press, to churches and fraternities. The shcool is his institution par excellence.

In the lower classes these linkages with the outside are fewer, less enriching and supportative. For the Indian who is in large part at that socio-economic level there are still fewer linkages. The territorial and kinship groupings are by that fact isolated, cut off from the major themes that animate the total society, yet aware of it and of his excluded place in it. He is in the stands watching a game he cannot play. He watches the machines and play and work of other men from the safety of the communal setting, supported in his own view of himself and his place in it by the values, definitions, directives and controls that are the stuff of his sub-culture.

Within each such segment a child is born and immediately begins "to put on the skin of his culture".

By the time he is ready for school the foundation of his character has been laid and an outlook on the world has been formed.

It should now be clear why we insist that the school has to do more with training than education. In school the understandings accepted by the dominant group, that is to say the segment which controls the school, are taught to the child. If his family and the play group in which he is growing up belongs to the dominant segment which created and controls the schools, there is little conflict. Even in the middle class there is the exception where differences between generations tend to reduce the relevance of the school's offerings to the younger people who are psychologically more in tune with the evolving realities. These differences are compounded where there are social class differences as well.

What of the Indian child? He comes from a segment of our society not attuned to the schools and their values. (The very wealthy child has a similar problem but he may have his tutor and his private school. The numbers to be served are small and the resources for segregation, travel and special treatment are available without question). The lower class child, on the other hand, has as yet no such special treatment, even though the war on poverty has shown that the schools and teachers must make cultural accommodations to the very large group of poor children if they are to be adequately served. This is because they come to school from a sub-culture that is alien to the assumptions and presuppositions of the teachers. As they drive their cars to the school in the slum or the Indian reserve they too regard with limited comprehension the life that is lived there.

Differences in clothing, cleanliness, style of speech are external manifestations of deeper differences in belief, outlook on the world, and sense of personal worth.

Our middle class society takes a less permissive view of the lower class child than it does of the upper class one. Whereas the lower class child may be segregated in his place of residence, he is not permitted to attend a lower class school. It may be in a lower class neighbourhood, it may be less well equipped than the school on the heights, but it is run by middle class teachers, and the curriculum and goals of the school are directed toward upward mobility. One of the most powerful

North American myths, endlessly elaborated from the crude Horatio Alger stories, is the belief that the school is a great leveller. It is the means of moving from rags to riches. That the school has served this function for great numbers is true, particularly for the children of European immigrants living in cities, and for rural children of British and European extraction. But the fact must also be faced that it has not served this function for those who remain in the lower classes, possibly half of the population of Canada and the United States, of which at least one-quarter are in a state of abject poverty. (Sim & Findlay, 1965). Nor has the middle class school served as a ladder for the Indian population.

There is a growing realization that the school should be less rigid in its posture toward persons from different sub-cultures, but as yet a way has not been found except in pilot projects and experimental practice. It states explicitly that no one should be deprived of a middle class education, that is to say of an opportunity for personal advancement, and implicity that those who cannot or will not move from the lower level sub-culture from whence they come to the middle class culture of the school have an adjustment problem. This confrontation between the massive and powerful school system and the defenseless child and his parents is called equality of opportunity. The drop out rate of all students, particularly of Indian students (see Chapter 11) is at least one indication that opportunities are not really equal, because the benefits are not equally distributed.

Educators have a word for the adjustment they expect children to make who make this move. It is acculturation. It implies that the child should acquire the attributes of a sub-culture different from that of his father and his mother. It is hoped this acculturation is proposed without taking into account the psychological damage such a separation from parental values is known to make. For the adjustment the Indian child is asked to make is different in kind and degree from those to be drawn from the early writings on the subject.

Acculturation in its general sense is the assumption as Murdoch put it of culture through contact, especially with a people of higher culture. Two models for acculturation can b cited, e.g. the impact of the steel axe on the culture of the Northwest Coast. Here a single technological item was acquired without the accompanying

benefits of the trade and the missionary. The resultant shift from the Stone Age to the Iron Age for a people living among the giant red cedar was a fantastic release from drudgery. There resulted an enlargement of the house, an improvement of the dug-out canoe, and a new leisure that gave the demonstrative and wasteful potlatch a new significance. Their values, art and social organization easily adjusted to the new wealth in somewhat the same manner as North America has taken on the automobile.

The second model is a migratory one, where the European peasant came to urban America. In this case, even though they brought language, religion and institution with them, the survivals are few after three generations. These changes were made at a loss. There was a consequence of severe strong conflict between the first and second generations. Now, even though these origins may be acknowledged proudly and a few ritual occasions celebrated (where inter-marriage has not weakened the ethnic identification) the persons who recall their European connections have been Americanized. Looking back over the last one hundred years, the contrast between the adjustment of the immigrants from Europe and the descendants of the Indians, who were here too when the country was opening up, is striking.

How is it one ethnic group has moved into the main stream of Canadian life, while the other has maintained a marginal position? Acculturation has proceeded to the point where, despite the theory of the Canadian Mosaic, the unimportant groups have been virtually assimilated. The Indian groups on the other hand are still "a problem".

It is the contention of this study that the disparity between these two groups is a measure of the failure of the schools, for which the churches and governments must share responsibility. The reason for the failure is more difficult to find.

Public apathy is not a satisfactory explanation for the failure of the schools, except to account for niggardly budgets. Why the public was apathetic is a deeper more fundamental question. Yet an answer must be sought, for Indian apathy toward his own fate is simply a mirror of the indifference of others. In these introductory pages an attempt has been made to find the genesis of this unhappy condition of the descendants of the original occupants of these lands. The three chapters that follow suggest solutions under the title of equality, accommodation and autonomy: three broad humanitarian goals fully compatible with education in its loftiest tradition.

PART II: PRINCIPLES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. EQUALITY

The equalitarian ethic is an important cornerstone of the democratic system. It has been written into various national charters that men are born free and equal. Yet it is what they are born into that determines the state of equality. Are they born into prosperous farms, wealthy suburbs, or reservations and other types of ghetto? The fact of birth and rearing is a factor of prime importance in determining the type of school and performance at school. Even though Canadian society has never departed fully from the aristocratic tradition on which it was founded, the slogan of equality of opportunity in the school is still a popular one, despite what the vertical mosaic has to say about the social realities. The influence of environment in school performance has been well established by careful studies. They have shown that, as the child passes through successive stages of education and training, factors of economic status, colour, occupation of parent, and even sex become controlling determinants in ascertaining who is to pass into the higher levels of achievement. (Bean, 1966, Davis, 1941.)

There is very little criticism of the programmes as such, now current in the Indian Affairs Branch. As stated, they appear well conceived. Moreover, the programme of the Ontario Department of Education, as expressed in its various policy statements, curricula booklets, etc., is forward-looking and modern in conception and content. It is true that proposals will be made here that will depart radically from the present policies as laid down. But these proposals are made, not because present policies - and one would add intentions - are bad. It is because the practices and achievements are inadequate. What is impressive is the lack of options for those who do not fit the comparatively rigid structure of the provincial educational system. The possibility for a wide selection of options is not precluded in the conception of the programme. But why are they in practice? Ask any guidance counsellor. An economic order that produced only three or four sizes of shoes would be considered archaic, but what of a social order that offers so few socially sanctioned options to human beings who are so gloriously various in their gifts, interests and qualities of personality.

Even if the plans were suitably flexible, there is no substantial evidence that improvements in effect or on the drawing boards will take place with the speed which the situation demands. The present policy of equality of opportunity is not enough. If two laps behind my opponents in a race, I must do more than go at the same speed, I must overtake them.

In a summary of a number of recent studies carried on by the University of Syracuse, (Carnegie Corporation, 1966), it is pointed out that much more money is now being spent to educate the children of the well-to-do than to educate the children of the poor.

But this review points out, "Every shred of available evidence points to the conclusion that the educational needs of poor children are far greater than those of affluent children. By any measure one wants to use - pupil performance on tests, dropout rate, proportion of students going on to higher education, the output of the schools in the depressed areas of the cities (of the United States) is very much poorer than that of the suburbs. There is little reason to believe that even to equalize treatment would begin to close the gap. To achieve the substance rather than merely the theoretical form of equal educational opportunity requires the application of unequal resources: more rather than less to the students from poor homes."

The present policies of the provincial government into which the federal government is meshing its own operation will not treat the Indian child differently. The argument against differential treatment is based upon egalitarian grounds. He is not treated differently because he is an Indian. Rather than compromise a principle, even a specious one, let him fail. They do not want to single him out. If he is retarded they will treat him as a retarded child. The point is that a nine year old boy in an integrated grade I class in all probability is not retarded in the usual sense, but lags only because he is an Indian.

Here is the story of retardation in federal Indian schools in Canada and Ontario. In the two accompanying tables the situation at grade 1 and grade 8 can be compared. When children of ages 6 and 7, and 13 and 14, which is assumed a normal age for these two grades, are compared to those who are above age 7 and 14, it will be seen that about 30% of the boys are too old. (A few underage are also included in those tables to permit easy calculation, the numbers in the category do not substantially change the picture of retardation.) What

do we find in grade 8? First there is a fantastic loss of numbers. For Canada as a whole 5,061 Indian children are in grade I and only 1,320 have achieved grade 8, while for Ontario there are 1,142 in grade 1 as compared to 297 in grade 8. Second the retardation has moved in grade 1 from about 1/4 or more to about 1/2 or less in grade 8. That is to say 1/4 to 1/2 are noticeably older than other children in their grade. For proud, shy, diffident children, is this equality?

Of special interest are the scores for girls in Ontario where the age retardation is smaller in grade 8 than in any other category.

Indian Pupils Enrolled in Federal Schools in September 1965 for Canada and Ontario, by Age, Grade and Sex. *

			Ages 6 and 7		Ages under 6 & over 7 yrs.		Total	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grade One	Boys	Canada	1,777	70.9	728	29.1	2,505	100
		Ontario	376	70.1	160	29.6	536	99.7
Grade One	Girls	Canada	1,723	73.2	633	26.8	2,356	100
		Ontario	379	74.9	127	25.1	506	100

			Ages 13 and 14		Ages under 12 & over 14		Total	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grade Eight	Boys	Canada	307	48.2	330	51.8	637	100
		Ontario	83	58.7	58	41.3	141	100
Grade Eight	Girls	Canada	375	54.9	308	45.1	683	100
		Ontario	108	68.8	49	31.2	157	100

* From Dominion Bureau of Statistics Circular 1-A-122 (Rev. 11-61) Tables - 1, 2, 13, 14

What the record is for Indians in integrated schools in Ontario, we do not know. Neither Ottawa or Queen's Park have any data. They simply count heads or, should we say, bodies, and pay so much a body. It is difficult to prove a policy right or wrong if there is no data. There is reason to believe that there is more age retardation in integrated schools because large numbers are brought to larger centres from isolated areas. If this is so, the dropout rate could also be higher.

In Ontario agreements for accepting registered Indian children into provincial schools are carried out on an ad hoc basis between Canada and the local school board. As yet there is no general agreement between the two senior governments. In a great many instances agreements are beneficial in that they have given Indians educational opportunities equal to those of white students, and in a non-Indian milieu they have granted equal rights to educational facilities. However, the agreement itself is no guarantee that the benefits will accrue to the Indians, and there is a great deal of evidence that the Indians do not benefit as much from the same opportunities as do the white students. The indications of this are: general academic retardation of the Indian students; early school dropouts and therefore a lower level of educational achievement.

In spite of these negative results, a number of young Indians of special ability have crossed previously insurmountable barriers, and have shown the intellectual potential of the Indian population. Until recently their ability in sports and art have been most recognized. Now it is possible to point to academic achievement as well, even where living conditions have not been propitious.

If the Ontario system were operating as it should, or in accordance with the ideals stated in the official literature, there is no question that poor children, Indian children, and others who are socially handicapped would be looked after as well as the physically and mentally handicapped are looked after now, or as they are about to be looked after. There is an ideology for a child centred system, in which explicit provisions are made for the physically handicapped. Through the provision of vast additional expenditures their opportunities can be brought into balance. There are now emerging policy statements which begin to recognize the socially handicapped child, and a few pilot projects are in action, notably at the Duke of York School, Toronto, which we visited during the course of the study.

Knowing how much lag can be expected between the formulation of new policies, including the staging of exciting new pilot projects and the general adoption of these principles into the whole system,* a key question immediately comes to mind. Taking into account the Indian question in this province, can Ontario afford to wait for this type of glacial change? School board, outlook, supervision, teacher training, textbooks must all be modified. Let someone hazard a guess as to what year or what century significant changes toward real equality will be noted in the achievement of the children.

The inequality inherent in the integrated school system is nowhere more evident than in the inflexible position held by educational authorities at federal, provincial and local levels toward the Indian languages and dialects. Language is the defence of a minority against pressures to conform to majority values. It is a measure of the internal strength of Indian resistance to assimilation. Note that in 1961, 7,811 - 17% of Ontario Indians spoke Indian only, and 25,969 or 53% spoke Indian as well as a second language.

Is there any better indication of the failure of past efforts to teach English than this?

This attitude toward second languages goes very deep in the Anglo-Canadian ethos. It is not only official policy, it is a value many teachers hold quite strongly that the native language will go away if it is sternly ignored. I visited one integrated school which had a substantial number of Indian students. They all spoke Cree, probably with an initial, if not continuing language disability. The teachers indicated that the children still spoke Cree among themselves in the school grounds. Yet not one teacher could say "good morning" in Cree, and there did not appear to be any classroom use made of the Cree tongue or of the fact that many students there had lived as nomads in the Canadian north. An opportunity to enrich the restricted social outlook of the upper middle class children in the school, and to give the Indian children a chance to "show off" to the others their superior knowledge of wild life and woodcraft, and to make monolingual children aware of a new tongue, was totally ignored.

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* The fact of this lag is well known (see Raison, 1967) where a member of the Plowden Commission reviews Children and the Primary Schools, one of the reports of that commission.

Such small informal accommodations in the classroom, requiring no change in policy or curriculum, could create a sense of equality that would benefit both sides. The large question of recognizing in a pedagogical sense the language disabilities of Indian children and the cultural potency of these languages is a crucial one, if there is a serious interest in fully engaging Indian children whose mother tongue is not English or French.

Proposed Action

In order that the present policies of Canada and Ontario will more quickly approximate conditions of equality, there will be two types of recommendations: (a) entirely new approaches that lie outside present arrangements, and (b) adjustment to and improvements in the present arrangements.

(a) New Types of Action

Bold action must be taken by Ontario and Canada jointly to greatly increase expenditures on Indian education at all levels, but at the same time to reduce the sense of dependency into which past efforts at amelioration has plunged the Indians who were the objects of past benefactions. Unless this paradox is faced and understood, increased expenditures will do little else than result in the establishment of new, costly and futile agencies. A way must be found to maximize Indian involvement visibly and actually. An Indian advisory committee to non-Indians who are making the real decisions is not good enough. Not only must Indians actually move into positions of real power and authority but they must also appear to be doing so. There will be mistakes, squabbles and mismanagement, but none are likely to be more unseemly than the behaviour of the Canadian House of Commons during the Rivard and Munsinger affairs, nor the tortuous methods Toronto used to buy furniture for its beautiful new City Hall. The non-white community must demonstrate its faith that the Indian is ready to do something for himself. Not a series of niggling, piecemeal concessions and assignments of inconsequential busy work, but large, generous, and costly arrangements are called for. It should not be done as a means of getting rid of the Indian problem but as a great humane act of trust and vision.

#1 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

A foundation called the Indian Council of Ontario should be established to make it possible to set up institutions, support projects, sponsor objective research and foster leadership. The foundation would be quasi-public in character, similar to the Canada Council in its structure, and control. The funds would be subscribed largely, but not exclusively, by Canada and Ontario.

(a) It would be capable of making capital grants to other institutions and on its own behalf. It should also work largely through private groups, though it might sponsor directly experiments and demonstrations.

(b) If the federal government did support this council, some of its present activities would be handled by the council, such as college scholarships. Under the council, non-treaty Indians could be treated with equality.

The psychological advantages of such a body would be enlarged upon under the chapter on Autonomy, but administratively it would have advantages too. The entire operation would be relatively free of political interference, and the inevitable hedging and caution that unfortunately accompanies the risk of direct accountability to a legislative body. There would be indirect accountability as for crown corporations, and at stated intervals when requests are made for additional funds. The council would sponsor undertakings that were controversial, and risky. It should be ready to back new ideas the efficienc of which has not yet been established would, above all, be prepared to back promising individuals as the Carnegie Corporation a generation ago did under the great Dr. Keppel.

For those interested in making application there would be less reluctance to accept help than there is now in accepting governmental assistance. As illustration, a child from a wealthy home will accept, without loss of honour, assistance from his parents for travel, a subscription to a concert series, and an extra year at college. These funds should be accepted in the same way by individuals and organizations.

The majority of board members and officers of the council could be persons of Indian inheritance.

With the support of the council two major establishments should be set up under separate boards. Besides council funds they would appeal to private sources for gifts and for the usual government aid available to such bodies: the first a centre for popular education, the second a centre for advanced study.

#2 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

An Indian College - A centre for "popular education", as it is conceived in Europe, would give form and meaning to the aspirations of the Indian people. It would provide the means of advancement into countless positions in industry and public service which Indiand could fill. It would be a symbol of the new day, as the tomahawk and tepee are of the long gone past. Possibly this centre could be set up under the community college legislation. There would then be a college for Indians as well as a number of colleges with Indian names. But if it appeared that there was likely to be standardization under community college structure, then alternative alignments should be sought.

This proposal is made because Indian people should have the option of attending an educational centre where their own people are in the majority. There are many precedents for educational centres with a strong ethnic or religious influence. Indeed most of the older Ontario universities or colleges had this origin: Queen's, Victoria, Assumptio. Ottawa, Waterloo Lutheran, not to mention smaller denominational and ethnic centres and camps. In the United States there are and have been many small Negro colleges which served a purpose even while others like Martin Luther King were winning scholarships at Harvard. Canada, through External Aid, is assisting universities and other educational centres of this character in Africa. The Danish folk school served the Danis people as they emerged from feudalism in the early part of the nineteenth century, as we think this centre could serve the Indian people. (Lauwery's, 1958, p. 150).

At this stage there are many Indians of very high intelligence and integrity who would be excluded from conventional institutions. Some indeed are functionally illiterate but they are highly motivated, suited to a centre created for their use. The results are already evident in the upgrading programme at Elliot

Lake - an indication how quickly they can move ahead. Though the number of married couples admissible are restricted, this pilot project shows what can be done.

Others who could qualify for admission elsewhere might feel more comfortable with their own people. This should not be thought abnormal. Some graduates from Upper Canada College go to Trinity College and then join the same fraternity as their U.C.C. classmates for the same reasons. Yet some of their classmates would think remaining in this protective environment too limiting, and would go elsewhere. There is an option for those who are not ready for the hurly-burly, and this is precisely what many Indian students need. The main point to be made here is the need for a centre where Indians can create and control their own social environment as they experience the excitement of intellectual growth. If the integrated school accomplishes its stated goals, there will be less need in a generation for a centre of this kind, but the Indian adult today has not had that experience. He needs his own centre and he needs it now. Meanwhile we await the result of the policy of integration.

The community colleges seem to be concentrating on technological training whereas this college should stress cultural values. If it were located in the north (an admirable idea if a centre can be found sufficiently hospitable to a large influx of Indian young people) then one or two technological fields might be stressed. Woodcraft, conservation and other wild life occupations might be grouped to make a specialty which will for some years to come continue to attract Indian recruits. Since the student body should not be exclusively Indian, non-Indian students could also attend.

Cultural values should be stressed, along with emphasis on decision-making. Student planning and control of certain aspects of life in the college community is strongly urged. At some point paternalism must cease. There would be no better place for this departure than in the shelter of an Indian College. The Indian students, who may have found attendance at mixed schools a threatening experience, would benefit from a deeper understanding of the Indian situation at this centre.

#3 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

An Indian Cultural and Research Institute

Located on the campus of one of Ontario's major universities an institute should be established, on the scale and style of Massey College. It would be a repository of rare documents, records and artifacts related to the past. It should also maintain a good library and clearing house for information related to contemporary times. It would serve students of history, archeology, linguistics, ethnology and modern culturology of the North American Indian. It would provide residential facilities, research supports, and a system of grants and bursaries. While it might primarily serve scholarly interests, it would be open as well to writers, producers of cinema and documentary material in sound and visuals, and journalists in all the media.

An Indian scholar would fill the post of principal or master, but its facilities would be open to all.

Options

The key criticism of present arrangements is that Indian students have too few options. If a student can not fit into a conventional high school or vocational school his only option is "back to the reserve", or to low status employment in cities. For those who fit in, the present system is good, but today a vocational counsellor has no educational alternatives for the student with capacity who can not adjust to established institutions. Many middle class children drop out for a few years, are supported by their parents as they experiment with alternatives, including Yorkville. Later may go back much the better of the break. Poor children and Indian children of poor parents cannot be carried in this way. It is easier for them to accept a label of misfit and failure. The Indian College just proposed is one new option, but it does not offer elementary and high school training.

Wherever possible school boards under contract to Canada should create optional facilities for students with learning problems. However, we fear remedial classes where Indians of high intelligence are placed alongside non-Indians of low intelligence. The Indian child's problem

is cultural and should be treated as such, not as emotional or psychological deviance. Those school boards with the imagination and resources to meet the special requirements of Indian children should do so. But it is assumed most school boards cannot provide these services.

#4 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Under the clause in the Indian Act which empowers the Branch to contract with private and religious agencies to carry on education, it is suggested that private or quasi-public corporations, created especially for the purpose, should be engaged on a 5 year contract to set up special facilities. They could be residential, on reserves, or as adjuncts to public school systems, depending on the project. Wherever possible these contracts should be arranged jointly with Ontario so that non-Treaty Indians and others suffering similar cultural disabilities could be admitted.

We have not analysed the range of services required but one comes to mind. This has to do with the average Indian child in public school. The table on page 81 demonstrates that this is a very large group.

The very old student, say a nine-year-old boy in Grade 1 should not go into an integrated school. He should be placed in a small private residential school operated by a highly trained, and completely independent professional group. Such a child should be ready after one, or at most two years to enter a regular school among students at his age level.

Judging from our knowledge of family situations among the poor families, a wide range of problems can be expected which are now largely ignored. *

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* The Canadian Welfare Council has recently completed a study on this subject, although it has not been released by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (see George Caldwell, Indian Residential School Study, 1967.)

(b) Changes in Existing Arrangements

We have not criticized existing policies as such, (only the methods by which they are implemented and the scarcity of options for those unable to move comfortably within integrated schools). The improvement and acceleration of existing arrangements is presupposed along with approval of the policy.

In one area alone no full assessment was possible: the extent to which federal schools are inferior or superior to provincial schools, the range of excellence and inadequacy within federal schools.* The Hawthorn-Tremblay study will be heard from soon on this matter. Nor do we know how speedily federal schools will be closed out. One federal official thought they might have disappeared within ten years. Even though this report is directed to the Ontario government, the performance of federal schools is an interest of the Ontario people and its government. Since students from these schools move into Ontario communities as citizens and employees, the condition of their education cannot be a matter of indifference to Ontario.

#5 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Equality in Federal Schools

Through its inspection service, the Ontario Department of Education should identify in whatever ways are appropriate the location of inferior federal schools and should make known the nature of its recommendations to up-grade them. It appears national wage standards imposed by the Civil Service Commission of Canada are not sufficiently high to compete with most Ontario local school boards. This problem should be the subject of joint discussions between the two governments. At the same time other factors that are the cause of inferior performance in federal schools of Ontario should be brought to light.

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* If federal schools are superior, the policy of closing them out is difficult to explain.

#6 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Continued Federal Services

The federal government should arrange technical services on Indian education which would be of such a high level of specialization that no province would be likely to maintain such services itself. It would be separated from routine governmental work, either as an institute in a university, or a firm of consultants on a 5 or 10 year contract, or a separate division in the department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.* The fields covered would include linguistics, teaching English as a second language, culture conflict, social change, curriculum enrichment on matters related to Indian culture, past and present. These experts would be available to education divisions in Indian Affairs and Northern Development and to provincial departments of education to give technical assistance, Teacher Training institutes, school board conferences, and the like. They would not be a substitute for similar services in the provincial governments but would help the provinces establish their own services.

The federal government should provide financial assistance for research in Indian education to be administered under an independent agency. This agency should publish material on Indian education in a quarterly that would make its own contribution internationally to knowledge.

#7 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Teacher Training

It is of the utmost importance to prepare teachers to meet effectively children who come from different economic and ethnic backgrounds than their own. In addition to general preparation for cultural differences, specific attention should be given to the Indian question. All teachers should be exposed to some information about the Indian in Ontario, just as it is hoped they are prepared to meet immigrant children, and children from immigrant families.

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* This latter alternative is not recommended since these experts should be free to analyze and criticize official policy publicly, as well as the publications and utterances of their colleagues.

For those already in service, and particularly for those who have Indian children in the classroom, other approaches are needed. Summer school courses and weekend institutes should be offered to prepare teachers for work in integrated schools.

The efforts now in progress in the University of Alberta at Edmonton, and of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon should be studied in detail before beginning similar undertakings. (Renaud, 1963).

A new Minorities Division would give leadership and provide technical supports for these changes.

#8 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Textbooks and Curriculum

In the short time allotted to this study, it has been impossible to consider the adequacy of the present curriculum to help the adjustment of Indians to Ontario schools. It is a highly technical question, and changes in curriculum are made slowly. So we have concentrated more on areas where quick returns could be realized. Moreover we favour, in principle, much more freedom from departmental and university imposed standards than is now the case. A school board and its superintendent should be allowed (and should be willing) to invest the effort needed to set their own standards of excellence. As salaries become standardized good teachers will seek this type of differential advantage which would be the encouragement of creativity in the classroom. It is our impression the present curriculum permits more freedom to be inventive than is exercised in most schools.

The textbook, and supplementary reading materials, is another area where improvements could be made. A study of four books now used in the city of Ottawa appears in Chapter 10. This short report suggests the need for new materials (written and visual) to treat the presence of Indians in Ontario from two points of view (a) an objective assessment of the take over of this territory, and of subsequent events leading up to the present. The Indian

position would also be treated objectively in the sense that there would be no special pleading, and (b) creative writing about the traditional Indian way of life. Romantic reportage of Rousseau-type primitive society is no more in order than a down-grading of the Indian level of civilization. Material is available in the diaries of explorers and missionaries which could be woven together into a realistic account of previous Indian societies.

#9 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Special Provisions for the North

Joint planning between the two senior governments should continue and be intensified. Of particular concern is the neglect of unorganized territories in the north which are too scattered to provide a tax base and an administrative structure for operating a school. Doubtless many children from non-treaty Indian and other families receive inferior services to those now available to registered Indians. The need for improvements is now recognized, but it is doubtful if the inputs now available for meeting this situation are adequate. It appears that a fresh new approach is needed for these scattered settlements which would be separated from the structures that are appropriate in the south.

The Northern Corps Service * is undoubtedly a good beginning which could in time be extended. However, it is apparent that the Northern Corps should reach more deeply into the north to contact nomadic and isolated groups not yet served by schools.

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* The Northern Corps Service, a project intended to assist schools in the north with limited resources, has recently been organized by the Ontario government. Thirteen teachers were appointed last year, and an additional eight to twelve will be appointed this year. There is careful selection, and pay scales based on Metropolitan Toronto, plus bonuses. A director for this service assumed his duties in January, 1967. See recent issues of Ontario Education News, especially April and September, 1966.

10 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Mobile Teachers

Where there are isolated or nomadic groups some entirely new approaches are needed. The methods used by Frontier College and by Operation Head Start might be taken as models, with modifications to meet local conditions.

To force children to attend a regular school disrupts the economic life of the parents if they give up trapping to be near their children. It disrupts the family life if they give up their children. Besides these adults are carrying on a useful economic function. A mobile teacher would learn to communicate in the native tongue. His basic approach would be to teach rudimentary literary skills to the whole group, adults as well as children. More intensive work in English could begin in due course with the children. This would prepare older children for movement out to a more normal school setting. Then younger children could be helped more adequately. By the time they were ready to go to school they would know some English, and they would be thoroughly familiar with at least one non-Indian person, and a teacher. As trained Indian personnel becomes available, they could be recruited for this type of work.

6. A C C O M M O D A T I O N

There is an extensive repertoire of humiliation, to which members of a minority group respond with varying degrees of anger and despair. They range from brute force, where physical hurt is intended and sustained, to the uncomprehending sympathy of inept well wishers. In the centre of the range, perhaps the nadir of them all, is the experience of being totally ignored. The arch inquiry "we might do something for them, if we only knew what they want" is a willingness to respond but an incapacity to understand, and it can hurt as much as any other hurt because it opens the door, then closes it before any satisfaction can be gained.

To such overtures the minority person is at a loss to know how to put his case, for what he wants even more than redress of wrongs is to know those in the majority will listen and know how to respond. At a recent conference on Indian education several Indian speakers spoke of the refusal of the majority to listen.*

At that conference I talked to a school trustee. He had grown up near an Indian reserve, now his school was serving Indian children on contract. The speakers at the conference had all been Indian or Eskimo. They frankly expressed their views of past and present educational arrangements for their children. Most of them were critical.

This school trustee expressed his satisfaction at the proceedings by saying "It is good to hear the other side". He did not say he agreed with all that had been said. It was the opportunity to hear that he appreciated, yet one asks why he had to travel to Saskatoon to hear from people he had lived with all his life. Is the conflict so deep "a marriage counsellor" is needed? We think it is.

This chapter is devoted to a prospect of fraternity, of listening and responding, of bringing two parts together, integration in the real sense of the word. We have chosen the word "accommodation", a sociological concept that was borrowed from ecology, to express the thought that forces that are in conflict can make adaptations to each other in a satisfactory way. Accommodation is the process by which the new equilibrium of forces is effected and maintained,

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* The National Conference on Native Education at Saskatoon, April 4, 5 and 6, 1967.

attitudes rationalized, redefined or transferred, following a period of conflict. (Dawson & Getty,1935). The presence of conflict is recognized, and the differences which exist are brought out into the open. Sometimes the causes of the difficulty can be removed, but this is not always possible. Where this is so, an honest understanding of the immovable objects may reduce their emotional content. Conflict can be a unifier. (Coser, 1956)

An obstacle in removing differences between a minority group and the majority is that the partnership is unequal. There may be language difficulties, differences in behaviour, dress, attitudes toward work, time, food, cleanliness. Then the majority group, if it pays any attention at all, can be expected to set up proceedings to change behaviour of the minority. The directives usually come from afar. A local school inspector, or an Indian agent, or a missionary may have made accommodations to these differences but our bureaucracies do not listen well to men in the field, especially when they disagree with policies and directives. The pressure builds up through these emissaries to change, and a conflict is in progress. But the conflict is local though its origin is in a distant headquarters. Who is to change? It is only in a totalitarian society that a minority can be "put to the sword", and even then their capacity to persist and endure is almost unlimited.

It is in the nature of minorities that conflict deepens their tenacity and strengthens their leaders, particularly its radical leaders. (Gordon, 1961, and Alter, 1967). The initiative for accommodation, therefore, contrary to popular belief, must come from the more powerful of the two adversaries. This is not war, it is human relations.

Since the articulation and joining of groups in conflict seldom occurs alone without planning and prearrangement * it is suggested that a series of arrangements can be made to bring these accommodations to pass. The resulting social organization will provide

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* See Hawthorn, 1952, for recommendations that were made (and officially ignored) respecting the Doukhobors in British Columbia. A timely lesson is to be learned here. Studies following the race riots in Detroit produced many recommendations of a preventative nature.

the supports that are needed to maintain communication between Indians and non-Indians.

It is obvious now, after all that is known about the schools in Ontario, that present policies in no way reflect what is understood by integration. In the past, statements made by successive ministers of Citizenship and Immigration have pointed proudly to the fact that Canada did not operate a melting pot, and that various minorities were encouraged to maintain their cultural identity. Integration was used as an antonym of assimilation. (Sim, 1958)

So far as the policy of Canada and Ontario are concerned the two words are misleadingly used as synonyms. It is true that Canadian society has not been hospitable to cultural separation at the level of education. Roman Catholic separate schools are an abrasive exception. But many minorities that are compactly settled, or that have wealth and a powerful tradition of leadership have been able to maintain their identity. There has been a solid rich cultural tradition to be integrated, as an engine block factory is integrated into an automobile manufacturing complex. The Indian minority is economically weak, politically powerless, and geographically scattered, yet it is growing as a source of embarrassment, when it could be an increasing source of strength and pleasure.

The strategy of fostering and enriching a minority in the status of the Indian is a much larger subject than can be treated here.* The proposals grouped under the heading of accommodation merely suggests the direction that should be taken.

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* See Sim, 1966. This is a book length manuscript under the title Community, a Strategy for Action which is still in draft stage. The "community development" idea is discussed as a means of bringing strength and pride to people where they live, and as a counterfoil to the powerful private, commercial, and governmental bureaucracies that have all but destroyed community life. In this report affluent suburbia has shown less strength of survival than have Indian reserves, and ethnic pockets in the slums. If opting out of the material benefits of the twentieth century is the price of personal and group autonomy, our liberal democracy is due a serious reappraisal.

#11 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

There is some evidence that teachers' organizations in Ontario are seriously concerned about the Indian question, notably various actions taken by the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario. It is suggested that teachers' organizations could experiment in various ways with some of the proposals made in this report. They could sponsor weekend conferences on Indian education, arrange for small intensive research projects and policy studies. They could foster a widespread interest in the Northern Corps. They could sponsor a mobile school project on an experimental basis. Finally they could encourage the use of Indian mothers as teachers' aides, and look especially at the possibility of recognizing the native languages as a means of enriching classroom experience.

In these and other ways that would evolve the teachers' organizations could give leadership to the public in general, and to the Ontario Department of Education, and the Indian Affairs Branch.

#12 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

The question of salaries and other forms of compensation is the concern of teachers organizations, and the salary scales for teachers in federal schools in Ontario must have a relationship to general standards. In this regard it is recommended that arrangements should be made for portability of pension between Canada and Ontario teachers' pension funds. With equal pay and portability of pension, equality between the two systems could be achieved more quickly.

#13 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

The school boards of Ontario, their officers and trustees are now under contract with Canada for the services to Indian students. There is more than a hint in our investigation that many school boards enter into these contracts for pecuniary reasons. The humanitarian side is not always considered as seriously as the routing of school buses, or other materialistic considerations. There may be many school boards that select and evaluate teachers for their capacity to deal with Indian students, that hold workshops to prepare their teachers for this specialized type of work, but none were reported to us. One would wish for more hard evidence that there is a

genuine commitment to the unusual opportunity these contracts provide.

It is suggested the school boards should

(1) press for legislation to give Indian parents official representation on any school boards with federal contracts

(2) institute special ad hoc training for teachers and administrators

(3) request detailed research into the performance of Ontario schools in their work with Indian students, and

(4) sponsor institutes and workshops for school trustees and superintendents for exchanges of experience and the study of principles in Indian education.

Public Opinion

The proposals made in this study are not likely to be adopted on the scale and with the speed required unless public opinion changes too. An alert and informed public will bring about the changes that are needed. Public indifference will result in sluggish political action, low budgets, and poorly conceived projects with low priorities. Apathy and alienation in the Indian community is an effect of public neglect. At the same time the dispirited outlook of the Indian groups inhibits and blocks remedial action. There is a vicious circle of cause and effect which must be broken. Yet governments cannot of themselves launch a campaign to change attitudes. Governments can encourage such efforts but a many-sided approach is needed. The initiative may come from any sector. Wherever it originates others will follow suit.

There are three main areas, each with its own diverse elements: professional, non-governmental and Indian.

The recommendations that follow do not preclude the conventional campaigns: brotherhood weeks, intergroup relations seminars, film and television productions, radio programmes. They all have their place, but they are icing on the cake. More fundamental changes are

needed which cannot be spelled out in detail. The following are little more than clusters of suggestions that will be part of a massive change in public opinion, in private behaviour, and institutional performance.*

14 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Professional and technical personnel engaged in Indian work should take the initiative through their own organizations to prepare for and facilitate change. This will include teachers, lawyers, social workers, public health workers, clergymen, medical personnel, agronomists and those working on ARDA projects, educators and school administrators, police and court workers, trade union officials, welfare officials, municipal workers, and Indian Affairs personnel.

Some action has been noted already but more is required. This would include studies of attitudes of these workers and current procedures in handling Indian cases and programmes with Indians. The strategy should be for each group to examine its own performance and on the basis of these findings in-service training programmes should be planned. When efforts of this type are carried on, the same organizations will be able to exert powerful leverage on governments, churches, employers, landlords and other sectors which are traditionally influential in policy formulation.

15 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

The non-governmental groups include a very wide range of interests, some of which overlap with the professional and occupational groups listed above. It is recommended that these groups should re-examine their own institutional record in Indian work, then carry on an active educational programme within their own membership. This would include churches, medical societies, bar associations, welfare councils, service clubs, women's organizations, trade unions, contractors and business firms who use or could use Indian personnel. **

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* For an elaboration of the viewpoint expressed here see my paper on the role of information and education in pollution control, Proceedings, Conference on Pollution, Canadian Council of Resource Ministers, Montreal, 1967.

** Contracts let by Ontario Hydro and the Department of Highways should be examined as well as living conditions around construction projects.

16 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

No specific suggestions will be made to Indian organizations, most of which are still only in the organizational phase. It is sufficient to point out that the disappearance of paternalism will only come when strong leadership and spokesmanship manifests itself in the Indian community.

Many of the proposals made in this study are aimed at encouraging leadership among Indian people. Beyond all this, all-Indian organizations must develop to shoulder the main burden of speaking for Indians and acting in their behalf.

7. AUTONOMY

55/56.

It is now proposed that Indians should be encouraged to seize and exercise the freedoms and responsibilities inherent in the democratic system but in a way peculiar to their cultural and legal heritage. Autonomous persons, (David Reisman's hope for the future, to replace the inner directed, and other directed types of the present) should become the target of any major plan. Autonomous persons are needed, capable of selecting what they prefer from the environment, remaining impervious to mass pressures, yet be well socialized persons who can exercise a full measure of community and world citizenship. This is the goal of autonomy. Who can say the Indian is much farther from this pattern of personal independence than the middle class in Ontario? The difficulty is that the Indian now must maintain his independence by implacable withdrawal into the custodial frame work of the reserve system. Within that confined space he cannot move or speak with freedom. He must co-operate within a limited range of options, but he can do so sullenly. This is the inevitable impasse of the custodial relation. It must end. It will only end when the Indian chooses to make autonomy the way to freedom.

In attempting to find a sure pathway to a condition of autonomy, it is important to avoid the usual fruitless questions, the usual paradoxes - Will they be happier then? Is it possible to have freedom and still accept responsibility? Is independence lost when group participation is increased? It is essentially simple to move forward from a condition of fraternity between a minority and a majority to a place where the minority can live in an atmosphere of autonomy. This is the essential nature of the multi-value, poly-ethnic society which we claim to have in Canada. The human arrangements we envisage must be full of contradictions and tensions, proceeding on trust, striving to create precedents as quickly and imaginatively as possible.

Any plan for the Indian that neglects the "de jure" and "de facto" existence of the reserves is a frivolous plan. The outstanding fact of the status of the Indian people in Ontario, as contrasted with all other ethnic groups, with the possible exception of the Franch, is the unimpeachable legal foundation of his tenure.* The reserves are here and will so continue, however much regretted, as far as one can see ahead. They could cease to be ghettos, and begin to serve as bases for autonomous living. The reserve now serves as a hiding place and a refuge. It must

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* For a detailed, subtle and new appreciation of the legal basis of the reserve system, see Prof. Cairns' contributions in Hawthorne and Tremblay, 1967, Part 1.

become a proud homeland, a Zion. The reserve for each small Indian band should serve as a physical presence for its members, as does Israel for many Jews. Indeed the function of a homeland enters largely into the personal and group mythologies of most North Americans, even though they may never choose to return except to visit.

The action visualized, therefore, must move the reserve system rapidly away from its present state of paternalism and dependence. The institutions on the reserve, and related to the reserve, must come under Indian control. This must be accomplished, not on the basis of a series of grudging concessions, but it should be actively promoted by both governments, and in such a way that it will allay fears that it is "another white man's trick".

Proposed Action

(a) Personal Advancement

There are many able and capable Indians of adult status who are held back from positions of prominence and usefulness by their lack of formal education. As the requirements for education in white collar occupations increase, more and more worthy Indian persons are automatically debarred. The flow of students out of Grade XII is too slow to affect the total environment in which Indian children live. It is not enough to tell parents an education is valuable, that they should send their children to school. They themselves must realize this in their own living experience. White collar positions should be emphasized, following the guide lines established for placing immigrants from Jamaica. (See an article in Citizen, Dept. of the Secretary of State, (Dec. 1966).

#17 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

A Registry of Advancement should be established in Toronto as a non-governmental group, but with a board representing all interested governmental agencies, unions, business and professional groups. It should establish registry of all Indians in Ontario who are willing and capable of accepting training and advancement.

This registry would begin slowly with complete files on a select group. It would provide counselling and placement services with adequate support for those who are under the momentum of advancement. On the basis of experience the registry would be rapidly expanded.

The registry would procure commitments from employers, including governmental ones, to place Indians in positions where rapid advancement could be assured. Positions would be opened up where educational requirements would be waived. The placement would be followed by adequate support and close evaluation; case workers would, when necessary, act as liaison between the worker and employer. When the former's potential has been assessed, then a series of appropriate training opportunities should be arranged.

This registry should be adequately funded for five years to cover staff requirements, as well as resources to support the costs of additional education.

The programme envisaged here would eventually extend to low-status as well as high-status ones. The principle of "hiring the poor to work with the poor", would be brought into effect here, particularly in arranging for part-time employment of mothers in day-care centres, kindergartens, and even in integrated schools.

The agency would maintain an educational programme for supervisors, personnel officers, shop stewards, so as to reduce deliberate or unintended discrimination. The staff of the agency should include persons who had benefitted from its work.

(b) Political Action

If the Indians accept a paternalistic regime, as they are charged of doing, if the Indian Affairs Branch operates towards them paternalistically, it would appear the two are partners in an unrewarding and unseemly relation. This relation must be terminated lest it be succeeded by others no better, involving the Indian people and Ontario governmental agencies. Yet the Indians must not be cut adrift in a series of sporadic and spasmodic changes of policy, which are often characteristic of governmental policy in sensitive political areas. Nor do we expect bureaucracies to relax their control willingly to communal groups, especially to Indian band councils. If these assumptions are well founded, then the Indians must struggle for independence. In the struggle they will develop their autonomy and truly acquire their citizenship.

But such a haphazard outcome may not be the best of all ways of learning political action. Surely the mandate of educating a people, hitherto incapable of terminating this state of dependence, should include orientation and experience in political action. But there is slight likelihood of Ontario public schools, or federal Indian schools preparing children or adults to win this struggle for autonomy. There is little evidence that students anywhere (except in some nursery schools) are asked to share in authentic decision making. However much we would wish state operated schools to train militant leaders, the chances of this happening are small. In our view, regretfully held, experience and training in political action must emanate from sources other than the school.

#18 r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

The training of band counsellors and band administrators, now handled by the Indian Affairs Branch, should be stepped up, but it should include more attention to provincial administrative matters, and it should stress, along with strictly administrative matters, cultural and political history, in such a way as to help them to understand the democratic process. A way should be found in devising these courses to help Indian leaders to understand how to be responsive to the electorate to whom they are responsible. There is no better way of learning this than through direct experience in these training sessions.

#19 , r e c o m m e n d a t i o n

Today an unhappy situation exists which debars Indians on reservations from exercising the traditional perogatives available to other Canadians to share in the control of the education of their children. Changes in federal and provincial legislation are required to allow elected Indian representatives to sit on school boards. Information received indicated that the legislatures in Toronto and Ottawa could expect proposals to modify the present arrangements. Precisely, these changes should allow

(a) members of any bands whose children attend a provincial school on contract to elect representatives to the board responsible for that school,

(b) members of Indian bands whose children attend federal schools would elect members to a duly constituted school board.

PART III: SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

8. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THIS STUDY;

In December of 1966 Strathmere Associates entered into contract with the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in Schools of Ontario to provide "a report with recommendations on Indian education in Ontario". Terms of reference were provided in a memorandum from the Committee entitled, "Proposed Study of Indian Education Program"; these terms of reference having been developed by a committee of the Indian-Eskimo Association.

In view of its continuing interest in stimulating research and discussion of Indian education, the Indian-Eskimo Association was equipped to carry out fruitful discussions with the Provincial Committee, not only in laying out terms of reference for the study but in subsequent planning.

The Indian-Eskimo Association committee concerned held two meetings for the sole purpose of considering the study, and provided the author with valuable help in laying plans for the study and subsequently in considering a preliminary outline of this report. The Association committee continues to meet, and individual members have been helpful in many ways.

The plan prepared in cooperation with the Association committee provides for:

> "An examination of the education program for Indians in the province of Ontario. This examination is to be designed to provide a historical and analytical account of the evolution of Indian Education and hopefully, insight and fuller understanding of strengths and weaknesses of the past and present programs. The data accumulated and knowledge gained may then be applied and tested, etc., through a series of regional meetings with Indian leaders and educators across Canada as described in Phase II.
>
> The Ontario study would deal with such matters as:
>
> (a) The philosophy and intent of the education programs offered Indians - both past and present.
>
> (b) An analysis of the varying jurisdictions in the education field - both past and

present (i.e. Federal, Provincial, Church, etc.)

(c) The part that culture and value systems play in the educational process.

(d) The scope and quality of programs in terms of:

I. Pre-school activity to deal with language factors, etc.

II. The impact of change by the system on the Indian culture.

III. Diversity of opportunity.

IV. Relevance of the curriculum to the needs of the Indians: regional differences, etc.

V. Parent involvement in education (Home & School, etc.)

VI. Qualifications of teachers.

VII. The availability of education to the whole Indian population.

(e) Discrimination and its impact on motivation for education, (i.e. text book image, movies, stereotypes, etc.)

(f) The impact that community conditions have on the education of Indians such as:

1. the unemployed father with family dependent on welfare

2. poor housing - lack of study facility

3. unviable community

(g) What role the Indians have had in the planning, organizing and administering of their educational programs."

Having examined the terms of reference outlined above the writer submitted the following statement on December 20, 1966, prior to the signing of the contract.

"This subject could now well occupy a Royal Commission; within the

limitations of time and budget it will be necessary to be selective. A Royal Commission for instance would examine Canada's historical record in its handling of native peoples. It would look at the role of the churches in this respect, since much of the responsibility for education has been in their hands: it would examine educational methods for the disadvantaged, tried out elsewhere.

It is suggested that delimitation should begin with a decision as to the type of paper which would be most useful to the committee. There would seem to be two main choices, and while they overlap a good deal and cannot be altogether mutually exclusive, the question of focus will be a most important one in making the assignment manageable.

One choice would be to examine the question from an ethical and historical point of view: what attempts have been made in the past, what mistakes have been made, on what basis are the judgments of right and wrong made, what should be undertaken in the future on the basis of these ethical precepts, what would be a right course of action quite apart from the question of whether it would fit into any educational system, or whether it would be politically feasible or not. It is suggested such a paper might have limited value to the committee.

Another choice would focus much more sharply on feasibility, taking for granted certain assumptions of an ethical and operational nature. It would suggest a course (or courses) of action which should be taken, and it would try to suggest pilot projects, experimental settings, adjustments of various kinds in the present system such as teacher-training, text-books, the question of segregation, residential school settings, etc., while it would establish certain working principles on which recommendations could be made.

It will be seen that this is an important decision to be made, and I rather favour the second choice, because I think it would be more

useful to the committee; it would be more likely to suggest proposals that might be implemented, and it is more practical, more manageable within the given limitations. The first one would require much more scholarly work which is slow if it is done well. I doubt if it would be possible to do that type of assignment adequately in the time permitted. The second choice would be less systematic but more likely to come up with some imaginative solutions. I think too this proposal would suit Phase 2 and 3 as suggested by the Indian-Eskimo Association."

After investigating the subject more fully in the first months of the study it became more evident that more attention should be given assumptions about the educational task the federal and provincial governments were undertaking for Indians. Still more was it necessary to look at the underlying process of growing up in a minority group.

Additional factors made it mandatory to treat the subject in this way. An important book has just appeared under the authorship of officers of the Education Division of the Indian Affairs Branch (Waller, 1965). Besides, the Hawthorne-Tremblay* Report which is about to appear will have a large section on the education of Indians. We did not have access to the unpublished material, although we talked to some of the authors and had privileged access to to the first part of the education report. When these documents are published, a summary and critique should be published to be used by the IEA in workshops on native education along with this paper, Waller's, 1965, and other documents of this nature. In consideration of of these other resources, this study has paid less attention to "the historical and analytical evaluation of Indian education", and somewhat less on recommendations and techniques than indicated in our memorandum of December 20, 1966. There has been more emphasis on principles by which a minority people can come into a state of true equality.

A simple image will explain our approach, it is as if education for Indians were a mansion which these people were to live in and enjoy. We find the mansion is already built and it is grand and good in a great many respects, but the Indians are uncomfortable about it. It needs some changes to suit their style of life as does any edifice built by another. So it

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* Hawthorn, 1967. This first volume touches mainly broader political and jurisdictional questions.

needs remodelling and enlarging to suit them. Where is the key? This above all is what we have sought to find: how can the Indian people possess this mansion and open wide its doors so that they may possess it and cherish it for themselves.

Finally there is a creative and personal reason why the report has taken this shape. It is not a research document: time did not permit original research, though some reconnaisance in the field was possible. It is rather an essay written by someone who is deeply concerned, as a Canadian and as an educator with a sociological viewpoint, with the topic of this study. The Waller book, and the Hawthorn and Tremblay studies have had very large resources at their command in bringing their publications to the light of day. This report is a one man effort. It may be that relative lack of resources has left unrevealed to us certain grounds for optimism. Conversely it may be that our feeling for the broad, essential elements of the situation has not been encumbered by a plethora of detail, and that our discernment of reality is close to the mark. Be that as it may be, we are less hopeful than other writers appear to be the present policies and present trends are going to yield the results that are hoped for. This report is more pessimistic, for the prognosis is doubtful. Most of the recommendations are conceived as an antidote to what are considered mistakes in practice, or inadequacies in policy. It would be a happy outcome to be proved wrong, and to be shown in the fullness of time that this pessimism was misplaced and unfounded.

9. W H A T I S A N I N D I A N?

68/69.

The Ontario Indian is a term that will be used many times in this paper, so it needs definition. It does not simply refer to persons of Indian ancestry who live in Ontario. There are many types of Indians - many styles of "Indianness". Some carry no Indian blood but live with Indians and identify with them. They are culturally Indian. There are others who are of Indian blood who are not aware of it, or being aware, do not acknowledge it. Being an Indian is not so much a matter of blood and descent, but a question of feeling and identification. It is a result of how others behave toward a person who is Indian, and reciprocally, of how he feels about himself as a person, and how he behaves toward others - Indian and non-Indian. These feelings reflect the attitude of those who surround him, for they mold and perpetuate his sense of being an Indian. "Indianness" is a cultural designation, and a formulation of personality structure.

Besides the psychological and cultural definition of Indianness there are more precise measures. There is the official list of Canadian Indians. An Indian in this sense need not have Indian forebears, to be on a band list is enough. Today there are 211,796 registered Indians in Canada, 44,942 in Ontario.

The census provides us with another measure. Those who gave "Indian as origin" to the census enumerator were 220,121 for all Canada in 1961, with 47,862 in Ontario. At the estimated increase of 2.5% per year this number could now stand at 55,041. However the estimated total number of persons of known Indian origin is double the figure recorded in the census. This is because those of mixed ancestry are asked to give the ethnic origin of the father. In mixed unions the father is more often non-Indian.

Within this aggregate there are many subdivisions, but there are two ways of cutting across the group: there are registered or treaty Indians, persons whose names are on a band list, and there are non-treaty Indians. In the vernacular of the governmental administrator these two are designated Indian and Metis. The first is a legally recognized person to whom the federal government has certain legal obligations. The second is a citizen of Ontario of no special legal status. The designation, be it noted, has no relationship to race. It would be possible for a nearly full-blooded Indian to be classified as British in the census, and for full-blooded Caucasians to be listed officially as Indians on a federal band list.

A second way of grouping Ontario Indians is by cultural identification. There are endless shades of "Indianness" here, but in very broad terms, one person of Indian descent feels and acts like an Indian, another does not. An individual in one stage in his life might shift the level of his feelings markedly from strong identification with the Indian culture, and at another stage he would reject the designation altogether. He might do so for many reasons. He might simply feel (as do many other Canadians of mixed ethnic origin) that questions of social or ethnic identification are irrelevont. He might reject the label because of its prejoritive overtones.

Finally, there are tribal labels which apply more or less closely to all Indians. There are several large tribal groups. The tribes are conscious of their histories, and their location in the province. There is among them much pride of place and race. The Six Nations are found in the southern extremities of the province, and the Crees in the north. To be a person of Cree or Mohawk descent is just as significant as to be a descendent of a Highland Scots, or Huguenot English. To come from a certain band and reserve has something of the same significance as to come from a certain town or county. An Ojibway Indian from the Cape Croker reserve in Bruce Peninsula will identify as much or more than a person of Scottish descent who comes from nearby Port Elgin.

Within these cultural and psychological determinants there are a complex of historical, legal and institutional factors which sort out and define identifications for those who are called "Indian" and for those who relate to Indians directly or indirectly these are part of the cultural environment into which a child (Indian or non-Indian) is born, through which he passes as he assumes his adult status. The role of creation, the role of parenthood and guidance of children into adulthood the cycle is complete when as an adult he helps to form the character and attitudes of children who grow up in his society.

We live as much by myth as by historical truth. So far as attitude and behaviour is concerned, a myth may be a social fact today. Indeed the truth is known to few: most historical truths are no longer known to anyone. It is what people think the truth is which is relevant to our topic. This, as Durkheim put it, is a social fact.

There are probably few children or adults in Ontario who could not express attitudes about the Indian question. Even the pre-school child would know something about it. The facts offered would vary immensely in detail, but everyone would have some kind of information. To be ill-informed, to be prejudiced, to be full of hate is no barrier to the holding of an opinion. These opinions, whether or not objectively true, are social facts.

Now these social facts are not sterile items of information, they are the stuff of action. Our main concern is the relationship of psychological feelings and cultural definitions within Indian society, and the structures developed outside that society on behalf of the Indian. There is no teacher, no clergyman, no administrator of welfare, or federal policy, no policeman, no judge who does not have opinions, often strongly held, often cruelly biased, or sentimentally unrealistic. All of these are part of the social climate. In this atmosphere a child learns to be an Indian. He learns to behave differently in different situations, in the presence of different people. A tribal ceremony, a civil rights march, a visit from a dignitary, a viewing of a T.V. western at an Indian school, at an integrated school each event will evoke certain responses. The responses will vary between individuals. With one individual they will vary depending on his age, on recent experience, and the like.

The Indian will feel differently about his ethnicity when he is among non-Indians. He may almost forget he is an Indian in one situation, in another he will be made to feel his origin perhaps with pleasure and pride, perhaps with humiliation and anger.

72/73.

The total assessment of text books in use in Ontario schools would be a monumental task, particularly if the analysis were to go completely into the effects of the material presented, as related to the intended effects- in short a thorough evaluation. For this study it was only possible to examine the books listed below, and then only by rapidly scanning what appeared to be relevant passages. This statement is therefore impressionistic, rather than systematic.

The books examined were in use this year in Ottawa Public Schools.* Here are some general impressions.

The degree to which Indian data is given in an objective way must be seen in relation to the overall tone and level of sophistication of the material presented. One is impressed with the condescending simplicity of the material presented, particularly in Tait, 1953. It is as though the writers felt that the reader would find Canadian history dull unless it were made to appear otherwise. At the same time there is such a careful avoidance of any hint of controversy, or of calling a spade a spade. It is unlikely that the manner in which the Indians lost their control of North America will be told, if on all other questions the author adopts a see no evil, tell no evil posture.

By the same token, events just seem to happen, one epoch follows another, with no analysis of cause and effect. One must ask if children who watch some of the better CBC public affairs productions, and are capable of handling the new mathmetics, could not manage a more sophisticated handling of history - less of the broad survey type of thing, more depth for one period, less whimsy and irrelevant anecdotes, more about the meaning of history.

It is useless to suggest the Indian question should be treated in an objective way, if history in general is not so treated. When history books authorized

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TAIT, George, Breastplate and Buckskin, Ryerson, 1953
DEYELL, Edith, Canada A New Land, Gage, n.d.
BROWN et al, The Story of Canada, Copp Clarke, 1950
TAIT, George, Fair Domain, Ryerson, 1960.

by a provincial government begin to depict the Canadian story "warts and all", then the Indian story will be told objectively.

Reading the story of Cortez, one got the impression that his treachery and cruelty were drawn more realistically than the account of Champlain shooting in cold blood two Mohawk Indian chiefs near Lake Champlain.* Or is it that the richness of the Aztec civilization makes the seizure of a realm more condemnable than the destruction of a few villages in New France.

The question of handling religion in school books is surely a delicate one. How does one treat the role of missionary? How is the naturalistic belief of the native peoples to be described?

In these books the way of life of the Indian is not neglected. In Brown et al. there is a chapter of about 4000 words entitled "The First Canadians". One section is devoted to each Indian tribal group and to the Eskimos. It deals with the level of culture at the arrival of the white man through to present conditions. It describes the distribution of tribes and culture areas. It gives an account of the technology, particularly those taken from the Indian by the white man.

In this chapter comparisons are made between the level of culture in Europe, and in North America at the time of discovery, and again today. The superiority of our technology is demonstrated repeatedly. "More than fifty times as many people live in Canada today." On the other hand the story of fire water and disease is told without comment, except to mention that not every white man sold fire water; some were missionaries.

The disappearance of the hunting grounds is described too without elation or remorse. It just seemed to happen. The reserve system is dealt with in one sentence - "Reserves of land had been set aside for these Indians in many parts of the Dominion." The decline in numbers during the nineteenth century is reported and a list of European diseases is listed but syphilis is left out. Are the children who watch Peyton Place too tender to be told about V.D.?

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*Tait, 1953, recounts this story without disapproval, indeed he dwells on it, but Deyell n.d. mentions the incident again without disapproval, p.99, but also without elaboration.

The story of the Eskimo is short and the role of the government today is pictured in a positive non-critical way.

There is no hint in this well written book of injustice in so far as the conquest of North America is concerned. Nor is there any mention of bitterness among the Indians. How much differently it would have been written if the Indians had had an army, a real war rather than a few skirmishes is much more to the taste of the historian. If the Indians had created a Napoleon or a Bismarck, how much differently the history would have been treated. But if that had been the case Dr. Strong-eagle rather than Dr. Brown would have been writing the history. The history of Canada would have been somewhat changed if the white man had been excluded at the beginning as he was from Japan!

In Tait, 1960, which deals with the history of Canada up to 1800, a good deal more space is devoted to each Indian society. A short chapter deals with each of the main culture areas, one of these to the Indians of the eastern forests. This is a straightforward descriptive piece, simply written, and in a less condescending style than his earlier book. However, the paragraph on social organization reveals his attitudes. He dismisses their social organization because of its simplicity and lack of elaboration. "The Algonquins were divided into two small bands that had little social organization. They had no laws, customs and ceremonials as elaborate as those of the coastal Indians. It is true that there were chiefs among them but these men seemed to have possessed little actual authority. A chief secured the respect of his people through his own ability or achievements rather than through any traditional law or custom. Decisions of importance seem to have been made by groups of older men who met in council wherever necessary."

This is followed by a slightly longer chapter on warfare which is dismissed as consisting of "simple hit and run affairs" in which a few people are killed and a few taken prisoner. This is followed by a description of scalping and torture. There is no mention of religion in this chapter.

The Iroquois, however, are given a better treatment because it would seem that they built larger houses. Even so it does not present a pretty picture to our middle class writer who says "to the Indian such conditions seemed reasonably comfortable although a modern family would find conditions almost unbearable. Smoke hung in

slow-moving swirls, unpleasant odours filled the air, cold drafts swept through the cracks in bark sheets, flea-bitten dogs wandered in and out, children shouted and screamed and women quarrelled."

Their skill at hunting and fighting is recounted admiringly but the long house is reported to have been a meeting place and community centre with no mention of religious practices. Almost a page is devoted to the legacy of the Iroquois and the concluding chapter says "It has been suggested by some historians that the practices established by the League of the Iroquois actually provided examples of government later adopted by the United States of America. However, this is preceded immediately by the following sentence which would seem to be irrelevant, unless it was to remind the reader that this highly sophisticated political system cannot be taken too seriously since only one tribe thought of it. Here is what it says: "In addition it must be remembered that few, if any, Indians in North America at that time were capable of creating a system of inter-tribal government." He could have added that only the Swiss had thought of it in Europe then, and a federated Europe seems almost as distant today as in the eighteenth century.

The consensus of the writers covering this period seems to have progressed little from the reports which Cartier brought back to the King of France after his first trip to the new world. Tait tells us in Breastplate and Buckskin that Cartier told the King that "he had found fertile islands, tall trees, good fisheries and bountiful game, but there were no cities, no emperors and no shining palaces. The people living in the new lands were poor Indians who owned nothing of value." The author goes on to say "King Francis was disappointed but still held hope for better things in America."

The writing in this book is at a simpler level presumably for lower grades and the fact that the French came into the area and occupied it is treated in a matter of course. The fact that there happened to be some Indians there who were disagreeable enough to resist is treated as a troublesome detail of the development of the country. There is no suggestion as to right and wrong, or rights and obligations except in one place, in a touch of uncommon humour, he states that Cartier set up a cross claiming the land for King Francis and "the puzzled Indians watched the ceremony, little knowing what it meant. If they had foreseen the future years they might have been tempted to massacre the Frenchmen in the shadow of their cross." Even here the word massacre creeps in. The Indians today keep asking what is the difference between a victory and a massacre. Answering their own

question, they say a victory is when the white man wins a battle, a massacre is when he loses one to the Indian.

It is interesting to ask why a province which allows a teaching of religion in the schools will authorize text books which have so little material in them about the religion of the people who once occupied North America. The most surprising facet of an analysis of these books is the almost complete neglect of religion. One wonders why the authors were not encouraged to describe the interesting varieties of religion found in North America in greater detail. Moreover, to have done so would have made it possible to understand the breakdown in the social order of the Indians and their loss of morale and self-respect. If an argument is needed to demonstrate the universality of religion and the fact that man cannot live without a moral order and an ethical system, there is no better place to demonstrate this than in looking at the deterioration of a society, the Indians who have lived for so many centuries in Ontario.

In summary, one can only say that in these simply-written books, which treat the Indian along with the development of political institutions of the white man in the new world, the amount of detail that is possible is perhaps limited. The need is therefore indicated for other materials to meet this lack, but this has been dealt with in recommendation.

78/79.

Native Indian and Eskimo Population in Ontario, 1961. *

Total	48,074
Male	24,372
Female	23,702

Age Groups

0-4	8001
5-14	12977
15-24	8509
25-34	5886
35-44	4493
45-54	3371
55-64	2427
65+	2410

Religious Affiliation

Roman Catholics	18070
Anglican	14201
United Church	8205
Mennonite	50
Greek Catholic	24
Jewish	12
Greek Orthodox	5
Other **	2922

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* Census of Canada, 1961

** This group is unusually large - 6%. Is it possible this reflects a large long house, or non-Christian segment in the population?

Bands, Reserves, Settlements and Acreage (as of March 31, 1965).

Province or Territory	Bands	Reserves	Acres
Ontario	112	169 (2)*	1,539,873
Canada	551	2,267 (72)*	5,975,646

*Denotes Indian settlements not classified as reserves.

Population - Comparative Table

Indian Population 1949 and December 31, 1964

Province	1949	1964	Increase	% of Increase
Ontario	34,571	48,465	13,894	40.1
Canada	136,407	211,389	74,982	55.

Population - 1963 and 1964

Province	1963	1964	Increase in 1964 over 1963	% of Increase in 1964 over 1963
Ontario	47,260	48,465	1,205	2.5
Canada	204,796	211,389	6,593	3.2

Indian Population by Province
(as of December 31, 1964)

Province	On	Off	C.L.	N.S.	Total
Ontario	31,199	13,135	3,863	268	48,465
Canada	156,411	32,191	21,856	931	211,389

Definition

On - on reserves
Off - off reserves
C.L. - Crown land
N.S. - not stated

Analysis of Indian School Enrolment by Province or Territory

January, 1965.

Province	Enrolment				Percentage Attendance Provincial Schools
	Indian Schools	Provincial Schools	Off Reserve	Total	
Ontario	6,545	4,484	1,700	12,729	48.6
Canada	32,058*	20,537**	4,686	57,281	44.0

* Includes 79 seasonal and 173 hospital pupils
** Does not include post graduates and adult education pupils

Province	Boarders (Hostels and Residential Schools)			Percentage in Residence
	Indian Schools	Provincial Schools	Total	
Ontario	812	643	1,455	11.4
Canada	7,590	3,222	10,812***	18.9

*** Does not include tuition pupils

Indian Students Attending Provincial, Private and Territorial Schools

1964-65

Elementary Grades

Classification	Ontario	Canada
Pre-Grade 1	155	605
Grade 1	353	2,466
Grade 2	402	2,036
Grade 3	356	1,871
Grade 4	399	2,051
Grade 5	351	1,928
Grade 6	408	1,810
Grade 7	449	1,895
Grade 8	373	1,571
	3,246	16,233

Use of Indian Languages

	Those Speaking Indian		Those Speaking only Indian	
	%	#	%	#
Ontario	53	25,969	17	7,811
Canada	71	157,234	19	42,321

Enrolment of Indian Pupils in Non-Indian Schools

Year	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	Total
1950	168	106	61	35	5	1,654
1951	228	121	87	43	8	1,988
1952	255	139	73	50	14	2,266
1953	281	171	104	45	14	2,693
1954	389	201	138	48	8	3,165
1955	423	263	134	96	10	3,775
1956	466	306	167	89	14	5,252
1957	541	316	223	133	7	5,864
1958	640	327	190	117	10	6,857
1959	691	440	206	120	18	7,717
1960	772	452	301	147	17	9,004
1961	1349	705	423	278	30	13,769

This table, provided by the Indian Affairs Branch, shows total gains in drop-out rates in non-Indian high schools. Unfortunately it has not been possible to subject this data to rigorous statistical analysis. If the eye follows the vertical lines, a substantial total increase is shown for the twelve year period, although the most improvement is shown in Grade IX and the least in Grade XIII.

The slanted lines highlight drop-out and retention. For instance, 168 students in Grade IX in 1950 yield 8 students in Grade XIII in 1954, a 4.7% retention. In 1957 there were 541 students in Grade IX, five years later there were 30 in Grade XIII, a retention rate of 5.5%. If calculations were cut off at 1960 a less optimistic rate of gain is shown. The retention rate was higher between 1960 and 1961 than between any two previous years. Obviously a more sophisticated handling of this data is possible and when this data is brought up to date such an analysis would be valuable. These modest gains should be compared to the accompanying table on convictions of indictable offenses.

Comparison of Number of Persons Convicted of Indictable Offences and Rate per 100,000 population based on total population in selected groups - by ethnic origin - 1962-1964

	No. of Persons Convicted		Ethnic Population		Rate per 100,000 Population	
	1964	1962	1964	1962	1964	1962
Canada	42,097	38,663	19,235,000	18,238,247	218.9	212.0
English & Welsh	8,394	8,447	4,576,278	4,339,117	183.4	194.7
French	11,139	10,600	5,843,166	5,540,346	190.6	191.3
Greek	98	126	59,561	56,475	164.5	223.1
Hungarian	365	414	133,118	126,220	274.2	328.0
Jewish	145	171	182,820	173,344	79.3	98.6
Netherlander	397	408	453,165	429,679	87.6	95.0
Chinese	105	109	61,378	58,197	171.1	187.3
Japanese	23	18	30,750	29,157	74.8	61.7
Eskimo	14	30	12,482	11,835	112.2	253.5
Indian	2,497	2,063	219,670	208,286	1,136.7	990.5
Negro	327	276	33,883	32,127	965.1	859.1

As figures for Ethnic Origin for 1964 were not available, the population figures in Column 3 were arrived at by blowing up the 1962 figures, using the Canada population as a base.

Survey of Public Assistance
as of February, 1965.

			Southern Ontario	Northern Ontario	Canada
Total No. of Relief Recipients	No.		1,106	5,369	62,675
	Percentage of resident population *		19.7	29.7	38.5
Adults	Total No. of adults assisted		377	2,296	25,184
	percentage of resident adult population assisted **		13.6	25.5	32.7
Employable Adults	No. of adult recipients who were employable		133	874	10,525
	Percentage of adults assisted who were employable		35.3	38.1	41.8
	Percentage of adults resident on reserves who were employable and received assistance		4.8	9.7	13.7
Heads of households	Adult recipients who were heads of households	Total No.	183	1,228	12,497
		Employable No.	122	847	8,778
		Employable %	66.7	69.0	70.2
Frequency of Assistance	Employable heads of households who received help each month in previous 11 months or more	No.	41	199	3,086
		percentage of heads of households assisted	22.4	16.2	24.7

* Resident population: 162,942 (including 1,587 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

** Resident adult population (Reserves and Crown Land): 77,105 (including 765 "Off Reserve" in the Yukon Agency)

Federal Schools

	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Enrolment	6,545	6,713	6,978	7,194
Number of Classrooms	264	271	298	307
Total Education Staff	320	325	340	351
Total Budget (exclusive of capital school construction)	$2,459,190	$2,459,190	$2,468,575	$2,780,164

Teacher Qualifications	1964-65	1966-67
Unqualified	16	13
Qualified		
Sub-level	40	39
Level 1	172	166
Level 2	37	43
Level 3	23	23
Level 4	22	34
Level 5	8	19
Level 6	2	3

*Note: Sub-level constitutes Junior Matriculation plus one year of teacher training.

Level 1 - Junior Matriculation plus two years of teacher training
or
Senior Matriculation plus one year of teacher training

Level 2 - Sr. Matriculation plus two years of teacher training

Non-Federal Schools	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Enrolment:				
Elementary	2,990	3,799	3,860	
Secondary	1,188	1,473	1,467	
Total**	5,178	5,272	5,327	5,397 (projected)
Total tuition**		$2,545,409	$2,701,348	$3,659,910

(** Costs available only as combined elementary, secondary non-federal schooling costs)

12. METHODOLOGY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

87/88.

The terms of reference for this study are recorded in Chapter 1, where it is stated that this study depended largely on secondary sources plus some limited but nevertheless illuminating field trips.

The entire study occupied slightly over three months which was devoted to the three steps: exploration of documentation and secondary sources, interviewing and field observation, and writing.

The undertaking was given a start, so to speak, by the fact that the writer had done work previously in this and related fields.

- Director of Rural Adult Education at Macdonald College, 1938-1947

- Chief Liaison Officer in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, which dealt with the problems of integration and intergroup relations of immigrant families and Indians in urban settings, 1954-1962

- in 1963, a training project with the Indian Affairs Branch entailed an intensive four weeks reconnaisance of the work of the branch in Saskatchewan in economic development and education. A number of federal day schools and residential schools were visited in the north as well as in southern Saskatchewan.

- in 1965 a study related to the use of radio in adult education for native persons in the north was carried out for the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.(Sim, 1965) This exercise did allow the writer to visit schools in the eastern Arctic and western Arctic. Although it was summer, nonetheless many of the teachers were still on duty. Meanwhile, a large group of teachers employed on textbook revision in Ottawa were met and interviewed.

On this project the field work included visiting and interviewing in Brantford and London regions in the south, and in the Sault Ste.-Marie-Sudbury region in the north. Besides this, there was occasion to talk to a number of Indian and Eskimo students now studying in Ottawa; the interviewing was not based on a standardized form but simply followed the lines of inquiry that were relevant to development of a point of view, and a set of recommendations.

At the official level, Indian Affairs Branch personnel in Ottawa and Toronto were helpful, particularly the Senior Educational Officers in these two centres, R. F. Davies and H. B. Rodine. In the Ontario Department of Education, G. E. Seguin, Assistant Superintendent, was helpful.

The officers of the Indian-Eskimo Association and members of a committee to assist this study were most helpful, as were the officers of the "Hall Committee".

Informal consultations were also held with professional colleagues, none of whom have had an opportunity to examine this manuscript. These were: Professors Frank Vallee (Carleton), Adelard Tremblay (Laval), Joan Ryan and H. A. C. Cairns (University of British Columbia), and Edward Rogers (Toronto), Arni Arnason, then of Citizenship Branch, and A. J. Kerr (a former teacher in the Arctic) of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre.

All of these and the staff at Strathmere Associates, Eleanor Sim, Betty Hall, and Joanna Cleary are gratefully acknowledged.

13. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

90/91.

An expected addendum to most studies of this type is a complaint about the shortness of time, and budget, coupled with a statement about the need for more research. If the problems requiring investigation are pin-pointed, it is helpful to other scholars who are searching for areas for future study. It is a graceful way of asking forgiveness for real or imagined shortcomings in the study itself. The inclusion of a chapter on further research fulfills the usual ritual requirements and it responds to a request of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada and the "Hall Committee" to give special attention to future research requirements.

A prior requirement has already been anticipated in Chapter 5 in suggesting there is a need for an Indian Culture and Research Centre. This would meet a primary lack of a central repository for documents of all kinds related to Indians in Ontario. A very large additional item of cost in carrying on research and general reportage results from the inaccessibility of existing documentation. The data exists but it is widely scattered. In such a centre documents could be assembled or, if not brought together, copies "xeroxed" or otherwise duplicated could be secured. An active campaign to discover and secure the current outflow of writing, photography and other materials is also needed. Items such as the frontispiece of this study are sensitive indicators of a state of mind at a certain moment, but they are easily lost. In the long run this data would be computerized, but undoubtedly the basic discovery and indexing of materials must come first.

A simple listing, then a service of cumulative annotation is needed. Only a special library with a good budget and an aggressive policy of accession can provide the basic service which must accompany a broad commitment to extending knowledge in this aspect of inquiry into the human condition.

It is not possible in the narrow confines of this study to outline a full scale projection of all the fields of investigation nor to supply a design of research for any single topic. Nonetheless we will touch on both dimensions, (the wide range of problems, and the individual topic), knowing the resultant unevenness inherent in so doing.

It may be further stated that the findings, opinions and recommendations of this study are, to a considerable degree, analogous to those which would be derived from a similar study in any other province. It follows, therefore, that the reader may well assume his prerogative of extrapolating, particularly as regards policies and programmes which are suited to broader application than within a single province.

The Global View

The fields of inquiry under which the Indian question might be pursued are as follows:

Archeology
Biology and Genetics
History
Political Science
Geography
Economics
Psychology
Social Science and Ethnology

The foregoing are areas in which theoretical work could be done. Besides this there are accompanying applied fields, each of which has a potential scope for action, or operational research.

Medicine and Public Health
Government and Public Administration
Social Work and Welfare
Regional and Social Planning
Education, at all age levels
Community Development, and allied efforts of self help.

Specific Problems

Within the range of the global outline of fields of inquiry, a series of specific problems are now listed, as they were suggested by others or as they arose from the day to day exigencies of examining the topic of this paper.

Bibliography — A bibliography for Indian education in Canada with subsections covering provincial and denominational records would be a prerequisite to future scholarly and scientific work. If the bibliography were created under well-financed auspices, the quality of the works listed could then be evaluated. This would replicate a selected and annotated bibliography on the Sociology of Eskimo Education, published by the Boreal Institute of the University of Alberta, Edmonton. This was a student project, and as Professor B. Y. Card notes in his foreword, it will undoubtedly be revised or superseded by a more complete and detailed document. It is noteworthy that no such publication is available on Indian education in Canada and this lack should be met soon.

Such a bibliography would of necessity cover Canadian topics, however a compilation of titles covering a wide range of topics related to Indians in Ontario is also needed.

Ethnography — To encourage utilization of existing ethnographic accounts of Indian life in Ontario, hard-to-find materials should be listed and some out-of-print titles published.

The customs of Indians who lived in Ontario is rich in ways other than the interminable raiding parties which up to now have fascinated non-Indian writers. The economic and political organization of the Indian is well known to only a few: the way they practised agriculture, how they preserved food, how they bargained and exchanged goods, and how inter-tribal arrangements were made. At what level of political sophistication did we find the Indian 150 years ago? Why were men like Brant and Tecumseh so "powerful"? This suggests the need for collection of biographical material, as well as the ethnographic data, diaries, letters, and illustrations.

Modern ethnographic work should also be fostered on contemporary nomadic and isolated groups in Northern Ontario.

All of this would facilitate academic work. It would also enrich textbook writing, journalistic work, and background research for film and television production.

Demography — Detailed monographic work is required on the Indian population of Canada, with sub-analyses for the provinces and regions. Estimates would be made on the numbers of Indians, (including those on and not on band lists). Then analyses would be prepared on income, occupation, years of schooling, and on all the regular census categories. This would then allow experts, planners, and Indian leaders to consider the Indian question with some measure of precision.

It is understood that one factor which inhibits demographic work is the reputed unreliability of census data for remote areas where enumeration is difficult. Adequate steps should be taken to improve the quality of census collection in 1971 where Indian populations are affected. Ontario should be encouraged to keep records of Indian achievement in integrated schools for at least ten years. The present policy tends to hamper educational research.

Community — A series of community studies of Indian settlements is proposed on a sample basis similar to the method used in the Hawthorn study. The areas to be studied would be selected so as to create a typology of communities ranging from those exposed to urban values to isolated nomadic groups. Those studies would analyse in depth a wide series of problems, a number of which are herewith suggested:

the impact of governmental and church enterprises on local values and organizations;

the effects of various ameliorating programmes viewed for their effects on locality;

a study of the political structure and decision making in Indian bands in order to assess the means whereby Indian authority concepts can be utilized;

a study of the problems arising within the acculturation process relative to family stability, economic and social deprivation and behaviour disorders, in order to gain a fuller understanding of the kinds of pressures encountered by Indians;

a comparative study of the values, needs and satisfactions, and deprivations of Indians resident in towns and reserves;

a study of decision making on the part of Indians relative to movement to or from the reserve or outside of the reserve.

Assumptions — A panel of experts should examine a number of working hypotheses which underlie large scale governmental investment, with a view to identifying the assumptions behind these programmes about administration, learning, work, mobility, social and individual pathologies. From these investigations should come the design for a series of sociological and psychological studies to test these assumptions empirically.

Administration — There are many studies and reports related to government administration but they are focused on practical operations. Unfortunately the files of recent projects are restricted but earlier files are now available in various governmental, ecclesiastical, and commercial archives. These could become the subject of fruitful study and analysis.

Of particular interest is the ideology of paternalism. This concept is not yet rigorously defined nor its mechanics well understood although current discontents and dilemmas are attributed to it.

After a longtitudinal view of paternalism was complete, a study of contemporary attitudes and perceptions could be carried on with Indians and with a selection of persons now in administrative contact with Indian people. This would include the usual administrator, as well as teachers, social workers, provincial educators, community development officers, volunteers and the like.

In such a study, involving contacts between Indian groups and government, the hypotheses of R. D. Laing could be utilized in studying interpersonal relations, and his concept of the spiral of perceptions applied to the relationship between social systems. In a preliminary study instruments for a more sophisticated approach should be developed which would be useful in social and administrative theory. (Laing, 1966)

It is thought that this type of wide-ranging qualitative research has much to recommend it for exploratory purposes. Undoubtedly other notions like integration and assimilation will bear clarification through this type of exploration. In this way some of

the assertions mad in this study, government reports, and newspaper accounts could be fully tested.

Ethnicity — In this study certain assertions were made regarding the Indian people of Ontario. Some of these were based on informed hunches drawn as much from knowledge of other minorities and sects as from precise information about Indians. It is suggested that systematic exploration of the literature coupled with field investigation could greatly enhance our knowledge of the evolving Indian sub-culture. The following points of reference are suggested:

(a) Comparison between types of Indian communities in Ontario. Regional tribal and linguistic differences could be explored.

(b) Comparison between three minority groups with strongly contrasting characteristics: Indian (assuming some common characteristics are identified), Negro, and Jewish.

(c) Comparison between different religious sects some of which are exclusively Indian, some of which carry on an "Indian mission", some of which manifest sharply contrasting characteristics. These might include: Longhouse, Pentecostal, Bahai, Hutterites and Sons of Freedom.

(d) Comparison of the appeal of contrasting political ideologies to selecting Indian groups. These would include the established national political parties, nativistic parties, Moral Rearmament, and trade unions.

These explorations would result in the construction of hypotheses which would then be tested in systematic studies of cultural identification of the Ontario Indian.

Learning — There has been little direct research in educational procedure and practice for Indians. Many judgements, therefore, must be subjective while educational policy must do without systematic evaluations. Indian education in Ontario offers an unusual opportunity for research. The numbers are small but the variety of settings are so diverse as to offer highly suitable conditions for testing and comparison.

There are federal and integrated schools in the north and the south, thus providing four major variables:

federal north, federal south, integrated north, integrated south. Within each there are tribal and customary variations. For instance the Six Nations schools, with all Indian teachers, have one type of educational setting, while other Indian children nearby are in integrated schools.

No detailed suggestions will be made here for research, since the release of the Hawthorn-Trembly report is expected soon. Moreover the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education is elaborating plans for research in Indian education in Ontario. Within a few months, it would be timely to call a meeting of interested educators and social scientists to examine current plans, to discover gaps, and to search for goals for future research.

Funds

A final consideration has to do with financial support of research. Today the sources are scattered and the supply limited. Where research money is available in substantial quantities statutory boundaries and administrative limitations are inhibiting. At present research which deals with operational questions but which neglects the basic assumptions of the operation is more likely to secure support than inquiry into more fundamental questions. It is not suggested the scarcity of money is the most important barrier to the development of Indian research. Personnel are equally hard to find, although men, money and production are no less closely linked here than elsewhere. It would help to have a well-developed research policy. This could be arrived at jointly by scientists and governments, perhaps under the sponsorship of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.* Priorities could be established and sources of funding identified.

It is hoped this brief statement will be a first step in that direction.

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* See also a paper prepared in 1966 by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Research in the Canadian North, wherein a stronger demand is made for operational research than is found in this paper. The need for operational research is certainly great but the methodological tools for objective evaluation are still not well developed.

14. B I B L I O G R A P H Y

98/99.

This section will serve as a repository of the references found in the body of the text, and a general list of readings which were used in preparing to write this paper. Even though the list is lengthy it is by no means complete since it spans two main themes, the Indian in Ontario, and socialization problems of minority groups in North America. For other titles see the reading lists in Bean and Waller both listed below.

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