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BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION

Native People and Post-Secondary Education/ Occupational Training Programs in Saskatchewan

Prepared

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Native People in Saskatchewan confront a number of obstacles which tend to limit their access to formal occupational training and advanced education; the same obstacles also depress their course completion rates and their performance levels once they are enrolled. Consequently, lacking the skills and credentials required in the most modernized sectors of the economy, Native People have tended to be a supply source for a qualitatively and quantitatively restrictive market in labour.

Native People tend to work in "job ghettoes," and low wages, poor working conditions, and lengthy and frequent periods of unemployment associated with their occupational ghettoization, tend to downgrade the quality of life they experience generally. In industrialized societies, the long arm of the job extends deeply into private life and, if the job is unsatisfactory, then the rewards of one's personal life also tend to be limited.

Tragically, when a family head confronts the frequent and traumatic experience of lay-offs, lengthy periods of unemployment, and derives little satisfaction from work, the resulting financial, social and psychological burdens will impact on the fortunes of the family he or she heads. Dependent children of marginal workers are likely to confront similar obstacles to occupational training opportunities and jobs to those confronted by their parents. In short, all too often obstacles to successful participation in occupational training are transmitted from one generation to the next.

Given the limited and relatively unsuccessful participation of Native People in adult education in this province, an approach to occupational training for Native People must be developed which will:

(a) draw significantly increased numbers of potential Native adult education candidates into occupational training in preparation for desirable employment and;

(b) break the cycle of inter-generational Native exclusion from attractive careers and work opportunities.

It is the position of A.M.N.S.I.S. that learning system models must be developed with special sensitivity to the real needs of Native learners. We regard occupational training as a creative agency of social intervention and social change. It is with the hope that both federal and provincial governments share our views that we are making the present submission.

In this paper we will review some of the specific factors which discourage Native participation in post-secondary education and occupational training.

II. MARGINAL EMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

Ever since the publication of the Hawthorn Report in 1966[1], abundant research has documented the fact that people of Native ancestry in Canada are more likely than any other ethnic group to fall below the poverty line. The Native experience in the province of Saskatchewan is consistent with the Canadian research generally.

In 1979, the province's Social Planning Secretariat estimated that in four major urban centres - Saskatoon, Regina, Prince Albert and North Battleford - Indian households were over-represented by a factor of five when ratios of Natives living in poverty were compared to an equivalent ratio for non-Natives in each city[2]. In other words, while the proportion of the population living in poverty in each of those cities varied, Native households in each city were approximately five times as likely to command only poverty-level incomes as non-Native family units. (See Tables I & II in the appendices).

Low incomes are, of course, strongly associated with frequent and lengthy periods of unemployment. National estimates of the percentage of unemployed people of Indian ancestry vary between forty and eighty percent[3]. One estimate of the unemployment rate of people in Saskatchewan of Indian ancestry was 40.5 per cent (defined in the study as a "low" estimate) and 36.8 per cent as a high estimate[4].

Native unemployment in Saskatchewan has indeed become a source of deep embarrassment for sympathetic public officials. And rightly so! In what was to prove the stimulant to a major public controversy in the province, a 1978 report predicted that unless major efforts to remedy poverty and unemployment amongst the Native population were expended, "...the next twenty-five years could be years of racial turmoil in Saskatchewan..."[5]. Appropriately entitled The Explosive Years, the report was prepared by a consultant (Ken Svenson) for senior, regional officials in eight federal departments of government.

Using labor force statistics and forecasts, the report indicated that nearly 2,000 additional Natives must be employed in each of the next seven

years (from 1979) and 2,400 in the next fifteen years just to drop the current Native unemployment rate from the 1976 (high estimate) level of 36.8 per cent to 1 in 2001. The report further indicated that if a significant decline in the unemployment rate of Native People is to be achieved, 35 per cent of the net increase in jobs between 1976 and 1986 must go to Natives, and 62 per cent of the net increase between 1986 and 2001. When Native People are successful in securing employment, the work they find is, by normative ranking, of low-status and of limited income-generating potential. As one writer has stated:

> When compared to people of British origin, Natives are over-represented in the so-called "unskilled" and "semi-skilled" areas (e.g., service occupations, construction, forestry and logging, and fishing) and under-represented in the managerial, professional and clerical and sales areas[6].

Native People are over-represented in what labour market economists now term the "secondary labor market," and what sociologists call the "marginal work world". Traditionally, youth, women and ethnic minorities have been over-represented in North America's secondary labour market[7]. Normally, the secondary labor market is but a "way station" on the road to more desirable employment for young male adults of British and European ancestry. The striking over-representation of "non-white" minority groups who are permanently situated in the secondary labor market suggests, however, that a racial "screen" is acting to permanently exclude non-white minorities from desirable "mainstream" employment positions. Evidence of labor market segmentation along racial lines has occasioned some writers to suggest that a "caste-like" hierarchy is developing in the North American occupational system. In Canada, it appears that Native Peoples are Canada's "out-castes."

Dual labor market theory explains inequality in the desirability of employment primarily in terms of the organizational characteristics and market control of employer organizations, rather than in terms of the potential capacities of individual workers or of population sub-groups. According to the theory, workers in big corporate businesses and the public sector are protected by strong unions and receive relative advantages in terms of wage and salary levels, employment security and work conditions, relative to their counterparts in non-unionized (or weakly unionized) small enterprises that operate in highly competitive (rather than monopolized or semi-monopolized) markets. Put simply, there are limits on the demand for workers in the more powerful employing organizations whose marketing strength enables them to

provide more attractive wages and benefits. Consequently, many workers must depend on the marginal labor market for their only source of employment.

The major distinctions between central work world jobs and marginal or "secondary" labor market jobs can be summarized as follows:

Marginal Work World	Central Work World
Wages - low	Wages - high
Promotional possibilities - low	Promotional possibilities - high
Training opportunities - low	Training opportunities - high
Fringe benefits - low	Fringe benefits - high
Unemployment - high	Unemployment - low

Because job security is low (and hence economic security), personal planning for the future is rendered extremely difficult for those in the marginal work force compared with their central work world counterparts. The wage structure in the marginal work force is, furthermore, undifferentiated by age, experience and qualifications[8]. Consequently, the marginal worker lacks official indicators to mark the progress of his or her status as a worker. In a very real sense it could be argued that the marginal worker has no real "career", if that concept is to be taken literally: there is no staged progression of task complexity and responsibility; marginal workers move geographically from job to job; they are not "socially" mobile.

Describing the characteristics of workers in the secondary labor market in Saskatchewan, Daley, in a study for the Department of Continuing Education, has written:

> The group (marginal workers), as a whole, can be characterized as having low formal education, few marketable skills and a chronic temporary attachment to the labour force. These personal characteristics constitute major barriers to individual workers obtaining skill training and employment. Most skilled training in jobs requires substantially higher levels of formal academic training than people within the group possess. Their skill levels are insufficient to ensure entrance into higher paying jobs and their lack of social workplace skills make it difficult for employers in training institutions to integrate them into the mainstream work force, or into training programs directed at the majority of the population[9].

Interchanging the concept "non-traditional" workers with "marginal" workers, Daley included Indians, Metis, and Non-Status Indians in her definition, along with individuals supported by the provincial social assistance plan, disabled people (both mentally and physically handicapped), and unemployed workers, particularly the approximately 30 per cent of unemployed workers who make up the temporary job sector in the province[10]. Using Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan (SHSP) data, Daley estimated the 1981 status Indian population at 43,765 and, using Department of Continuing Education estimates, the Metis and Non-Status Indian population at approximately 60,000.

The role that employers play in maintaining job ghettos and excluding sub-populations from primary labor market positions has also been summarized by Daley:

> Employers exacerbate these problems by rigid entrance level educational requirements, which are often the result of rigid job classifications, and, by the general lack of manpower training programs which result in high level demands for fully trained skilled labour and the ghettoization of low-skilled workers in low-paying jobs which are vulnerable to layoffs[11].

While the data on the Saskatchewan Non-Status Indian and Metis population has severe limitations, we have made estimates from a population survey conducted by A.M.N.S.I.S.[12]. The survey, using interviews, was based on a sample extracted from voters lists. The methodology only allowed for the coverage of a small portion of the population and the results may reflect an optimistic bias because it is likely that only the more stable portion of the population would be so enumerated. The results are therefore likely to be biased in the direction of over-estimating occupations other than labourers. Even for this more stable segment of the Native population, however, the picture is clear: <u>the vast majority of Native People, at present, qualify for only the most menial and low-wage employment positions</u>.

In the case of males of labor force age, over 70 per cent of those who gave an occupation in the A.M.N.S.I.S. survey indicated they were labourers. The remaining 30 per cent identified themselves with the trades, while a small fraction were employed in professional or semi-professional positions. In the case of females, over 95 per cent were either housewives or unskilled workers. Thus, Native People are obviously highly over-represented in the marginal work world.

We have also obtained data from several studies done in Metis communities in the north and the population distribution by age for Status Indians in the province. Extrapolating to the provincial Non-Status Indian and Metis population would suggest that the Native population is very young relative to the total provincial population.

The study currently estimates that the province's Native population is roughly 14 per cent of the total provincial population. Approximately 45 per cent of the province's Native population is below the age of 14 compared to only 22 per cent for the total population. The authors of the study, supporting the conclusions of the earlier-cited Svenson report, comment:

> As these people enter child bearing years, a Native "baby boom" can be expected to spill into the provincial labour market and it is probable that approximately one out of every four persons entering the labour market will be of Native ancestry. If the same Native occupational profile continues...employment opportunities for new Native labour force participants will be very limited...THE ONLY WAY TO OVERCOME THIS IS THROUGH EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNSELLING, EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR NATIVE PEOPLE (italics mine). Although it is recognized that a number of employers are introducing affirmative action programs, these will largely be ineffective unless accompanied by training and education programs[13].

Native People, particularly through their representative organizations such as A.M.N.S.I.S., have demonstrated a growing resolve to improve their standards of living to levels generally enjoyed by Non-Native People. This is recognized by the CEIC Task Force on Labour Market Developments in the 1980s[14]. Yet as the Task Force also recognized, Native People wish to improve their standard of living in a way and on terms which are reflective of Native values and aspirations.

Native People are no longer able to provide for their needs through traditional economic activities. Increasing population size combined with the narrow economic base of the reserves and rural settlements has resulted in a major urban migration pattern. The Task Force estimates that in the prairies and Western provinces, approximately 40 per cent of the Native population now lives in the cities[15]. As the Svenson Report bluntly stated with reference to the Saskatchewan case:

> The most important demographic trend in Saskatchewan for the next 25 years is the growth of the Indian ancestry population in both absolute terms and also as a proportion of the total population. This trend will have as large an impact on the nature of

Saskatchewan as the rural-urban migration trends of the past 50 years [16].

The Svenson Report estimated that, for example, the Indian ancestry portion of the Regina population will increase from 14 per cent in 1976 to 37 per cent in 2001.

Various problems of cultural adjustment to the urban environment will necessarily be required of the Indian ancestry population and of the Non-Native population to the Indian ancestry population. The Native "baby boom" of the 1950s and 1960s will increase the working age population substantially in the 1980s, and will force large numbers of young Native entrants to the labor force to face extreme competition for jobs in an already "youth-saturated" wage economy.

A study by Stewart Clatworthy of the Native population in Winnipeg also indicated that the provision for specific social support needs, particularly the expansion of and special provision for day care, is of particular importance to accessing Native People to occupational training and employment opportunities.[17] Clatworthy's study showed that Native single parents headed 44 per cent of the families in his Winnipeg sample. The Task Force recommended the development of special, innovative social support programs to meet the special needs of young adults and women of Native ancestry.[18]

Unless major and comprehensive occupational training and adult educational programming innovations and expansion occurs, thousands of Native young people will become members of a "lost generation", never obtaining a satisfactory share of benefits normally acquired and expected as rights of adulthood citizenship status in Canada. The social costs of economic redundancy for both the Native population and society generally that can be predicted in the absence of such policy changes are surely staggering. Current data provide the basis for such unwelcome predictions.

III. MARGINAL WORK, POVERTY AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION: THE INTERGENERATIONAL LINKS

The adulthood experience of having few marketable skills and a chronic temporary attachment to the labor force, as previously suggested, all too frequently leaves a grim impress on the dependents of marginal workers. This is a particular problem with the Native population as a group because of its extreme over-representation in the secondary labor market.

Social scientists have linked the widespread incidence of unemployment and poverty in a population sub-group to a sense of powerlessness, psychiatric problems, high rates of alcoholism, conflict with the law, family violence and child neglect. These linkages within the Native population in Saskatchewan are borne out by some recent studies.

Psychiatric Disorders

International research suggests, with few exceptions, that the frequency of psychiatric disorders is inversely related with socio-economic status.[19] While there is room for debate on the issue, the opinion that poverty-associated stress causes the variations of psychiatric disorder by social class is widely supported.

While such "official" statistics as standardized admission rates are scientifically far from perfect indicators, they do provide a basis for reasonable inference. Admissions to psychiatric care facilities in Saskatchewan indicate that the Native population, being a socio-economic underclass in the province, are representative of the cross-national norm suggested in the literature.

A recent paper by Fritz *et al* suggested the following (See Chart I in Appendix II):

(1) Per capita admissions to in-patient psychiatric in-patient care are significantly higher among Natives than Non-Natives.

(2) The psychiatric treatment of Natives is increasing more rapidly than is the treatment of Non-Natives.[20]

The Abusive Use of Alcohol and Drugs

The Native population in Saskatchewan appears to be at high risk of becoming "alcohol disabled" (i.e., suffer from social-, psychological-, or physical impairments arising from the use of alcoholic beverages) relative to Non-Natives.

A proneness to alcohol disability appears to be strongly associated with social-environmental factors, particularly unemployment. Unemployment is, in turn, strongly associated in Saskatchewan with being youthful and being Native; therefore Native youth - the largest pool of potential Native users of occupational training - are at predictably high risk or suffering from alcohol-related disabilities.[21]

An analysis of psychiatric admissions in Saskatchewan shows that, in general hospitals, the Indian ancestry population was admitted for alcoholism or drug-related problems at rates over three times higher than the Non-Indian population.[22]

With extremely disproportionate frequency, alcohol abuse amongst Native People may lead to conflict with the law. A study by Reid showed that people of Native ancestry comprised the majority (61.7%) of people arrested for public drunkenness in 1981, but Native People comprised but 13.7% of Regina's population[23]

While scientific data do not appear to be available for Saskatchewan, frequent impressionistic accounts of Native adults and youth, police, social workers and journalists, suggests that an alarming number of Native young people indulge in the use of extremely toxic drugs in their raw form (e.g., 'wood alcohol' consumption; gas and glue 'sniffing', etc.). The use of these substances is an obvious threat to the user's physiologically-based mental health status, physical safety and, indeed, life.

Health Status

Relative to other ethnic groups, the inequitable distribution of socio-economic resources amongst Canadians is, literally, a "life and death" issue for Native People.* While we did not acquire data for the Non-Status Indian and Metis population, data for Registered Indians acquired from DIAND and a study by Brady, support the conclusion that, "...the Registered Indian population...of Saskatchewan has a substantially lower ranked health status than the Non-Indian population...(and)...suffers from distinctly different leading causes of death...(both being the consequence of)...social, political and economic inequality."[24] The following are some highlights:

- The standardized mortality rate for Saskatchewan Indians increased from 9.9 per 1,000 population in 1966 to 11.5 in 1978, while the comparable rate for non-Indians declined from 6.6 in 1966 to 5.9 in 1978. Thus, the standardized mortality rate for Indians is substantially higher than it is for non-Indians, and that mortality rate is increasing absolutely and relative to non-Indian standarized mortality rate.

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* See, for example, Tables IV & Charts II & III.

- Between 1966 and 1978 and continuing through 1980 (DIAND), the average ranked leading causes of death for Saskatchewan's Registered Indian population were homicide, tuberculosis, and infectious diseases. Over the same period, these were not among the leading causes of death for the Non-Indian population. As Brady observes: "Quite clearly the Registered Indian population suffers from a large number of leading causes of death associated with non-disease and infectious causes. These causes are considered to be largely preventable. By way of contrast, among the non-Indian population, infectious diseases ceased to be among the leading cuases of death over four decades ago..." (1981: 104)
- Over the period 1959 to 1978, the Registered Indian rate for deaths attributable to suicides or self-inflicted injuries was 3 times higher than it was for Saskatchewan's non-Indian population.
- Tragically, Native youth are not insulated from suicide, the most final expression of personal despair, by the optimism and resilience normally associated with the young. Indeed, when the Registered Indian population is distributed internally amongst 5-year age cohorts, one-third of all Registered Indian suicides were committed by 15-19 year olds in 1980.

Conflict with the Law

In a recent study reporting for Saskatchewan, Hylton (1980)* showed that adult male Treaty Indians are 37 times more likely than Non-Native males to be incarcerated in Saskatchewan jails, while Non-Status Indian and Metis males were twelve times more likely than the average to be jailed.[25]

In comparison to female Non-Natives, female Treaty Indians were 88 times more likely to be admitted to a provincial correctional centre, while female Metis/Non-Status Indians were 19 times more likely to be admitted.

Using the information system maintained by the Saskatchewan correctional authority, Hylton also found Treaty Indians to be nearly twice as likely to recidivate as Non-Natives; Non-Status Indians and Metis had a recidivism rate of 50 percent compared with 32 percent for Non-Natives.

Selecting out the 16 to 25 year age range because it represents the highest-risk incarceration period, Hylton found that a male Treaty Indian in Saskatchewan turned 16 in 1976 had a 70 percent chance of at least one incarceration by the age of 25. For male Non-Status Indians or Metis, the corresponding figure was 35 percent; for a Non-Native male it was 8 percent.

See Tables V & VI, Appendix I.

Child Welfare and Native Children

Despite their diminutive share of Canada's total juvenile population, Native youngsters have become the most over-represented clientele of child welfare agencies in the country.

The statistical picture has been profiled by Philip Hepworth in a recent publication of the Canadian Council on Social Development - entitled Foster Care and Adoption in Canada.[26] In a chapter devoted to Natives, Hepworth, basing his analysis on data compiled from federal and provincial government sources, showed that, in 1977, 15,500 Native children were in care. That's 20 percent of the country's total of children in the care of child welfare officials or permanently placed apart from their families. In Saskatchewan, 51.5 percent (now an estimated 64 percent) of the province's total child protection caseload was of Native ancestry, despite their approximate 28 percent share of the province's total juvenile population.

At surface, parental inability or unwillingness to provide adequate care for children is the reason for placing most children in the care of child welfare authorities. And the state can only intervene when certain admittedly reasonable standards of care are not being met. As the National Council of Welfare states, however,

> What is often forgotten...is that the term 'unable or unwilling to provide care' is nothing more than a convenient administrative label lumping together a wide variety of family problems, many of which stem from inadequate income, unemployment and other factors that cannot fairly be blamed on their victims.[27]

Perhaps more than any other indicator, the child protection caseload data reveal the intergenerational effects of unemployment, marginal worker status for the family head and poverty.

SUMMARY

To this point we have described (a) selected characteristics associated with marginal employment (b) the over-representation of Native People in the secondary labor market (c) some of the damaging effects of marginal work on the personal lives of Native People, including their mental and physical health status, alcohol- and drug-related disabilities, conflicts with the law and the resulting incarceration, and, finally (d) both the independent and cumulative effects of the factors described in 'c' on limiting the relative effectiveness of Native parenting -- at least on one indicator, i.e., the disproportionate

representation of Native children on child protection caseloads.

We have, in short, described selected intra- and inter-generational social consequences for the Native population of exclusion from the primary labor market. The factors described in 'c', both cumulatively and independently, exert causal influence on (1) impeding an adult's access to, and/or retention in, occupational training programs and (2) impeding the path of dependents of marginal workers towards occupational training and job opportunities. Obviously, one's training horizons will be narrowed by the virtual immobilization resulting from mental or physical illness, alcohol disabilities, or incarceration in a prison or jail. In turn, the effects of any of these conditions on dependent children in terms of impoverishment, nurture and educational motivation, are almost too familiar to be stated. The most sophisticated North American study to date, for instance, conducted by Coleman and Associates, found that students' socio-economic backgrounds rather than the quality of teachers or educational facilities produced most of the differences in achievement in schools, when intelligence (as measured by standardized 'I.Q.' tests) was controlled.[28]

Let us now turn specifically to the experience of Native People with the formal educational system.

IV NATIVE PEOPLE AND FORMAL EDUCATION

Primary and Secondary Schooling

In the terminology of sociologists, formal education is an institution which functions to produce and legitimize a society's social division of labour. According to liberal educational doctrine, the role of the school is that of a social-selection agency: it serves to identify, develop, allocate, and certify talent.[29] According to the ideal, the educational system is supposed to serve as an independent review board; it is supposed to give a fair hearing before deciding where an individual "fits" into the hierarchy of occupational postitions required to maintain a modern, industrial society.

The extent to which the educational system operates as an objective, occupational status-selection agency is considered to reflect the extent to which a society is "open" (i.e., individuals are recruited to adult occupational roles on the basis of merit). In the liberal view, schooling, from the perspective of the individual, is perceived as a means to popular ends — to the scarce supply of desirable job opportunities. Achievement

is thus conceived to be largely the product of a mix of intelligence, talent and voluntary initiative.

The opposing model (and, by liberal -- and general Canadian educational -- standards, the less desirable one) is a "closed" social division of labour in which "ascriptive" criteria -- attributes we are born with and do not control, such as gender, class of origin, and racial or ethnic background -- determine where we ply our skills and what trades or vocations we practice.

Despite the liberal ideal, which many believe to be a reality in Canada, for the majority of Native People, Canadian society appears to be more "closed" than "open"; in general, the primary and secondary school system has failed them. Relative to the general Canadian population, Native People are in an extremely disadvantaged position. Because education acts as a "screen" on access to the primary labour market, this disadvantage is a heavily weighted factor in a causal chain affecting the exclusion of Native People from socio-economic opportunities in Canadian society.

The acquisition of formal educational credentials obviously does not ensure an individual's occupational success. Indeed, in recent years, students have increasingly come to realize that even higher education does not automatically yield attractive, remunerative employment. The educational requirements of the job market have been steadily rising and the purchasing power of the university degree has declined accordingly. Both Canadian and American studies have convincingly demonstrated that the social and private rate of return on education has been falling in recent years.[30]

A study for the Task Force on Labour Market Developments in the 1980s by David Stager, examining the data for the 1960s and early 1970s in Canada, also revealed significant differences in the private and social returns to investment across different fields of university training.[31] Certain fields of study are associated with high labour force participation rates, low rates of both unemployment and underemployment, and higher salaries. For university graduates, these include business and commerce, engineering, architecture, medicine, dentistry and pharmacy. For college graduates, they include data processing, medical and dental services and various technologies. The lowest relative rates of return for graduates of post-secondary institutions during that period was for education, general arts and sciences programs, and

social work.

Despite these variations, however, the Task Force found evidence from analysis of both Canadian and foreign cost/benefit studies that, overall, the size of the post-secondary sector was too large in terms of a desirable supply/demand balance between, respectively, trainees and labour market vacancies. It remains the case, however, that school-leaving prior to high school matriculation and before the acquisition of some additional, specialized, vocational training, will tend to foreclose on the possibility of entrance to the more socially attractive occupations.

Relative to the population average, Native youth are at particularly high risk of pre-completion school leaving; and that risk may be increasing rather than holding constant or decreasing over time.

Siggner has noted that, for Status Indians in Canada, formal education has become nearly universal. Yet as IIAP data indicate, there appears to be a decline in secondary enrollment (nationally) for Indians in the 14-18 year old age group.[32] In 1972-73, 76 per cent of this age group was enrolled in secondary school; in 1977-78, the figure dropped to 60 per cent. It should also be noted, however, that major gains have been made amongst those who do complete high school in terms of their numbers advancing to, and through, post-secondary educational institutions. The major gains in post-secondary enrollment by Status Indian people, however, occurred between 1969 and 1975, and have since stabilized.

A survey jointly sponsored by the Native Council of Canada and the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission suggests that, in 1977, the average grade obtained by Metis and Non-Status Indians was only 8.1, while only 2.5 per cent have grade 13 or more.[33] The national average for people having Grade 13 or more that same year was over ten times that of the Metis and Non-Status Indian population sampled in the study. (See Table VII in the appendices)

A research report prepared for the Executive Council of the provincial government (Saskatchewan), in 1976, reported that 60 per cent of Native (Indian, Metis and Non-Status Indian) children were behind their expected grade in school. The report described, "a sharp and continuous decrease in Native enrollment, beginning as early as grade three and continuing on with increasing speed until...only .5 per cent are in grade twelve.[34]

Concerning current educational levels, we have results from but one study conducted on the community of Ile-a-la-Crosse and several other communities in the area.[35] Educational levels in the north are, generally, lower than those in the south. It is assumed this also holds true for Native People in the south as compared to those in the north. In 1980, 68 per cent of the residents of Ile-a-la-Crosse had an educational level of Grade 8 or less. This compared to 78 per cent for the northern census district (of which an estimated 80 per cent is of Native ancestry), and 48 per cent for the province as a whole. For Native People in the south, we estimate that approximately 60 per cent have Grade 8 or less; another 38 per cent have either Grade 12 or some high school; and only from two to seven per cent have some post-Grade 12 education.

Employers have come to expect high school graduation and post-secondary training as a qualification for all but the most menial types of employment. The fact that performance on the job is not clearly associated with academic qualifications does not alter the fact employers do expect credentials of their recruits to new positions.[36] Most Native People are excluded from pursuing attractive job opportunities because they lack the formal levels of schooling expected by employers.

While school performance is related with innate intelligence (as measured by I.Q. tests) amongst other factors, there is no strong evidence that, as a group, Native People lack the cognitive capacity for school achievement levels at par with the population norm. The Native population is, however, disproportionately represented on the lower rungs of Canada's socio-economic status (SES) hierarchy; and academic achievement appears to be strongly influenced by SES, independently of measured intelligence.

In spite of all efforts, Canadian students from the lower classes are less likely to be enrolled in academic programs at the secondary level, even when they possess the academic ability for university study. In 1971 in Ontario, for instance, almost all (96%) of the bright students from the upper class in Grade 12 were enrolled in the academic program; only 77 per cent of the bright students from the lower class were in the program of study that matched their measured talent.[37] Canada-wide data collected in 1965 showed

a similar pattern.[38] As a correlate to this finding, low ability students from the upper class were enrolled disproportionately in academic programs. Nearly twice as many upper-class, low-measured ability students are enrolled in academic programs as are lower class students of equivalent ability. Studies by Breton[39] and Porter[40] show that, independent of ability, students from high SES backgrounds are also more likely (1) to plan to continue their education beyond high school (2) to actually continue to post-secondary schooling, and (3) amongst those who do continue, upper class students are more likely to get to universities than to community colleges.

What these studies suggest is that socio-economic status plays at least as vital a role in educational achievement as does individual talent or industry. Obviously, it is social factors rather than individual cognitive capacity that is amenable to policy intervention and thus, must provide us with our focus. So the critical question may be stated as follows: What social and cultural factors can explain the disproportionately high rates of school failure amongst the Native population?

(a) Social Factors

We have previously described some of the more obvious inhibitors to Native access to occupational training associated with life circumstances shaped by marginal work. Let us now specifically consider social stratification effects on the Native experience with primary and secondary schooling. We will attempt to identify those "effects" of stratification which discourage school achievement amongst lower SES students, taking the generally lower SES of Native students as given.

Because pre-completion school termination amongst Native groups appears to be highest amongst the adolescent segment of the population enrolled in the early high-school grades, emphasis will be placed on this age group.

Social scientists are generally agreed that adolescence may be a very different experience for lower-class young people than it is for those of middle and upper-class backgrounds. As a textbook on high school counselling methods suggests of lower-class adolescents:

> They are treated as second-class citizens by teachers (who may themselves be in the process of escaping from lower socio-economic backgrounds and over-identifying with the middle-class), employers, the police, the courts...welfare agencies, housing authorities, and middle-class contemporaries.[41]

Even those areas of participation that are theoretically open to all comers -- including school, school-sponsored clubs, and athletic and recreational organization not connected with school -- are so fully shaped by middle-class norms that they are often meaningless or distasteful to low SES young people. Thus, the vicious circle of the self-fulfilling prophecy is drawn and closed for many. Like any out-group member, the adolescent from a low SES background may come to accept the in-group's view of him- or herself and, in so doing, conform to the middle-class stereotype of the 'lower-class personality.' In this fashion, the individual justifies middle-class perceptions, assuming what some writers have referred to as a "spoiled identity."

A negative self-fulfilling prophecy, however, begins to operate well before the onset of adolescence; indeed it's most powerful effects may occur in early school years. In a now classic study, Rosenthal and Jacobsen demonstrated the importance of variable teacher's expectations on student performance.[42] The study, which primarily examined a minority group primary school population in a California city, indicated that teacher's expectations of student achievement varied directly with the student's SES. Rosenthal and Jacobsen also found that, if the teacher's expectations of students were raised on the basis of contrived increases in intelligence scores, increases (often dramatic) in both I.Q. scores and academic grades are likely to occur.

Adolescent deviancy and delinquency have also been frequently correlated with poor school performance, although the direction of the relationship has been somewhat inconsistent in the studies. The American criminologist, Albert K. Cohen, however, has consistently emphasized what he calls the "status frustration" experienced by students evaluated by a "middle-class measuring rod."[43] Cohen and others have linked status frustration in school to socio-economic background and, in turn, to school drop-out, failure and delinquency (which he describes as a sort of rebellion against, or direct reaction to, the frustrations of the school experience).

Adolescent "acting out" behaviour by itself can be considered a normal, even necessary, aspect of adolescent life in industrialized societies. It is also normative, however, for adolescent deviancy to be "managed" through the intervention of parents and the societal allocation of specialized, organizational resources. If a youth is left to his (or her) own devices, or to the pressures of the peer sub-culture alone, his/her capacity to cope effectively

~~cope~~ effectively with the maturational crisis normal to adolescence is greatly reduced.

If adolescent "acting out" is normal, it is something of a conventional wisdom that it be "safely" channelled into activities that do not interfere significantly with schooling. Thus, it is almost a North American prescription for good parenting to "keeps the kids off the streets." Accomplishing this often Herculean task involves paying for "constructive diversions" that complement schooling, such as music lessons, drama and various hobbies. The child from the lower SES background is obviously less likely to be encouraged to undertake these leisure-time pursuits because of the financial burdens attached to them.

Even the capacity of parents to intervene effectively in an adolsecent student's problems once they have reached a crisis point, is influenced by the SES of the parent(s).

Children tend to be more strongly influenced by parents (and relatives) of high SES.[44] An advanced education also tends to provide parents with more knowledge of the adolescent developmental process, and thus *what to expect* and *what not to expect* of "Johnny" and "Jane" at different stages of their development. Higher SES parents, in other words, compared with their lower SES counterparts, are not only more likely to have more influence on their children, they are also more likely to know when and how to influence them in ways that will encourage their achievement in school.

Families at all income levels include adolescents who sometimes experience problems that they cannot solve themselves, even with the aid of their parents and their intimate circle of relatives and friends. In such instances, families often turn to specialized agencies for help. Yet even when seeking outside assistance, the gulf between poor and non-poor does not disappear. The following statements summarize the role that family income plays in determining the quality of outside help available in such circumstances:[45]

(i) Low-income families must rely mainly on the publicly funded personal social service system, while more affluent families can choose amongst public and private services. Private services are often superior to those that are publicly provided, and include such tension-relieving services as summer camps, vacations, and family-oriented leisure activities in private clubs. They also include such direct services as private psychologists and psychiatrists, legal services, boarding schools, and residential treatment centres outside the public domain.

(ii) Having access to a wider range of resources, non-poor families can shop around to find the best assistance available. They are thus able to deal with emerging problems as they arise, rather than being forced to wait until the situation worsens to the point where the possibility of minor intervention strategies are unlikely to be effective.

(iii) Parents with higher incomes also tend to have higher-status jobs and have more formal education, thus being better "armed" with self confidence and vocabulary to deal with professionals and bureaucrats in social services and law-enforcement agencies. They are thus better able to ensure that their adolescent children receive the special attentions of counsellors, and to convince courts that they themselves can better "rehabilitate" their errant charges better than a probation officer, thus avoiding the ongoing stigma of contact with the corrections system.

In summary, Native students, being generally distributed amongst the lower SES levels of Canada's social stratification system, can be expected to confront all the same social barriers to school achievement as other students from lower SES backgrounds.

(b) Cultural Factors

If schooling incentives are not blind to social class differences, neither are they colour blind nor without racial prejudice. And relative to any other racial or ethnic group in Canada, people of Native ancestry do experience extreme frustration and failure in the school system.

The failure of schools to accommodate to the special needs of Native youth may be an important influence in determining the high dropout rates described above. The problems experienced by all students with low-income or working-class origins in confronting a school system which is strongly cast in middle-class terms are compounded for Native students by their experience of cultural oppression.

Kellough[46] and Hudson and McKenzie[47] have directed attention away from the kind of discrimination and bigotry confronting Native People in the form of overt, malicious racial slurs. This type of bigotry surely exists, but is probably less damaging than the more subtle and profound discrimination that is defined by the very organization of social institutions, including the schools.

Kellough has argued convincingly that the relationship between Native Peoples and Euro-Canadians has been a "colonial" one. The Euro-Canadian settler population, according to Kellough, has oppressed the Native population

through a dual level colonizing strategy.

The primary strategy, "structural colonialism," is a strategy undertaken by a dominant group involving the assumption of institutional control for the purposes of extracting economic benefits. Historically, through treaties and legislation, governments have followed a structural-colonialist strategy for the purposes of extracting furs for commercial sale, depleting the buffalo herds, and for removing Native rights to resourceful land.

In contrast, at the second level, "cultural colonialism" involves a strategy of assuming political control over institutions which transmit values. This control is exercised for the purposes of devaluing the culture of a dominated group and legitimizing the culture of the colonizing group, thus validating both the original "structural" colonization process, and the culture of the dominant group. The ultimate goal of the cultural-colonization strategy is assimilation of the subordinate group.

The early missionaries who attempted to "civilize" the Indians by replacing traditional beliefs with Christianity were agents of cultural colonialism, according to both these writers and others.[48] The educational system, particularly the residential schools which separated children from their parents and communities and banned the children's use of their mother tongue, was also a pivot of this type of colonizing strategy.

Hudson and McKenzie make the point that, in the educational system, cultural colonialism survives in the form of both political control and in the "hidden curriculum" which validates dominant group values and historical interpretations.

Both the historical memory of the residential school and the contemporary treatment of Native Peoples in school curriculum do little to encourage a sense of institutional ownership by Natives; nor does the curriculum nourish self-esteem. Each of the scientific literatures of educational psychology, sociology and social-psychology have stressed the importance of the relationship between the student's "self-concept" (including self-esteem) and successful school performance. In turn, the importance of cultural pride to the enhancement of self-esteem has been stressed by social-psychologists, social workers and educators working in diverse fields. Unfortunately, a study of prejudice in high school texts in this province, sponsored by the Saskatchewan Human

Rights Commission in 1973, found that, of nine "attitude groups" (including Christians, Jews, Moslems, Negroes, Indians, Eskimos, French Canadians, Immigrants and Women) for which textual materials were evaluated,

> Indians are treated most unfavourably...roughly half of the assertions made about Indians are negative. Indians are characterized as being savage, hostile and warlike. While they may be skillful and friendly, they also commit murder and massacre.[49]

Some writers have argued that cultural "alienation" is the primary cause of the Native student's educational troubles. Bryde, for one, discusses what happens to Indian youth when faced with the problems of coping with the dominant society as that society is manifested in and through the educational system.[50] Prolonged exposure to two conflicting cultures results, according to Bryde, in anomie ("Normlessness") and alienation -- from himself, from other Native People, and from the larger society. The resultant feelings may be rejection, depression, or anxiety: he/she is neither Indian nor White.

Bryde further suggests that Indian children develop a negative self-image upon entering school; the children conclude that there is something different and inferior about being an Indian.

Hawthorn suggested that the Native child's failure to achieve results and the pressures of conforming to both Indian and Non-Indian societies results in a sense of frustration.[51] The young Native finds him/herself in a "no man's land," according to Hawthorn.

Educators of Indian People agree that to limit the extent of alienation, it is necessary to introduce intercultural materials into the classroom. Bryde's research into alienation suggests that to help rebuild a positive concept of "being Indian" is to encourage the study of the history and life style of Indian People in school, with an emphasis on the positive norms and values of Native traditions. This concept has received general support from Native educators and organizations across North America, including Saskatchewan. The Gabriel Dumont Institute was established, in part, to promote Native cultural awareness in Saskatchewan. At the Institute's First Annual Education Conference in 1980, Native delegates from all parts of the province recommended that:

(1) the Institute work towards making Native history and culture part of the Provincial curricula;

(2) that Native studies not only be part of provincial school curriculum, but also part of community education;

(3) that the Gabriel Dumont Institute negotiate for accredited Metis courses in the universities.

Another cultural barrier to Native achievement in the primary and secondary school system is language. There is agreement among educators, supported by considerable research, that Native students lag far behind in acquiring English language skills and that this lack of proficiency constitutes one of their greatest handicaps in school.[52] The Indian Affairs Educational Field Handbook reports a direct relationship between a second language handicap and non-promotion percentage in Federal Schools.[53] The Task Force on Native Education in Alberta stated: "It is generally agreed that the language handicap is prevalent among the majority of Metis students, especially in Northern regions."[54] Hatt reported in a study of La La Biche, Alberta, in 1967, that teachers in that community estimated that 61 per cent of the Metis children had language difficulties.[55]

In summary, Native students often see the school system as having continuity with colonial educational institutions; they are confronted with a curriculum that not only fails to emphasize the positive aspects of their culture, but actually degrades it; they also frequently have language and communication handicaps in the school system. All of these cultural factors discourage the social "fit" between the Native child and the school.

Conclusion: Native People and the Primary and Secondary School System

We have attempted to identify a number of factors which help explain the uneasy relationship between Native children and the schools. The picture we have painted stresses the socio-economic background of the Native student, viewing it as the primary impediment to school achievement. A secondary group of factors is associated with cultural differences between the Native minority and the Non-Native majority.

We must conclude that fundamental adaptations by the primary and secondary school system to the Native student must be made to transform the current state of failure into one of success for the Native school-age population.

In the meantime, the Adult Education/Occupational training system must remain a principal focus of policy intervention. In the Adult Education system lies the hope that many of the mistakes and failures of the primary and secondary systems can be compensated for.

In turning to the adult system, however, we must be reminded of the failure we have documented above. It should be both acknowledged and stressed that early frustration with school, alienation and failure, has left many Native adults extremely intimidated by the entire concept of formal education. The memory of these early frustrations must be viewed as a major psychological barrier to the willingness of Native adults to enroll in Adult Education/Occupational training programs. The fear of repeating early failures is hardly an enticement to the classroom; it is therefore critical that those fears be allayed if Native participation in occupational training is to be significantly increased.

III.2. Native Participation in Adult Education Programs in Saskatchewan

Native (Non-Status Indian and Metis) Adult Education in Saskatchewan did not become a priority until the mid-1960s, largely in response to a labour shortage which provincial authorities believed could be filled by the Native population.

Between 1965 and 1968, programs were developed that emulated programs developed by the federal government for the Status Indian population. By 1968, the lack of success in upgrading, training and preparing Native People for employment convinced provincial officials of the need to establish a unique program. In that year, the Non-Registered Indian and Metis program (N.R.I.M.) was established as a funding source under the Adult Education branch of the Department of Education. After going through various organizational changes and auspices, beginning in fiscal year 1976-77, the program was to be administered through the provincial community college system.

Because the community college system developed through a process of widespread public input, and can therefore be viewed as a genuinely Saskatchewan-based model, it may be of value to highlight its basic features. The community college model, with some important adaptations and changes, can serve to inform the design of a system developed specifically with Native People in mind.

The Community College System

In the latter part of 1971, the Minister of Education, the Honourable Gordon MacMurchy, called two invitational conferences to consider some draft legislation for the development of community colleges in the province. Some general areas of agreement about the development of a community college system resulted from those conferences; they included:

1) the belief that academic and technical-vocational programs of the "middle-range" -- between high school and university -- should be balanced off with an emphasis on community development and community service;

2) community colleges should be developed in response to the needs and wishes of people in local communities;

3) priority should be given to the needs and wishes of people in local communities.

These priorities were contrary to the existing draft legislation and, consequently, the draft legislation was laid aside and public meetings were conducted in various locations across the province to secure public input. After the conclusion of the hearings, the Minister's Advisory Committee reported in August, 1972. The committee enunciated the following principles as a guide to provincial community college operating philosophy:*

1. A community college's major responsibility is to promote formal and informal adult learning in its regional community.
2. Programs are to be developed in response to the expressed concerns of a community which has identified and assessed its needs.
3. A community college shall provide individual and group counselling in the establishment and achievement of educational goals.
4. A community college shall assist in community development by offering programs of community education and service. In rural areas it will serve as a mechanism for the maintenance and development of a viable way of life.
5. A community college shall not duplicate existing educational services or facilities for adults; rather, it shall co-ordinate the delivery of all adult educational services to the community.
6. A community college shall be governed by a council representative of the region.
7. The operation of community colleges shall be under the purview of the Minister of Continuing Education.

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* The Principles of College Development; Report of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Community Colleges, August, 1972.

After conducting a pilot project in three areas, the Saskatchewan concept of a de-centralized, community-based community college system emerged. The concept, as a model of operation, is perhaps best represented by a summary of the Advisory Committee's major recommendations; these read as follows:

- That the purpose of community colleges shall be to maximize opportunities for continuing education through a decentralization of formal adult learning opportunities and the organization of programs at a community and regional level to meet informal learning needs;
- That colleges be developed on a regional basis with priority in development given to rural areas.
- That within a region, informal learning programs be offered in the location of the majority of the participants and that formal learning programs be decentralized within the region to the extent determined feasible by the board.
- That community colleges offer programs in existing school and community facilities obtained on a rental basis rather than develop the traditional campus model:
- That community college programs be organized to meet identified needs and be disbanded when the need is met;
- That community colleges acquire a minimum of permanent staff, acquiring services on a contractual basis as required to meet current program needs;
- That community colleges grant no degrees or diplomas, but that formal programs be contracted as required from existing educational institutions;
- That certification of formal programs be the responsibility of the educational agency or institution from which the program is contracted;
- Accrediting institutions be encouraged to develop training programs or accreditation policies whereby local people may be recognized to teach formal programs;
- That non-credit programs be arranged, in co-operation with government departments and other organizations, on an ad hoc basis, in response to individual and community economic, cultural, recreational or social learning needs;
- That local persons be involved as fully as possible in instructional and other roles within the college program.
- That the provincial library system function as the resource distribution system for community colleges, and that training and financial resources be provided to make this possible.
- A systematic needs assessment and resource inventory precede the establishment of community college programs and that these processes be ongoing in community college operation.

- That each community college be governed by a college board, and that program priorities within the college be the responsibility of the board.
- That a community college becomes operational, any existing school board adult education programs become the responsibility of the college board.
- That the Government of Saskatchewan be prepared to extend its financial support, if necessary, to make adult basic education programs available to all.
- That adult basic education programs continue to be offered in co-operation with the Department of Manpower and Immigration, but that the Department of Continuing Education co-ordinate the implementation, and exercise control over curriculum and screening of students.
- That special programs be developed to encourage those from the lower socio-economic strata to avail themselves of relevant learning opportunities.
- That planning and preparation for development of a co-ordinated system of educational media be undertaken by the Department of Continuing Education to permit maximum accessibility and optimum delivery of learning programs to Saskatchewan adults.

N.R.I.M. and the Community College System

Under the community college system, the Department of Continuing Education became responsible for approving training programs, course certification, and the delivery of funding to the colleges for courses and related support services.

It was the responsibility of the community colleges to identify training needs, select students, plan and implement courses, arrange for instructors, facilities and training resources, and to provide some course-oriented support services. In the designated community college regions, the colleges assumed responsibility for all adult education programs -- previously a responsibility of local school boards. The four categories of adult education include: social demand programming, upgrading, trades training, and technical and professional training.

Effective the beginning of the fiscal year 1976-77, the decision was made to have the community colleges take on responsibility for N.R.I.M field support services, and to have Native students integrate into college programs. In some community college regions where there existed large concentrations of Native People, N.R.I.M. programming made up as much as one-third of the training taking place.

The college also assumed responsibility for recruiting and registering students for technical schools and universities, and for providing some follow-up services to these students. Some N.R.I.M. funds were allocated to the colleges for administration and staff costs.

Under the immediately previous arrangements, the provincial government had funded N.R.I.M. through the Department of Continuing Education in the south, and in the Northern Administration District, through the Department of Northern Saskatchewan. Program delivery functions in the south had been the responsibility of the now defunct Human Resources Development Agency (H.R.D.A.) which, in turn, contracted delivery and support services to what was then known as the Metis Society of Saskatchewan (now A.M.N.S.I.S.).

In part, the rationale for integrating program delivery into the community college system was based on complaints from Native People that the Metis society staff had "politically" interfered with the process of student selection.

Community college staff continued to work with AMNSIS locals or with local education committees in identifying program needs, in the same way the AMNSIS field workers had previously done. Final authority for establishing priorities and selecting courses became the responsibility of the colleges.

The nature and degree of Native participation in adult education programming in Saskatchewan emerges, in part, from the available statistics. Let's n examine the relevant data, emphasizing the public institutions as well as the overall use of the N.S.I.M. funds.*

The Technical Institutes [56]

In 1979-80, there were only 46 Native students (Non-Status Indian and Metis) in Saskatchewan's three technical institutes. Of those enrolled, only 23 successfully completed their training, yielding a low 50% success rate. In 1980-81, a tiny increase in enrollees (from 46 to 51) occurred, but again, only 24 graduated. In 1981-82, there were 54 Native learners in the technical institutes. To date, however, we do not have figures on the number of graduates.

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* For full statistical sources, see the Gabriel Dumont Institute, Information Source Book For the Non-Status Indian & Metis Programs 1982.

There are approximately 3,750 students enrolled in the technical institutes in any given year. Estimating the Native population at 9.6% of the total Saskatchewan population,(or the double the Registered Indian population), we should expect 360 annual Native enrollees in the institutes, compared with the actual average of 50 for the three years.* In other words, Non-Native students are approximately seven times more likely to attend Saskatchewan's technical institutes than Native students. Even assuming a low estimated Native population (in which there are 1.25 Times as many Metis and Non-Status Indians as there are Registered Indians), we would expect 225 Native enrollees in the technical schools.

The Universities [58]

University enrollment in Saskatchewan is approximately 18,000. If we make the same assumptions we have made for the technical institutes, the potential number of Native students would be 1728 (high estimate made on the basis of the same "doubling formula") and 1080 (low estimate) if we assume the recruitment potential is at par with the Native to Non-Native ratio for the Saskatchewan population. The actual recruitment for the three years, however, was as follows:

1979-80 - 110
1980-81 - 152
1981-82 - 171

Obviously there is a trend towards an increasing number of Native enrollments in the university. It is also true, however, that if we take the mean number of Native enrollments for the three years (144), a Non-Native is between 7.5 and 8.3 times more likely than a Native to attend Saskatchewan's universities.

Even these grossly under-representative university participation rates, however, do not provide an accurate quantitative reflection of Native attraction to the universities. The specially designed S.U.N.T.E.P. program is responsible for 75 of the 171 enrollees in 1981-82. The Native university student drop-out and failure rate for the three years averaged a relatively high 55 per cent. If we exclude S.U.N.T.E.P. students from our calculations,

* In 1981, Saskatchewan's registered Indian population was 4.8% of the total population. See the Department of Indian Affairs, <u>An Overview of Demographic, Social and Economic Conditions Among Saskatchewan's Registered Indian Population</u>, December, 1980.

however, the Native university student drop-out and failure rate soars to 69 per cent of the total. If nothing else, these data require us to underscore the importance of the need for specially adapted Native programming.

Community College Programs [59]

In 1979/80, 1,770 Metis and Non-Status Indian people took advantage of the N.R.I.M. program; of these, 1,567 (88%) attended the community college system. In that year, 711 students (40% of the total), were enrolled in Adult Basic Education, upgrading or related courses. The remaining number (approximately 60%) were enrolled in non-certifiable training -- social demand, skill improvement and other courses which may be of assistance to people in their personal lives or in their current employment, but which do not normally lead to further certification.

The available data also reveal that completion rates are substantially higher for social demand courses than for skill training in the community college system. While records are not available for some courses, in those courses for which records are available for 1979-80, 474 students were enrolled in skill training courses (life skills, Adult Basic Education) only 198 (42%) completed. The same year, of 630 students enrolled in social demand courses, 457 (73%) completed. It should be noted that the records did not, however, indicate whether those who completed passed or did well in their courses.

In 1980/81, 1,542, or 1.6% fewer students were enrolled in community college programs, reflecting a small trend towards increased enrollment in university and technical institute programs (in 1979-80, a total 1,770 Native People took advantage of the N.R.I.M. program and in 1980-81, 1,812 [or 2% more] participated). In 1980-81, a tiny decrease of 1% (41% - 40%) of the total N.R.I.M. students enrolled in non-certifiable training.

For courses for which records are available, in 1980-81, 468 learners were enrolled in skill training, and 260 or 56% completed the training (up 14% from the previous year). In social demand training, of 545 enrollees. 439 (81%) actually completed their training (up 8% from the previous year). Thus, while completion rates improved, the pattern of substantially higher completion rates for social demand courses than for skill-oriented courses remained.

Unfortunately, we do not have complete data for 1981-82. The data available to us, however, shows a greater trend towards university and certification types of training, although upgrading and social demand courses remain popular.

Our data obviously raises serious questions about past approaches to N.R.I.M. programming. While there is a small trend away from social demand type training towards certified training, major gains in this direction can hardly be celebrated. Clearly, there is a need for more training that leads more directly to employment. In 1980/81, for instance, only 149 (8%) the 1,812 N.R.I.M. students were enrolled in the universities while 68 (3%) attended technical schools and 53 (3%) attended private trade schools.

The interpretation of the data would also indicate that there is an urgent need for environmental, educational and personal support services specially adapted to the Native adult learner's special needs, as well as the necessity for a vigorous career-awareness and active recruitment program.

<u>Complaints About Existing N.S.I.M.* Programming</u>

From the outset, the leadership of AMNSIS had been opposed to the transfer of responsibility for the N.R.I.M. program to the community colleges, and lobbied since the transfer for increased input into the delivery of the program. The rationale for the AMNSIS lobby related to complaints that the resources were inadequate for training and that training allowance levels were inadequate. Heinemann, in a report to the provincial department of Continuing Education, lists the following additional complaints that were unrelated to the issue of who controls delivery:[60]

(a) Native People had little say about the courses selected for delivery by the community colleges;

(b) Native content in the courses or any courses specifically dealing with Native history and culture were lacking;

(c) the instructors are almost always not Native People and have little understanding of Native culture or of the needs of Native students;

(d) courses are not appropriate to the needs of Native People for job-oriented training;

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* N.S.I.M. (Non-Status Indian and Metis Program) is the new title to the N.R.I.M. program.

(e) services to properly plan, develop or organize Native adult education were lacking;

(f) colleges were expending considerable N.R.I.M. money on staff and other administrative costs, which were not strictly related to the delivery of N.R.I.M. courses,

(g) Native People did not get the support services they required to help them overcome problems and barriers to successfully participate in training and education programs. This included a lack of career planning and counselling services;

(h) there were no adequate linkages to ensure that training was job-oriented and related to labor market needs,

(i) activities were being funded which were not strictly training programs. The department had identified several borderline activities in this area. One was the funding of a learning centre in Saskatoon. Another was the funding of a community development program being implemented by Regina Native Women's Center. Although these activities had a training component, they were probably marginal training activities.

(j) the manner in which courses and services were delivered is paternalistic and continues to keep people in situations of dependency rather than encouraging Native People to be independent and be allowed to exercise a greater degree of self-determination.

Heinemann suggests that while the above complaints were registered by Native People themselves, the following additional problems have been identified by professionals working in the adult education system:[61]

(k) the practice of paying training allowances to all Native students registered for N.R.I.M. training courses, regardless of whether they were job- and skill-oriented courses or social demand courses, was against the better judgement of officials in the Department of Continuing Education. The problem of substituting N.R.I.M. funds for income-maintenance thus continued, and it was particularly attractive because several members of a family could simultaneously be receiving training allowances.

(l) there was little indication that there was a sound relationship between the length of courses and the amount of time realistically needed to teach people certain knowledge or skills. Consequently, some courses were repeated by students many times over even though those courses may not have added to the trainees' competitiveness on the job market.

As Heinemann concludes, although the delivery system was reorganized, and some of the problems of political interference in decisions about courses were eliminated, resources were not provided to deal with other serious problems in the system. As examples, he cites research services required to identify the nature and extent of actual training needs, curriculum development services, and staff and services to develop Native cultural

strengthening programs.[62]

In summary, many of the justifiable criticisms of previous N.R.I.M. programming applied with equal force under the reorganized programming structure. In areas where strong AMNSIS locals were present, the colleges often simply acquiesced to recommendations for the training priorities, course-selection and student-selection, rather than exercising the best of their professional judgement.

The same pattern of courses delivered under previous arrangements continued. In the major urban areas, life skills courses and adult upgrading courses continued (and continue) to dominate. While these courses are essential to the preparation of Native People for occupational training, it is obviously important that the preparatory courses actually lead to skill training.

In rural areas, social demand courses, or what might be termed hobby courses, predominated, e.g. cabinet making courses; harness making; chuckwagon and chariot making courses; small horse blanket making; basic carpentry; and, additionally, various homemaking, sewing and crafts classes. This was a similar "mix" of courses to what was provided under previous arrangements. It is true that some of the social demand courses responded to real vocational needs. Some were even established as an integrated component of community development and employment-creation initiatives and, as such, could not be fairly judged independently of the role they played in the larger projects. It remains the case, however, that, overall, the colleges had not remedied the basic problems of the past: the system was not effectively preparing large numbers of Native People to compete for available job opportunities. There were too many "hobby" courses; there was too much preparatory training and not enough certifiable skill training; the N.R.I.M. fund was all too often more an income-maintenance source than a means to improve one's vocational skills.

As a consequence of these complaints and problems identified through research, in 1980 a review of the N.R.I.M. program was undertaken under the joint auspices of AMNSIS and the Department of Continuing Education. The major recommendations of the review were:*

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* See Report of the N.R.I.M. Review Committee, December, 1980, Saskatchewan continuing Education.

a) That the scope of the activity funded by the N.R.I.M. program include:

1. Adult Basic Education which was job and career oriented.
2. Vocational preparation, taking into account employment prospects based on local and provincial labour markets, with emphasis on credit courses and apprenticeship training funded by C.E.I.C.
3. Native Instructor Training
4. Cultural and Historical Programs
5. Native Leadership Training.

b) There should be more flexibility in the delivery of N.R.I.M. programs to allow a greater role for Native People in the selection of courses and course content and to allow for a broader range of job-oriented training.

c) Regional N.S.I.M. committees be established, to work in close co-operation with community colleges in the planning and delivery of community Native adult education.

d) The establishment of a provincial N.S.I.M. Policy Committee responsible for the development of policies and procedures, for recommending funding levels for allocation of training funds, to act as an appeal board on policy matters and to generally oversee the program.

e) Where feasible, Local Education Committees be established which could have a major involvement in planning training courses.

f) The name of the program be changed to Non-Status Indian and Metis (N.S.I.M.) program.

The report suggested that both AMNSIS and the provincial government should co-operate in a joint effort to ensure the success of the N.S.I.M. program.

V. MANPOWER PLANNING AND NATIVE OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

There is a general agreement that Canadian industries undertake far too little long-range manpower planning. A study by Clifford for the Labour Market Development Task Force indicated that limited long-range manpower planning is particularly underdeveloped amongst those industries which employ highly-skilled personnel of the type that is generally in short supply.[63]

Daley has suggested that the private sector has tended to view manpower training as either a non-critical business function or as a "quasi-public"

good.[64] She also suggests that industry has generally viewed itself as being in a labour market where an infinite supply of labour is available at a given price, or at least within a narrowly-bounded price range. She goes on to suggest that the private sector tends to view the labour force as relatively mobile, both geograpraphically and within and across industries. Daley writes:

> With this view of the labour supply, most employers have been reluctant to embark upon long-term manpower planning and training programs, as they assume that when they need skilled employees they will be able to employ them either from the local companies in the same or similar industries, the unemployed workers in the area, or from other regions. For the most part, this expectation has proven justified over the past 40 years, except in a few regions, or in a few skills.[65]

Occupational training and manpower planning are obviously closely connected functions. The lack of manpower planning and information on labour market trends resulting from industry's neglect has created the following problems for Native People:

a) the lack of sufficient advance information concerning job openings may preclude Native People from taking training to fit into the high-skilled, well-paid jobs;

b) the assumption by industry that the costs of human capital development can be "externalized" (performed by and subsidized by the public), and that manpower planning is a "non-critical" business function, leaves planning and, to a large extent, training, in the hands of such agencies as CEIC, provincial Departments of Labour and Educational Departments and Institutes. At present, the only generally used information-generating model is COFOR which is generally inadequate for skill-level forecasting because it fails to take changes in technology within industries into account;

c) the reliance by industry on "ready-made" skilled personnel, including extra-national and intra-national immigrants, may preclude Native People from entry into anything but the lowest-level, lowest-paying jobs. In Saskatchewan this is a particular problem in large, resource-based industrial projects;

d) Often there is an inadequate number of training seats available in the technical institutes for specific trade areas as a result of inadequate training plans resulting from inadequate information. Because, in general, students with the best qualifications are accepted for training seats, Native People, who often lack basic education and life skills are unable to obtain the training required for entrance into the higher-skilled, well-paid jobs;

e) lacking sufficient training, Native workers, being typically found in low-skilled job ghettoes which are vulnerable to lay-offs

when job markets contract. At this level they have difficulty obtaining the seniority required to bid for higher-level jobs or to enter formalized in-house training;

f) the characteristics of secondary labour market employment reduce the ability of Native People to take part-time education because of shift-work, location and inadequate remuneration to cover many of the costs of education.

VI. TRAINING BARRIERS IN LABOUR ORGANIZATION

The organization of labour by the union movement has been essential to the protection and advancement of the material well-being and rights of Canadian workers. The dramatic growth of both large corporate enterprise and the public sector over the last thirty-five years has transformed the vast majority of the labour force from independent, self-employed producers and service suppliers into wage- or salary-dependent employees. Under these conditions, collective bargaining through the agency of unions takes on a particularly critical role. In the absence of union protection, the individual employee is left particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the economy and the whims of employers.

Unfortunately, Native People tend to work on the fringes of the Canadian economy, where, as suggested above, small, competitive enterprises dominate and where unions are either non-existent or do not have the strength to create the relative advantages or stable working conditions available in the large corporate business or in the public sector. Native People tend to be highly over-represented in the ranks of unorganized labour, and the union movement has long been criticized for its negligence in terms of "organizing the unorganized." Because so few Native adults are recipients of the obvious benefits that unions do provide, organized labour often appears as simply another oppressive, Non-Native barrier to their equal participation in the Canadian occupational structure. In part, their perceptions are valid.

Native workers do primarily work in areas where few firms are unionized, where unionization is new (particularly in the service industry), or, because they are part-time workers, they are excluded from union benefits. Native access to occupational training opportunities through the union structure is hampered by four major barriers: the seniority system, the apprenticeship system, educational requirements, and the organization of unions along trade rather than industry lines.

As Daley has observed,

> The seniority structure ensures that a great many target group workers will remain in low-skill, low-paying jobs as most of them are employed in the "last come, first go" group which is the first to face the pinch of any recession and the last to be hired in any upturn. Thus, workers in this group do not attain sufficient seniority to bid on higher paying jobs, nor are they eligible for many in-house training openings.[66]

This apprenticeship structure creates a major barrier for Native workers. The system places severe financial hardship on workers with families to support, particularly single parents. Many require three or four years of training, and a block of time for classroom instruction annually during which there is no remuneration. In general, the apprenticeship system is an extremely lengthy period to earn low wages, particularly in urban settings where basic living costs have become exhorbitant. As a consequence, to survive the years of apprenticeship, individuals with dependents must often themselves borrow on or receive the aid of parents or relatives. Given the generally limited incomes of the Native population, it is less likely that a Native worker could marshall these additional resources than could a Non-Native.

Most apprenticeship programs also have initial academic requirements which Native workers cannot meet. While in most cases these academic qualifications are justified by increased levels of technology, some unions use it to limit access to apprenticeship and hence the supply of labour in order to raise wage levels.

In addition, only a limited number of apprenticeship positions are available at any one time. A prospective apprentice must find both a local union and a company which have openings for apprentices. This can be extremely difficult, particularly during a recession when many members are unemployed. Native People may be at a particular disadvantage because they lack contacts in both unions and business and often lack the knowledge and self-confidence to aggressively and effectively seek out apprenticeship opportunities.

The organization of most unions along trade lines makes it difficult for members to move from one trade area to another. Employees who leave one union to join another lose their seniority and consequently become vulnerable to lay-off. Such a loss of seniority reduces the opportunity to bid for

better paying jobs and training programs. While it is often assumed that Native People tend to be extremely migratory, in fact, it is our experience that Native People tend to maintain close bonds with their extended families and, hence, prefer to remain close to home. The geographical mobility assumed in the stereotype of Native People is only true to the extent that frequent, intra-provincial migration is common, not extra-provincial. Thus, the mobility required by the trade-oriented union structure will be resisted by Native People.

The barriers that Native People encounter with the unions have been created by the adaptation by unions to the changing structure of Canadian industry. While unions were not designed to limit access but to protect workers generally, they have, in effect, severely limited the number of Native People who have been able to enter the labour market through occupational training or the union route.

VII SUMMARY

In this paper we have attempted to identify some key contributing factors to the exclusion of Native People from post-secondary education and occupational training programs and, hence, their exclusion from the mainstream of the Saskatchewan work force. We have described how the provincial and national industrial structure has created a segmented labour market. We have also argued that the majority of Native People appear to be permanently "screened" out of the primary labour market and have offered some explanations of that process. Finally, we have pointed to specific ways in which the permanent status of Native People in marginal work has created an intergenerational cycle of poverty.

We have attempted to show that the same obstacles to desirable employment faced by Native Peoples are obstacles to their successful participation in adult education and occupational training. On the basis of the above discussion, we will now make some general recommendations concerning what is required for the development of any new or expanded programming if we are to transform the failures of the past into success in the future.

VII RECOMMENDATIONS: MECHANISMS AND APPROACHES THAT COULD ENCOURAGE GREATER NATIVE PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION:

To surmount the obstacles we have identified as contributing to low Native adult education participation-, retention-, and success-rates, we <u>recommend</u> the following principles and strategies of ameliorative policy intervention:

1. Officials of both federal and provincial governments, in co-operation with A.M.N.S.I.S., should jointly develop, co-ordinate and implement a public education campaign that would, primarily utilise the electronic and print media to inform the general public of the relative exclusion of Native People from mainstream employment opportunities and post-secondary education. If a major new thrust in adult education programming is to take place in the current economic climate, it is important that the general public understand both the urgency and dimensions of the need. It can be anticipated that, in the absence of such a public relations strategy, an unnecessarily negative reaction might occur. In rural areas, public meetings to explain the need for any major new programming and to outline the programming itself are advisable.

2. A major expansion of the funding of Native adult education programming is urgently required. To facilitate the required expansion, it is crucial that federal and provincial governments work co-operatively, placing the interests of Native

Peoples before the jurisdictional conflicts that have so frequently hampered the effective co-ordination, design and implementation of special educational policy and program initiatives for disadvantaged groups in the past.

3. To respond to the significant urbanization trend amongst potential Native candidates for occupational training, the following strategies are recommended:

    a) there should be more flexibility in training allowances, with adjustments made for the actual cost of living as it varies with locale;

    b) urban adjustment and community awareness education and counselling services should be integrated into all levels of the education system;

    c) Native day care services should be expanded to accommodate the special needs of the large popul- ation of single-parents of Native ancestry who could benefit from occupational training.

4. Career awareness and adult education information-dissemination should become a major part of Native adult educational programming.

5. Occupational training for Native People should be linked to labour market needs to eliminate programs that are, in reality, sub- stitutes for income-maintenance supports, in order to encourage training leading to meaningful certification. Federal and provincial governments should work co-operatively to improve their overall capacity to accurately forecast occupational demand, and should develop legislative means to compel employers to participate actively in manpower needs research and planning.

6. Any new occupational programming for Native People should include training in occupations for indigenous human service workers as well as training in occupations which have been identified as being in critical supply shortage. While there may be an oversupply of qualified Non-Native workers in these fields, there is an under- supply of qualified Native candidates for human service positions which serve the Native community. It is our position that, given the various obstacles to Native participation in the primary labour market, skilled Native human service workers are, in fact, "critically" required to surmount those obstacles.

7. Occupational training programs for Native People should give some emphasis to training for non-apprenticable vocations.

8. Basic skills training should continue to be seen as an essential and integral part of all occupational training programs designed specifically for Native Peoples.

9. Native People must be able to exercise a degree of control and decision-making over their education which is consistent with their need to compete for employment in the larger social structure. To exercise this control, any new programming should utilize and be integrated with existing Native institutions.

10. The education of Native People must contribute to the strengthening of their culture both at an individual and group level.

11. Native institutions should take the lead role in developing curriculum at all levels of the public education system in order to increase the general awareness of Indian and Metis history in the province.

12. Native People must have access to special support services such as housing, counselling services, learning centres, and language improvement- and other tutorial-services which will enable them to take maximum advantage of their opportunities.

13. Native adult education programming should be developed to meet the dual objectives of (i) responsiveness to expressions of local interest, and need and (ii) ensuring that a capacity for effective planning to achieve comprehensive, short- and long-term goals for the training of Native People on a province-wide basis can be accomplished.

14. Given the major input of the Native community into the development of the Saskatchewan community college concept, coupled with the belief by A.M.N.S.I.S. that the existing system has not effectively served Native People, any new adult education programming for Native People should not be designed to compete with, or duplicate, the services of the college, but should attempt to improve upon those services. It must be recognized, however, that, the provision of similar courses by a Native-controlled program similar to those offered by a community college within the same locale, need not be interpreted as "duplication" if the Native courses are uniquely designed for Native People and the college courses are not so designed.

15. In occupational skill training specifically, Area Education Committees should increasingly come to act in the capacity of community college boards for Native People, integrating, wherever possible, all possible funding supports and instructional programs into their area education planning process.

16. Native People should continue to have access to all the educational opportunities which are available to the general public, including facilities, expertise and resources.

Appendix I

TABLES

TABLE I*

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS FALLING BELOW THE POVERTY LINE BY CITY, 1976

ity	Population	Estimate # of Poor Households	Ratio of Poor Households to Pop.	Indian Population	Ratio of Poor Indian Households to Indian Pop.	Estimated # o Poor Indian Households
gina	149,593	18,159	1:8	5,316*[1]	5:8*[2]	$\frac{5316x5}{8}$ =3322.5
skatoon	133,750	13,891	1:9	1,709	5:9	$\frac{1709x5}{9}$ =949.44
ince lbert	28,631	3,919	1:7	1,544	5:7	$\frac{1544x5}{7}$ =1102.8
rth attleford	13,153	1,378	1:9	709	5:9	$\frac{709x5}{9}$ =393.8

*1 Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

*2 The ratio of poor Indian households to the general Indian population in each city was arrived at by assuming that the incidence of poor Indian households was greater than that of their non-Indian counterparts by five times. The factor of five was arrived at by assuming that if an Indian person if five times more likely to be on SAP than a non-Indian person (see Appendix A), then he is five times more likely to live in a household which falls below the poverty line.

TABLE II*

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN, NATIVE AND TOTAL INDIAN ANCESTRY HOUSEHOLDS FALLING BELOW THE POVERTY LINE BY CITY, 1976

City	Total Population	Households Below the Poverty Line			
		Total	Indian	Native*	Total Indian Ancestry
gina	149,593	18,159	3,322	3,322 - 6,644	36.6% 51.9% 6,644 - 9,966
skatoon	133,750	13,891	949	949 - 1,898	13.6% 20.5% 1,898 - 2,847
ince Albert	28,631	3,919	1,102	1,102 - 2,204	56.2% 84.4% 2,204 - 3,306
rth ttleford	13,158	1,378	393	393 - 786	57% 85.6% 786 - 1,179
tal	325,132	37,347	5,766	5,766 - 11,532	11,532 - 17,298 30.9% 46.3%

* Estimates of the native population in each city (i.e. Metis and Non-status Indian) range from 1 to 2 times the Indian population of that city.

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* Source: Social Planning Secretariat, Government of the Province of Saskatchewan, *The Dimensions of Poverty in Saskatchewan*, January 24, 1979, p.24

** Source: *Ibid*, p.25

TABLE III

Ethnic Breakdown of Regina Residents and Arrested Public Drunkenness Offenders

	Regina Residents*		Public Drunkenness Offenders	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Indian	5,316	3.6	89	38.7
Metis	15,153	10.1	53	23.0
Non-Native	129,124	86.3	88	38.3
Total	149,593	100.0	230	100.0

* Source: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Regina, 1978.

TABLE V

RATES OF ADMISSION TO SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

IN 1976-1977 BY SEX AND ETHNIC/LEGAL STATUS

		Number of Admissions	Total Population	Population Over 15	Rates of Admission (Total Population)	Rates of Admission (Population Over 15)
MALES	Treaty Indians	2,098	22,633	11,268	92.7	186.2
	Metis/Non-Status Indians	671	22,633	11,268	29.6	59.5
	Non-Natives	1,575	426,334	313,964	3.7	5.0
FEMALES	Treaty Indians	257	22,266	10,885	11.5	23.6
	Metis/Non-Status Indians	56	22,266	10,885	2.5	5.1
	Non-Natives	55	420,468	313,130	.13	.18

Source: Hylton (1980)

TABLE VI

Age at First Incarceration in Provincial Correctional Centres

Males Aged 16 - 25 Years

1976-1977

Age First Incarceration	Treaty Indians			Other Persons of Indian Ancestry			Non-Natives		
	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incartn.	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incartn.	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance o Incartn
16	44	607	.0725	14	607	.0231	70	9186	.0076
17	68	569	.1195	29	569	.0510	97	9162	.0106
18	67	564	.1188	27	564	.0479	133	8872	.0150
19	39	493	.0791	21	493	.0426	108	8714	.0124
20	42	505	.0832	19	505	.0376	60	8390	.0072
21	41	440	.0932	10	440	.0227	57	8420	.0068
22	29	395	.0734	10	395	.0253	48	8510	.0056
23	18	378	.0476	10	378	.0265	33	7944	.0042
24	15	362	.0414	8	362	.0221	23	7276	.0032
25	15	300	.05	7	300	.0233	29	6900	.0042
Total Chance of Incarceration			.78			.32			.08

1977-78

Age at First Incarceration	Treaty Indians			Other Persons of Indian Ancestry			Non-Natives		
	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incartn.	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incartn.	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incai
16	47	595	.0790	22	595	.0370	60	8810	.0068
17	61	607	.1005	30	607	.0499	93	9186	.0101
18	45	569	.0791	30	569	.0527	103	9162	.0112
19	45	564	.0799	28	564	.0496	111	8872	.0125
20	34	493	.0690	17	493	.0345	78	8714	.0090
21	33	505	.0653	18	505	.0356	80	8390	.0095
22	37	440	.0841	9	440	.0205	51	8420	.0061
23	11	395	.0278	9	395	.0228	44	8510	.0052
24	16	378	.0423	4	378	.0106	28	7944	.0035
25	17	362	.0470	6	362	.0166	23	7276	.0032
Total Chance of Incarceration			.67			.33			.08

1978-79

Age at First Incarceration	Treaty Indians: No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incartn.	Other Persons of Indian Ancestry: No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incartn.	Non-Natives: No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Chance of Incai
16	36	665	.0541	23	665	.0346	49	8870	.0055
17	54	595	.0908	34	595	.0571	99	8810	.0112
18	67	607	.1104	30	607	.0494	119	9186	.0130
19	64	569	.1125	23	569	.0404	117	9162	.0128
20	39	564	.0691	21	564	.0372	115	8872	.0130
21	46	493	.0933	18	493	.0365	79	8714	.0091
22	35	505	.0693	19	505	.0376	76	8390	.0091
23	29	440	.0659	16	440	.0364	54	8420	.0064
24	23	395	.0502	9	395	.0220	35	8510	.0041
25	27	378	.0714	7	378	.0185	31	7944	.0039

1976-77

Females 16 - 25 Years

Age at First Incarceration	Treaty Indians			Other Persons of Indian Ancestry			Non-Natives		
	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Proport.	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Proport.	No. of Individuals Incarcerated	No. in Population	Propor
16	3	623	.0048	3	623	.0048	4	8774	.0005
17	11	563	.0195	1	563	.0018	2	8776	.0002
18	12	562	.0214	1	562	.0018	3	8358	.0004
19	14	521	.0269	2	521	.0038	3	8248	.0004
20	8	476	.0168	1	476	.0021	2	8256	.0002
21	5	472	.0106	4	472	.0085	3	8032	.0004
22	2	384	.0052	1	384	.0026	3	7432	.0004
23	4	384	.0104	-	384	-	3	6814	.0004
24	5	393	.0127	-	393	-	2	6420	.0003
25	5	340	.0147	-	340	-	1	5982	.0002
Total Chance of Incarceration			.14			.025			.003

Source: Hylton, 1980, pp. 79-81

TABLE VII

Educational Attainment

Highest School Grade Completed	Metis and Non-Status Indians		Population of Canada
No schooling	4.2		
6 or under	19.2	-49.8	24.6
7 - 8	26.4		
9 - 12	47.7		49.5
13 or more	2.5		25.9
Total	100.0		100.0

Source: Survey of Metis and Non-Status Indians, National Demographic and Labour Force Report. Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, December 1977.

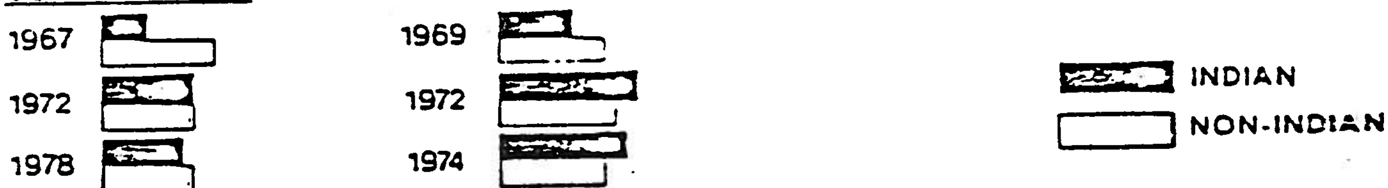
Appendix II

CHARTS

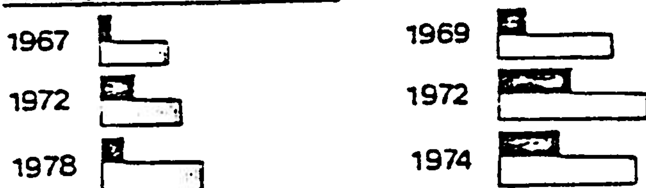
NUMBER OF PSYCHIATRIC ADMISSIONS/SEPARATIONS PER 10,000 POPULATION COMPARED BY MAJOR DIAGNOSTIC CATEGORY, TREATMENT SECTOR AND INDIAN STATUS

PUBLIC SECTOR ADMISSIONS — PRIVATE SECTOR SEPARATIONS

SCHIZOPHRENIA

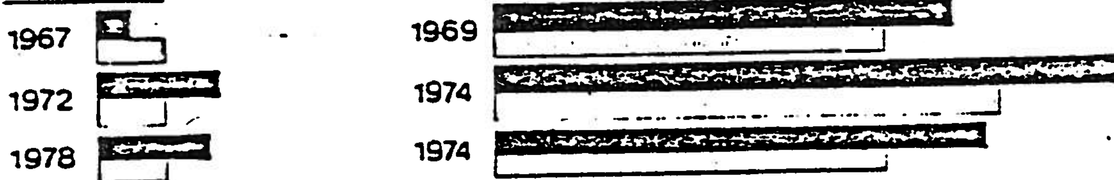


AFFECTIVE PSYCHOSES



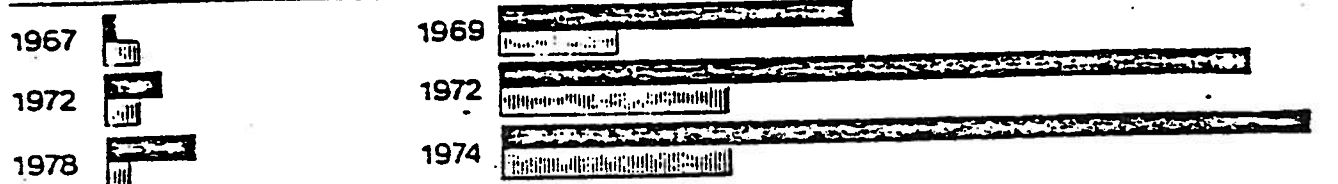
OTHER PSYCHOSES

NEUROSES



CHARACTER/BEHAVIOUR DISORDERS

ALCOHOLISM/ADDICTIONS



0 5 10 15 20

No./10,000 POPULATION

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

No./10,000 POPULATION

Source: Fritz et al, 1980.

CHART II

AVERAGE RANKED LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH* AMONG THE REGISTERED INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN POPULATIONS OF SASKATCHEWAN, 1959 TO 1978.

1959-1965

AVERAGE RANK	REGISTERED INDIANS	NON-INDIANS	AVERAGE RANK
1	Pneumonia (480-486)	Heart diseases (393-427)	1
2	Accidents (E800-E949)	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	2
3	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	Cerebrovascular diesease (430-438)	3
4	Gastro-enteritis and Colitis (561)	Accidents (E800-E949)	4
5	Heart diseases (393-429)	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	5
6	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	Pneumonia (480-486)	6
7	Tuberculosis (010-019)	Diseases of arteries, arterioles & capillaries (440-448)	7
8	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	Diabetes mellitus (250)	8
9	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	9
10	Homicide (E960-E978)	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	10

1966-1972

AVERAGE RANK	REGISTERED INDIANS	NON-INDIANS	AVERAGE RANK
1	Accidents (E800-E949)	Heart diseases (393-429)	1
2	Pneumonia (480-486)	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	2
3	Heart diseases (393-429)	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	3
4	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	Accidents (E800-E949)	4
5	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	Pneumonia (480-486)	5
6.5	Homicide (E960-E978)	Diseases of arteries, arterioles & capillaries (440-448)	6
6.5	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	7
8	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	Diabetes mellitus (250)	8
9	Tuberculosis (010-019)	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	9.5
10	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	9.5

1973-1978

AVERAGE RANK	REGISTERED INDIANS	NON-INDIANS	AVERAGE RANK
1	Accidents (E800-E949)	Heart diseases (393-429)	1
2	Heart diseases (393-429)	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	2
3	Pneumonia (480-486)	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	3
4	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	Accidents (E800-E949)	4
5	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	Pneumonia (480-486)	5
6	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	Diseases of arteries, arterioles & capillaries (440-448)	6
7	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	Diabetes mellitus (250)	7
8	Homicide (E960-E978)	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	8
9	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	9
10	Infectious diseases (000-036)	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	10

* Code numbers according to the International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries, and Causes of Death, 1965, Volume I, shown in brackets.

AVERAGE RANKED LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH* AMONG THE REGISTERED INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN POPULATIONS OF SASKATCHEWAN, 1959 TO 1978.

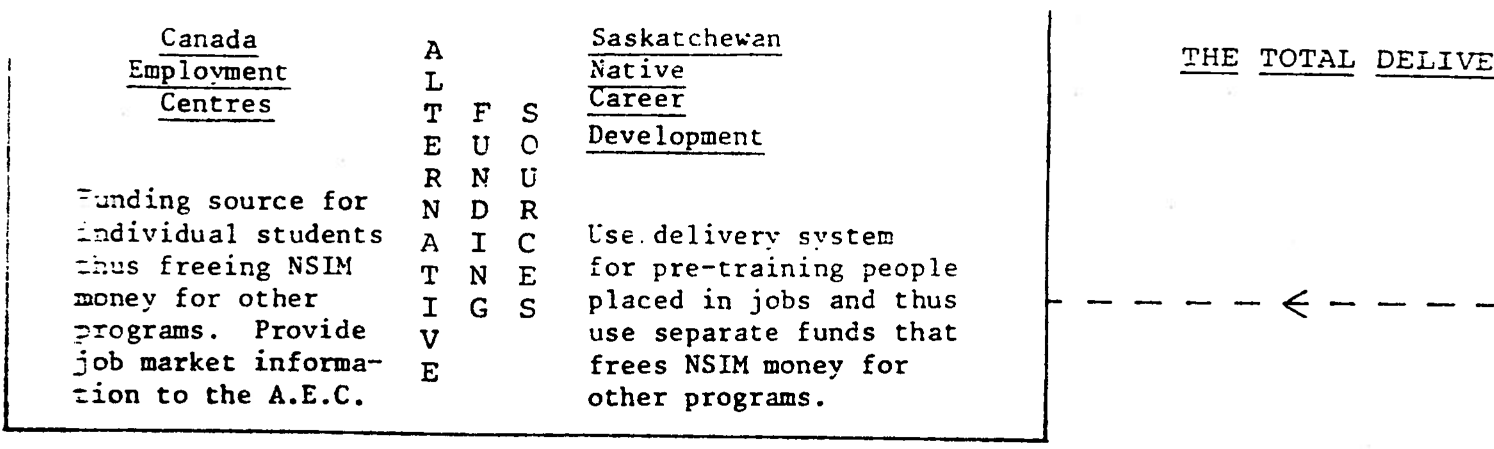
AVERAGE RANK	REGISTERED INDIANS	NON-INDIANS	AVERAGE RANK
	1959-1965		
1	Pneumonia (480-486)	Heart diseases (393-427)	[illegible]
2	Accidents (E800-E949)	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	[illegible]
3	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	Cerebrovascular diesease (430-438)	[illegible]
4	Gastro-enteritis and Colitis (561)	Accidents (E800-E949)	[illegible]
5	Heart diseases (393-429)	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	[illegible]
6	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	Pneumonia (480-486)	[illegible]
7	Tuberculosis (010-019)	Diseases of arteries, arterioles & capillaries (440-448)	[illegible]
8	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	Diabetes mellitus (250)	[illegible]
9	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	[illegible]
10	Homicide (E960-E978)	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	[illegible]
	1966-1972		
1	Accidents (E800-E949)	Heart diseases (393-429)	[illegible]
2	Pneumonia (480-486)	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	[illegible]
3	Heart diseases (393-429)	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	[illegible]
4	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	Accidents (E800-E949)	[illegible]
5	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	Pneumonia (480-486)	[illegible]
6.5	Homicide (E960-E978)	Diseases of arteries, arterioles & capillaries (440-448)	[illegible]
6.5	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	[illegible]
8	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	Diabetes mellitus (250)	[illegible]
9	Tuberculosis (010-019)	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	[illegible]
10	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	[illegible]
	1973-1978		
1	Accidents (E800-E949)	Heart diseases (393-429)	[illegible]
2	Heart diseases (393-429)	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	[illegible]
3	Pneumonia (480-486)	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	[illegible]
4	Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	Accidents (E800-E949)	[illegible]
5	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	Pneumonia (480-486)	[illegible]
6	Cerebrovascular disease (430-438)	Diseases of arteries, arterioles & capillaries (440-448)	[illegible]
7	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	Diabetes mellitus (250)	[illegible]
8	Homicide (E960-E978)	Suicide & self-inflicted injury (E950-E959)	[illegible]
9	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	Certain causes of perinatal mortality (760-799)	[illegible]
10	Infectious diseases (000-036)	Congenital anomalies (740-759)	[illegible]

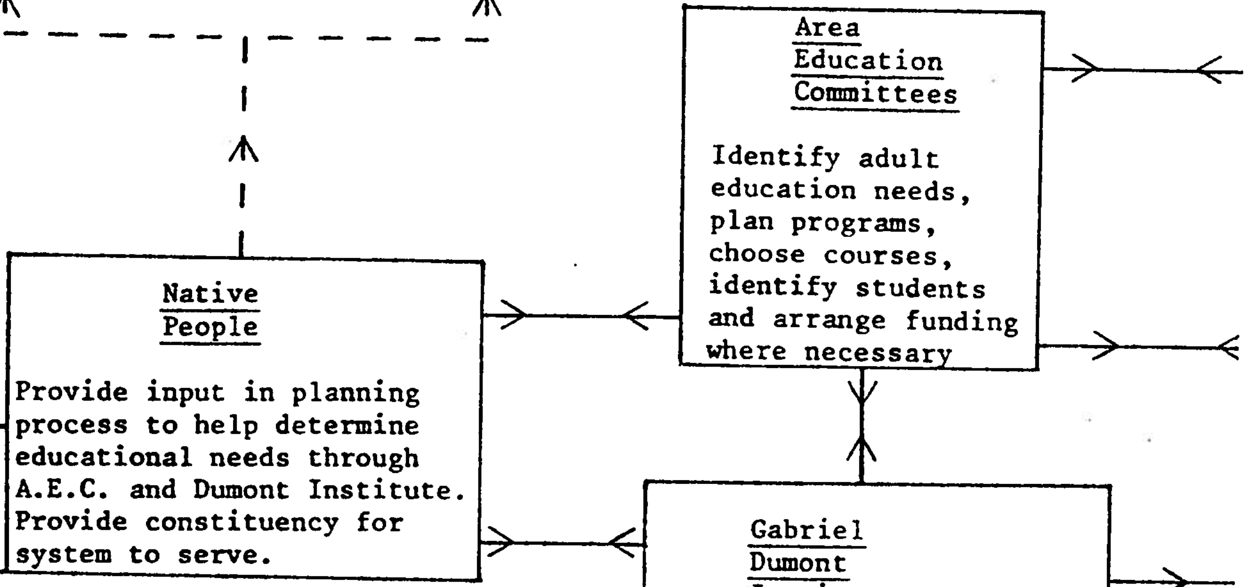
* Code numbers according to the International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries, and Causes of Death, 1965, Volume I, shown in brackets.

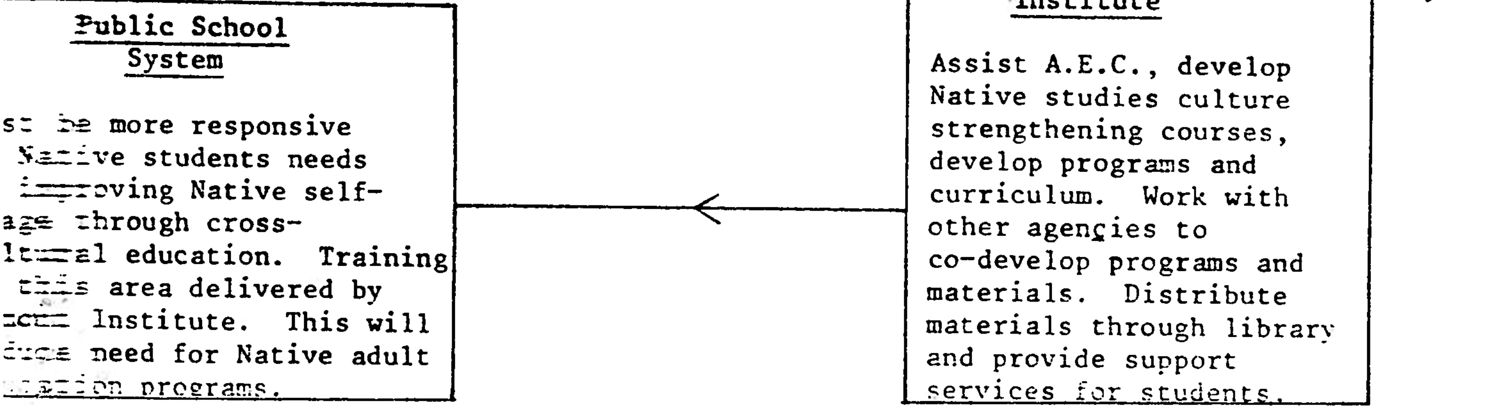
Source: Brady (1981), p. 96; Table 6.25.

CHART IV

THE TOTAL DELIVE







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