

CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF PERSONAL MEANING: THEIR LOSS AND RECOVERY

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated what occurs in an individual's life when their culture is changed or irretrievably lost; and it investigated how an individual then regains personal meaning during a time of cultural loss and change.

Peter Marris' innovative Theory of Loss and Change was used as the theoretical basis for the study. This theory states that a grief-like reformulation process occurs for individuals who experience any irretrievable loss of culture.

The Native Indian cultures of British Columbia were used as the cultural foundation. Three Native Indian elders were interviewed and their life histories recorded (Bertaux, 1981). The data collected was then used as multiple case studies and analyzed according to Yin (1984) and Stake (1980).

Cross-matching of patterns of loss and change, and patterns of recovery of personal meaning revealed six primary forms of loss and change in the elder's lives, and five primary characteristics of recovery of personal meaning. Secondary forms and characteristics in each area were identified as well.

Marris' Theory of Loss and Change was supported. It was also expanded to include the Native Indian cultures of British Columbia. In addition, the emotional elements of the reformulation process were specified.

The outcome of the study was a cognitive framework useful in

understanding the Native Indian cultures in British Columbia
and the personal conflicts of Native Indian individuals.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to three people whose lives have been spent building cultural bridges between Native Indian Canadians and Euro-Canadians;

GEORGE CLUTESI

ARTHUR MORE

ROBERT STERLING

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

Hitherto most people have accepted their cultures as a fate, like climate or vernacular; but our empathic awareness of the exact modes of many cultures is itself a liberation from them as prisons.

Marshall McLuhan (1972)

The people of British Columbia, Canada are a beautifully complex mix of cultural backgrounds. Some have had ancestors in this land for 10,000 years while others have had no one of their family here before them. The majority society that lives in B.C. is predominately of anglo ancestry; 'white' Euro-Canadians who are descendents of early settlers who arrived from Europe and Eastern Canada no more than one hundred years ago.

Woven into this cultural complexity is the phenomenon of a rapidly changing world. More technological advances have been made in the past one hundred years than in the previous one thousand. Rural areas have shrunk to accomodate increasing urbanization.

The stress of a rapidly changing world forces people to seek

professionally trained persons to enable them to find alternate means of coping. People who seek the services of a trained counselling psychologist are predominately from the Euro-Canadian sector of B.C.'s population.

There is one cultural group within B.C. which has experienced rapid cultural change and the loss of many meaningful traditions while simultaneously experiencing rapid technological change. This cultural group is the Native Indian population. Native Indian clients, however, are seldom seen by a counselling psychologist, and when they are, often are reluctant and short term clients.

This is an intriguing phenomenon, particularly when the Native Indian population carries a disproportionate number of human problems compared to the Euro-Canadian population.

In turn, counselling psychologists express puzzlement and frustration that their training as skilled helpers fails to relieve the pain of Native Indian people.

There is a major disparity, then, between Native Indian need and effective psychological help. In order to understand this disparity, consider the following points.

First, Euro-Canadians are noted for their strong ethnocentric bias along with their Euro-American cousins (Goodenough, 1963; Mead, 1955, 1982). There is a presumption that people of other cultures, notably those who are less technologically advanced are somehow inferior. The majority of counselling psychologists are Euro-Canadians.

Second, the history of initial interaction between Native Indian cultures and European cultures in B.C. is that of increasing domination, suppression and disregard on the part of Europeans; cautious acceptance, cultural advancement, cultural decline, external control, and sharp population decline on the part of Native Indians (Fisher, 1977). Europeans assumed a position of cultural power, and then quickly outnumbered the Native Indian population. When Native Indians fought back physically they were quickly suppressed; when Native Indians fought back verbally they were disregarded or placated. Native Indian people became powerless and imprisoned in their own land. Contrast this cultural bind with the mutual trust and respect that must exist as primary conditions between counsellor (Euro-Canadian) and client (Native Indian) for a successful outcome in counselling psychology.

Third, the settlement of B.C. by Euro-Canadians was consolidated between 1870 and 1880, one hundred years ago, only a few years beyond the present lifespan of an individual (Duff, 1964; Fisher, 1977). By 1900, the missionaries (Euro-Canadian) had instituted a school system, primarily a residential system, which was designed to assimilate Native Indians into Euro-Canadians. The missionaries in the schools outlawed the use of the Native Indian languages and enforced this rule with the strap; forcibly removed children from their homes if necessary and placed them in residential schools as many as 600 miles away; separated young children from their parents for periods ranging

from one to ten years if they were in residence; provided little nurturing; physically kept the boys and girls quite separate; provided, at most, a grade eight education. In 1984, the majority of Native Indian people who are parents and grandparents are the products of this residential school system, and in interaction with Euro-Canadians they are generally silent, distant, and shy.

Fourth, with the forceful interception between the generations by the residential school system, the traditional Native Indian languages, values, beliefs, and customs were not systematically taught to the next generations. These four primary composites of any culture began to die in the Native Indian cultures. An example of such a death is the present extinction of three languages, Pentlatch, Tsetsaut and Nicola in B.C. (Duff, 1964).

As language and customs were dying, Native Indian people also entered an acculturation process, incorporating Euro-Canadian language, customs, values and beliefs into their traditional cultures. The traditional canoe as a means of fishing was replaced by gas powered boats, for example. Loss and change occurred simultaneously (ibid).

Culture is the means by which a group of people collectively make meaning of the time before them and the space around them (Hall, 1973, 1984). Cultural identity is the essence of personal meaning as defined by a person's relationship to the environment and other people around them (Goodenough, 1963;

Chance, 1965; Hanson, 1975; De Vos, 1982; Mead, 1982). The culture, for example determines how a person celebrates the season's of the year or the death of a loved one. Further, the culture will define what work a person will perform in order to be a contributing member of society. One culture may regard cattle herding as meaningful work as do the Ibo's in Nigeria while a second culture may regard Olympic speed skating as meaningful work as do Canadians.

A major change within a culture, such as industrialization or war, or the loss of cultural values or language, as occurs when one culture oppresses another, creates a major shift in how people find personal meaning. Some people lose their sense of personal meaning completely (Goodenough, 1963; Campbell & Converse, 1972; Kunkel, 1975; Klinger, 1977; Spindler, 1977). Without a sense of meaning and purpose in life, people feel alienated, depressed, and lost (Fromm, 1972; Frankl, 1963; Hanson, 1975; Kunkel, 1975). They become listless, cynical, depressed, psychotic and suicidal. Alcohol and drug usage increase, and abusive behaviors are very evident in family groups (Chance & Foster, 1962; Chance, 1968; Berry & Annis, 1974b; Pizer & Travers, 1975; Marris, 1975).

With the tremendous loss and change within the Native Indian cultures in B.C. in the past one hundred years, it is understandable, therefore, that Native Indian people have lost a sense of personal meaning and purpose in their lives. This loss of personal meaning manifests itself in profound ways: the

percentage of violent deaths among the Native Indian population is three to four times higher than the Euro-Canadian population; ninety-five percent of the Native Indian population does not reach the age of 65; the majority of Native Indian students in B.C. schools drop out before grade eight; and infant mortality is sixty percent higher than Euro-Canadian infant mortality (Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980).

Finally, loss and change in a person's life are understood psychologically as the beginning of a reformulation process to restore meaning. For example, the loss of a loved person through death initiates a reformulation process commonly referred to as 'grief'. Counselling psychologists are trained to understand the stages of the reformulation process as documented by Kubler-Ross (1969, 1975) and others. This framework of loss and reformulation is then used by counsellors to enable their clients to restore personal meaning.

As Native Indian people have experienced profound loss due to the loss of and change in their cultures, it can be theorized that a reformulation process began after the loss and change occurred. Marris (1975) proposes such a theory. He uses studies performed in Great Britain and Africa to suggest that people in cultures that experience loss and change are universally invoked to enter the reformulation process. Individuals and groups of individuals automatically seek the restoration of personal meaning. At a cultural level, this reformulation process is at once both an individual and a group experience.

Marris believes that not every cultural change invokes the bereavement process. It is only "...the loss of important attachments. Nor does it fit disruptive changes, however severe, if the loss is obviously retrievable. The analogy applies rather to those situations where crucial purposes have been disorientated - either because an attachment has been broken, or because circumstances are too baffling to attach any purpose to them, or because purposes are brought into contradiction. ."

(ibid, pages 158-159).

Marris implies that the reformulation of a cultural loss may occur over several generations and is perhaps not completed in the lifespan of one individual. For "...as long as there is a possibility of reward, behaviour will seek to find it" (ibid, page 159).

The outcome of the reformulation process is dependent upon the individual or cultural group "...restoring a sense that the lost attachment can still give meaning to the present, not on finding a substitute" (ibid, page 159). Thus the reformulation process is one of conflict, of returning to the past which cannot be done or forgetting the past which cannot be done either.

However, "The working out of grief is itself the central, most urgent task, because the bereaved cannot repair the ability to learn any meaningful ways of coping, until they have undertaken it. Once they have worked this out, they will find vitality and confidence for other purposes" (ibid, p.160).

Understanding the bereavement or reformulation process does not necessarily change behaviour. Knowing, however that the process is a universal response to loss, that it is normal and to be expected can relieve the stress of experiencing reformulation. This is the theoretical basis of 'grief work' in counselling psychology. The same understanding of cultural reformulation as a response to cultural loss may also then relieve the stress of experiencing cultural reformulation. In addition, it may also increase support from surrounding cultures, support being a prime factor in the successful outcome of reformulation. Another outcome of understanding the cultural reformulation process is that articulation of the experience is more possible. Marris (1975) states that; "The length and intensity of the crisis, the risk that its resolution will be abortive, can be reduced by the way the conflict is articulated and contained within a supportive structure...the implications are different when the experience is shared" (page 162).

In summary, the present lifestyle of Native Indian people in B.C. may be understood within the framework of a cultural reformulation process, one which is analogous with the grief experienced by an individual. It is a search for continuity in life which may be at once both an individual search for purpose and meaning, and a cultural search for purpose and meaning.

As counselling psychologists, it may be helpful to have this framework when counselling Native Indian clients. It may also be very helpful for Native Indian people, who are either counsellors

or clients to understand the cultural process they are presently living. As stated above, understanding the cultural reformulation process for Native Indian people may reduce the stress of the experience, increase support from others, and enable an articulation of the experience. Marris (1975) believes that reducing stress, increasing support, and articulating the experience reduce the intensity of the process and its length, as well as increasing the likelihood of a positive outcome. Considering the historical factors of Native Indian and Euro-Canadian interaction, using this cultural reformulation framework may also increase trust and respect, prime factors in a counselling situation.

B. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study investigated what occurred in the lives of individuals when their culture had been lost and changed. It attempted to document the losses of individuals and then how they found personal meaning during a time when their cultural foundations were lost and changing.

The specific objectives of this study were;

1. to use B.C. Native Indian cultures as the cultural foundation of personal meaning.
2. to apply Peter Marris' Theory of Cultural Loss and Change to the Native Indian cultures of B.C.

C. DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study 'culture' was defined as the language, values, beliefs and customs which a group of individuals collectively use to find meaning for themselves in time and space (Hall, 1975).

'Native Indian cultures' referred definitively to the eleven ethnically separate Native Indian cultures that exist in the physical area politically defined as British Columbia, Canada. They are Athapaskan, Bella Coola, Chilcotin, Coast Salish, Haida, Interior Salish, Kootenay, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Tlingit, and Tsimshian (Duff, 1964).

'Native Indian' was defined as any individual whose personal and cultural identity is that of any of the above Native Indian cultures in B.C. For the purposes of this study the other Native Indian cultures in Canada were ignored. The definition also excluded any legal definition of 'Indian' as used by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

'Euro-Canadian' was used to describe someone whose cultural identity is found in Europe and who has, or whose ancestors have immigrated to B.C. A Euro-Canadian is commonly referred to as 'white'. 'Euro-Canadian' is a term widely used in ethnography and anthropology, for example Bienvenue (1978).

The definition of personal meaning used in this study was that of Klinger's (1977). He defines meaning as the subjective, pervasive quality of a person's whole inner being and is

experienced as both thought and emotion. Personal meaning is the individual's purpose and function in life.

The phrase 'cultural foundation of personal meaning' was a combination of the definitions of 'culture' and 'personal meaning'. Therefore, cultural foundation of personal meaning was defined as the language, values, beliefs, and customs by which an individual defines themselves in relationship to others and as one of a group creating meaning for themselves. The language, customs, beliefs, and values are the behaviour expressed, as well as the individuals cognitive and affective inner experience. By using these cultural foundations, the individual creates their fundamental purpose and function in life.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON LOSS OF PERSONAL MEANING
DUE TO CULTURAL LOSS AND CHANGE

A review of the literature on the loss and recovery of personal meaning (psychological variables) because of the loss and change in one's culture (anthropological or sociological variables) revealed a multi-disciplinary approach to this problem. The amount of literature specifically addressing the issue was less than expected.

The literature of several disciplines was reviewed; psychology, cross-cultural psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) did not list 'personal meaning', 'cultural loss' or 'cultural change' as descriptors. The prime sources of information were the Social Science abstracts which used 'culture loss' and 'culture change' as descriptors, and referred to the anthropology literature. The descriptor 'social change' led to literature in sociology. Some of the articles thus found documented psychological effects, but none of these effects referred specifically to the loss of personal meaning or its recovery process. The Psychological abstracts used 'culture', 'culture change', 'culture shock', 'personal values' and 'meaning' as descriptors. Searching from a period of 1894 to

present day produced fewer studies than expected pertaining to Native Indians in North America. The vast majority of studies focussed on Third World cultures.

The literature on Native Indians populations was also reviewed with a specific focus on psychological studies. This again became a multi - disciplinary search that included psychology, sociology, education and anthropology. A good deal of the literature documented the present psychological state of the Native Indian population with studies on alcohol and drug abuse, suicide, high stress levels, and poor performance in school, but none of the literature directly addressed the loss of personal meaning.

Much of the literature did, however refer to culture loss and/or change as the reason for alcohol abuse, suicide, and the other destructive behaviours.

This review outlines what research was found that pertained to this study in any way. Cultural loss and cultural change are addressed together.

A. THE LOSS OF PERSONAL MEANING DUE TO CULTURAL LOSS AND CHANGE

1. Marris' Theory of Loss and Change

Marris' (1975) theory, introduced in Chapter One, is the theoretical focus of this thesis. Therefore, it is reviewed at length in this chapter.

In the field of culture loss and change, Marris' work is innovative. The focus of Marris' (1975) work is a PROCESS that he believes is inevitable in all people who experience profound culture loss and change. In contrast to other literature which was reviewed (see below), Marris looks at the entire pattern of people's behaviour. The remaining literature details specific behaviours which the researchers find evident in persons who are members of a culture that has been changed or lost, for example, Fransted (1982). Or the reverse approach may be used in the research; people exhibiting violent behavior or family breakdown may be found to have experienced culture loss and change as in Ward (1975).

Marris theorizes that the process of bereavement is universally invoked in all people upon the loss of something or someone that allowed them to find meaning and purpose in their lives. Grief "...describes a situation where someone is bereft of purpose, and so feels helpless" (page 37).

In applying the process of grief in a cultural sense,

Marris (1975) states; "The personal confusion of identity, provoked by the disruption of cultures and communities, becomes displaced onto collective expressions of a common dilemma....In all these situations, I believe, an ambivalence fundamentally similar to grieving is working itself out: and the process is as vulnerable to abortive outcomes as personal grief" (pages 64,65).

Marris, then, theorizes upon the fundamental conflict that is the essence of human behaviour when culture loss and change is experienced. Cultural beliefs, customs, values and/or language have been lost and it is imperative to personal survival that new beliefs, values, customs and language be devised that will allow new personal meaning. It is impossible to return to the old culture or dismiss its significance in people's lives. Yet the old culture is no longer adequate in finding meaning in the new surroundings. It is necessary then, to seek a solution to the conflict and find new meaning. Others within the same disrupted culture will have experienced the same personal conflict, so that this conflict will be at once both personal and shared by others. On a cultural level, it is a group conflict and a group process that is analogous to the grief process.

Marris (1975) refers to the grief process as a 'reformulation' process. He does not outline its stages as does Kubler-Ross (1969, 1975) who defines process stages of Loss followed by Denial; Anger; Bargaining; Depression;

Acceptance; and Hope. Marris makes reference to these behaviors in less definitive ways. He does, however, state three clear characteristics of the grief/reformulation process:

1. Reformulation is generated by a loss which creates conflict.
No one knows what the reformulation process will produce.
2. The reformulation process is meaningful in and of itself.
3. While the reformulation process is being experienced,
resolving the conflict created by culture loss is the only
meaningful reference point for behavior.

In summarizing the grief/reformulation process, Marris writes; "Recovery from grief depends on restoring a sense that the lost attachment can still give meaning to the present, not on finding a substitute. The purpose and feeling it expressed has somehow to be abstracted from its past setting and reformulated so as to make present and future behaviour interpretable as rewarding" (page 159).

B. PERSONAL MEANING IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

Mead (1955) referred to the identification with the land that is central to individuals in many non-technical cultures. By belonging to a particular piece of land, individuals find meaning in their role in it's usage, the prestige attached to it, and its practical role in their survival.

Culture = values, beliefs, and customs, and they are transmitted from individual to individual through a common language. Goodenough (1963) stated that an individual's happiness is dependent upon their seeking a personal identity that is socially approved by others in their culture. This social identity is then the root of their personal meaning in life; it is the means by which they value themselves.

De Vos (1982) confirmed Goodenough's (1963) conceptualization of the inter-relationship between personal meaning and culture. He wrote that personal identification with a culture determines how an individual feels about himself, his past and his means of survival. Cultural identity determines how an individual relates to the common crises in the life cycle, such as birth, marriage, divorce, death. De Vos further stated that development of the self is innately social, beginning in the primary social group, the family, then extending to the community and bounded by the cultural group. All the levels of interaction between self and the social group enable the definition of personal meaning.

In Edward Hall's recent work (1984) he defined the most powerful essence of a culture as its 'informal culture'; interpersonal relations. Hall stated that an individual's survival is determined by their degree of rootedness in a healthy, active informal culture. And he concluded his book with an emphatic statement of belief that time, as we see it

culturally is all we have to find meaning for ourselves.

The final work reviewed on culture and personal meaning is a thorough, detailed treatise by Hanson (1975). Hanson stated that individuals imply their personal meaning from a culture while simultaneously applying meaning to a culture. We do this by conceptualizing absolute presuppositions of meaning and truth. One is relative to the other. Hanson used his conceptualization of meaning in culture to understand other cultures. He also applied it to anthropological studies, one of which is the ecological approach to culture which Berry (1976, 1980) used as a model.

C. CULTURE CHANGE AND LOSS

Moore (1974) clearly defined the changes that can occur in a society or culture. First, certain autonomous changes can occur within a culture in communication, socialization, values, etc., which are determined by individuals in that culture. Secondly, environmental adjustment may be necessary in a culture due to crop failure or technological advances. A third form of social change is that of the breakdown of social order within a culture, and the fourth is social revolution. These forms of change are more or less controlled by the culture internally, and are adaptive and necessary for their continuing survival.

A fifth form of culture change is acculturation. Acculturation is the transfer of cultural elements from one

culture to another. This transfer is viewed as a continuum beginning with the simple acceptance of a custom or belief (adaptive) to the extreme of forced transformations of whole social systems from one culture to another. Acculturation in the past has been accomplished by colonization, war and missionary activity. Presently, acculturation occurs most often in the form of 'modernization'.

Other sociology literature such as Campbell & Converse (1972); Kunkel (1975); Schneider (1976); and Spindler (1977) addressed these same processes of culture change in a manner similar to Moore (1974).

In all discussions of culture change, no author clearly defined the point at which the degree of change is so great that parts of the culture are lost.

D. PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CULTURE CHANGE AND LOSS

1. Theoretical Work

Margaret Mead (1955) stated that all social change occurs through individuals. While writing about patterns of technical change in culture she asked what occurred for individuals who experienced technological change in their culture. She discovered that the fields of psychiatry and psychology had not as yet researched this area. She concluded that psychological

disturbances must occur and that clinical case histories were necessary in the field.

John Berry, the Canadian cross-cultural psychologist has developed an 'ecological-cultural-behavioural model' which he used as a framework to understand acculturation or culture change (1976, 1980). Within his framework he included stress as an outcome of acculturation. It is measured with several variables; psychosomatic symptoms of stress, feelings of marginality, and the development of attitudes of assimilation, integration, and rejection.

Berry's model detailed four variables of the contact culture; the contact settlement pattern, the contact exploitive pattern, the diversity and stratification of the contact culture, and the socialization emphases upon contact. He noted the expectation by Western cultures that socialization will occur in the direction of their dominant culture. And while relationships are not clear, certain behaviours in the acculturated group have been well documented; an increase in family disorganization, and increased difficulties in child-rearing.

Berry concentrated his work upon perceptual-cognitive functioning and referred to it as exploratory. He has spent little time studying the social and emotional variables of acculturation.

A few recent papers have addressed the loss of psychological stability after a cultural loss or change.

Kirkness (1980) noted the increased personal identity crisis for Native Indian children who are removed from their cultural homes and placed in non-Native homes. Taft (1977) detailed six coping responses to unfamiliar cultures; strain, a sense of loss, rejection, confusion, moral anxiety over cultural differences, and personal incompetency. He used a variety of literary research from which to draw these conclusions, from Victor Frankl to John Berry. His prime source was the U.S. Peace Corps experience.

Pizer and Travers (1975) gave a simplistic outline of social change and the role of psychological variables. They referred to the 'culture and personality' school of psychologists and anthropologists, which includes Erik Erikson. They concluded that this school of scholars has firmly established that a change in socialization practices is interdependent with a change in values and roles for the individual. Then, using Erikson's (1963) case study of the Sioux they further concluded that the loss of harmony between Indian child and Indian adult was the result of a tremendous change in socialization brought about by Euro-American contact.

Cawte et al (1968) have investigated the psychosomatic expression of acculturation among Australian aborigines. In Alaska, Chance and Foster (1962) studied the patterns of psychopathology in Eskimos who were experiencing rapid changes in their society. Chance (1968) later discussed the relationship

between personal adjustment and identity with acculturation. He concluded that the common forms of culturally-induced stress among the Canadian Indian population were the problem of self-identity and cognitive conflict brought on by increasing contact with modern western society. And he stated that there were variations among youth and parents in the techniques used to adapt to this conflict. Irregardless of the technique used, however the conflict generates considerable psychopathology.

Pedersen, Lonner, and Draguns (1981) of the East-West Cultural Center in Hawaii discussed the maladaptation and stress of the cultural contact situation. Fransted (1981) in an anthropological dissertation confirmed that there were intense periods of personal maladaptation amongst Native Indians during culture change.

2. Specific Native Indian Studies

The studies included in this section of the review used Native Indian subjects. In the conclusions of the research the authors generally discussed the belief that what had been found was at least in part attributable to culture change and loss.

Ward (1975) in a presentation to a coroner's jury in Ontario attributed the high rate of suicide amongst the Native Indian people of the area, in part due to the stress and disruption of

the culture change they had experienced.

In a stress study with Cree students at the University of Brandon, Blue and Blue (1984) concluded that certain stress factors are a culturally specific response to stress, and found that the general stress level of the students was above the national student average. Sikand (1978, 1979, 1980) studied the stress levels of several Canadian Indian populations. Some of his findings correlated stress with acculturation, and concluded that the stress level of the Native student in Canada was twice as high as the non-Native student.

3. Native Indian Recovery from Culture Change and Loss

One article was found that discussed a therapeutic approach that would enable Native Indian clients, in a cross-cultural setting to regain control and meaning in their lives. Jilek-Aall (1976) described the use of Indian myths as a means of engaging the client and facilitating therapy. She also referred to acculturative stress and social conflict as relevant issues for Native Indian clients.

Empirically, the most profound recovery process with Native Indian people are self-help programs that incorporate Native Indian leaders and Native Indian culture. These, however, are

seldom researched and academically referenced projects. Therefore, no reference to these programs was included in this study.

E. CULTURE CHANGE AND LOSS IN THE NATIVE INDIAN CULTURES OF B.C.

The literature reviewed here was brief and anthropological. The psychological effects of culture loss and change are documented, but the relationship between the two variables was indirectly drawn. Generally, this relationship was made by describing Native Indian lifestyles prior to European contact and after European contact.

Two works stand out beyond the others: Robin Fisher's CONTACT AND CONFLICT (1977); and Wilson Duff's THE INDIAN HISTORY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA (1964).

Fisher provided a readable, well-referenced, and carefully researched account of the history of Indian-European relations in B.C. What emerged was the documentation of cultural change in phases beginning in 1774 and ending with the loss of cultural control about 1890. Large influxes of Euro-Canadian settlers between 1870 and 1890 confirmed the loss of Native Indian control over the land and their lifestyle.

Duff provided an anthropological, historical account of the same period as Fisher and continued beyond 1890. He referred to

the residential and day school system of education run by missionaries, and the continuing political battle for recognition of land title and aboriginal rights from Euro-Canadians.

Other works elaborated upon the history provided by Fisher and Duff. Lewis (1970) published a case study of a Native Indian village which focussed upon the impact of change in Indian families. The psychological factors were only implied, but family disruption was anthropologically described. LaViolette (1961) wrote of the history of contact from a cultural survival perspective. He concluded that cultural change and loss occurred, though some of his facts are considered inaccurate and his account was generalized.

Several recent books have been life history accounts of cultural loss and change. Spradley (1969) told the story of James Sewid, Kwakiutl. It was primarily anthropological and summarized Sewid's successful adaptation to culture conflict. Blackman's (1981) biographical account of Florence Davidson's life detailed her acculturation from the traditional Haida to a present day Haida. Acculturative patterns were present in the book, but were not focussed upon and described.

In summary, a review of the literature demonstrated that a loss of personal meaning and identity is strongly related to culture change and loss. Some studies have demonstrated this relationship by using populations which have experienced culture

change, then describing psychological behaviours, behaviours which strongly indicated a negative response to life. Other studies, particularly with Native Indian populations in Canada have attributed high degrees of stress, suicide and other violent behaviours to culture change and loss. The anthropology literature clearly demonstrated that culture loss and change occurred amongst the Native Indian cultures of B.C. However, none of the studies reviewed considered the process of recovering personal meaning after culture change and loss occurred, except Peter Marris. His theory is central to the following research.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

A case study design was chosen for this study. This was considered the best research approach for several reasons: given the cultural dynamics of a white researcher and a Native Indian subject, the least offensive and the least threatening of designs was important for a reliable and valid outcome in the study; Native Indian people have been studied and subjected to intellectual probing by many scientists over the years, particularly anthropologists, and they mistrust, to say the least, a question and answer, manipulative or powerful approach; the Native Indian cultures have an oral tradition, so that an oral approach would be highly appropriate to the subjects. A design where the subjects had high personal control, were active participants and were not manipulated in anyway was therefore considered the most effective design.

The case study research design is the preferred design over experimental when examining contemporary/historical events where the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated (Yin, 1984). As with experimental research designs the case study answers 'how' and 'why' research questions (Yin, 1984).

However, the case study approach has been widely criticised for its lack of research rigor, its small base for scientific

generalization, and its usual lengthy, unreadable documentation. Yin (1984) considered these three criticisms valid. However, Yin along with Campbell (1975) and Stake (1980) praised the validity, reliability and appropriateness of the case study and detailed the manner in which researchers may perform their studies to overcome these criticisms. Yin further asserted that the skills of the researcher need to be far greater than that of "any other research strategy" (1984, page 56). He listed five skills necessary to conduct effective case study research:

1. the ability to ask good questions and interpret the answers
2. the ability to be a good listener
3. the ability to be adaptive and flexible
4. a firm grasp of the issues being studied
5. free from biased, preconceived emotions

(ibid, pages 56, 57)

As these five skills are also the skills necessary for an effective counselling psychologist, it was appropriate for the present researcher to proceed with the case study design.

The case study method does not dictate random choice of subjects, although in a broad way, this study attempted random choice. Many contacts to elders were available to the researcher, with limits being made by the elder's willingness to talk and their physical availability. It was therefore possible to interview elders who represented a wide range of cultural and life differences, as well as interview both male and female elders.

The primary delimitation to the case study, interview method is that not all attitudes, beliefs and events in a person's life are discussed in one interview. However, as a follow-up study to a case study, patterns not identified in interview, but in a replication could be verified as existing/not existing in the first interview. Follow-up was not done in this study.

The study was conducted as a multiple-case study. Both Stake (1980) and Yin (1984) state that at least three sources of data are important for a rigorous, highly reliable, internally valid study. Therefore, three case studies were conducted, the second and third case studies being replications of the first.

The data was collected as oral life histories as suggested by Bertaux (1981). Bertaux stated that the goal of research is "to acquire knowledge about certain social processes", not to produce scientific results (page 33). By obtaining the life histories of persons from all levels and occupations of society, Bertaux maintained that social scientists are better able to KNOW society. The life history approach was used in this study as the research question was considering the 'how' and 'why' of a social process; the recovery of structure and meaning in a person's life following an irretrievable loss or change. The recalled, significant events in a person's life would provide the best answers (Bertaux, 1981). The life history was recorded as an oral interview shared with the researcher in keeping with Native Indian cultural tradition, as stated above.

Each person interviewed was asked to respond to the

following question;

"As Native Indian culture was more and more in contact with European culture here in B.C., Native Indian people found their lives more and more involved with a different way of life.

Then there came a time about 100 years ago when Native people found themselves outnumbered in their own land by these white European newcomers, forced from their traditional homes, their lives disrupted by alcohol and disease, their way of life judged unacceptable, and their children removed from their care and sent far away to residential schools to learn to become white men. Most of the traditional ways of life as they were know 150 years ago, were lost.

You have lived a long life in a Native Indian culture when most of the traditional ways are dead or dying and people are struggling to find meaning for themselves in both the traditional culture and the new culture.

Everyone once found personal meaning in the traditional ways and then this became confused. The ways of the new culture were also confusing. In order to live during the past 100 years, each person has had to find a meaning for themselves in the midst of this loss and confusion.

I'd like to hear the story of your life, particularly the parts where you found meaning for yourself during a time of loss of traditional ways in the midst of new ways."

This question was read aloud by the interviewer prior to each interview. Each interview was conducted by the researcher. The elder was encouraged to talk freely about themselves with only guiding responses and clarification questions asked by the interviewer (Bertaux, 1981).

Native Indian elders (55+) were chosen to be interviewed for this study as they have experienced the greatest length and intensity of cultural change and so, provide the richest data. A criterion of 55+ years of age for study purposes also meant that to have lived that long in a culture where only 5% of the population live to be 65 or older, these elders would be the exception in longevity and successful living. They would be certain to have found some successful means of obtaining structure and purpose in their lives.

The elders were contacted by the investigator through her friends and associates in the Native Indian community. In the Initial Contact Letter, the names of these contacts were stated with their permission. The follow-up telephone call with the elders usually mentioned these contact persons as well.

Of five elders contacted by letter initially, one declined to be interviewed because she was too busy, and the second was out of town for sometime and unavailable during the time of the study. The remaining three consented to be interviewed.

The interview was arranged by phone. The time and place was mutually agreeable to both the elder and the investigator, with the place being primarily the choice of the elder. The first

interview was conducted in the livingroom of the woman's daughter, the second interview was conducted in my office, and the third interview was held in the kitchen of the elder's home.

Approximately three weeks lapsed between each case interview.

Each interview lasted approximately two hours and was tape recorded. The tape was then transcribed onto a word processor. The initial transcription was then edited. The editing provided clarity to the reader, as well as organization for the analysis of the data.

The editing was as follows; the initial response to the interview question remained in its initial position with the remaining interview being organized chronologically. Few words were omitted or altered, and then primarily for grammatical purposes to allow easier understanding to the reader.

Analysis of the Case Interviews

The interviews were analyzed for patterns (Stake 1980), and all patterns were then analyzed against the theoretical foundation of Marris.

Each case interview was analyzed in the order they were conducted.

The pattern analysis was as follows;

1. Patterns of irretrievable loss and change in the culture as

indicated in the elder's life.

2. Patterns of recovery of personal meaning in the elder's life by the identification of key structural elements which provided support and guidance.

3. Patterns of grief/reformulation as identified by Kubler-Ross in her research on the terminally ill (1969, 1975): Denial; Anger; Bargaining; Depression; Acceptance; Hope.

These patterns were all considered as independent variables.

The identification of each pattern in the case was cited by page and line number in the interview.

4. Cross-case pattern matching was then performed.

5. Unmatched cross-case patterns were identified.

Results of the analysis were then outlined.

To ensure accuracy, the edited interview was read by each elder and facts, spellings, etc. validated.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY INTERVIEWS

This chapter contains the interviews given by three Native Indian elders to the researcher. Each interview lasted two hours, was held in a place chosen by the elder and was tape recorded. The first interview was in the home of the elder's daughter, the second interview was in the researcher's office, and the third interview was in the kitchen of the elder's home.

The tape recorded interview was transcribed and then edited. The editing was relatively simple; material shared by the elder was consolidated according to topic and then presented topically in chronological order. Each elder responded to the interview question initially with a discussion of their residential school experience.

In all cases, the interviewees words have been used in the edited interview with some words being changed or re-arranged for clarity. Repetitive words and incomplete sentences have been deleted. Headings were extracted from the material for the sake of clear presentation here.

In a few instances, material from the original interview has not been included in the edited version. This was generally done for the sake of anonymity or because it was too personal for the

elder to be comfortable about its inclusion.

The interviews are presented here in the order they were conducted. The first interviewee wished to remain anonymous. She is female, in her mid-60's and from an isolated northern community in B.C. where contact with Euro-Canadians has been minimal compared to other parts of the province. This contact was also more controlled by the Native Indian community than in other parts of the province.

The second interview was with Minnie Croft, also female and in her mid-seventies. She was born in Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, is Haida and has lived the majority of her life in Vancouver.

The third interview was with Arnold Guerin, male and in his mid-seventies. He was born on the Musqueam Reserve, is Coast Salish and has lived his life in Native Indian communities in the Vancouver area.

Each of the elders consented to be interviewed after they had verified me as a trustworthy person. In each case I knew friends or relatives of the elder, but did not know nor had met the elder. The first interview, in fact, was formally arranged by the elder's daughter. I confirmed the time and place.

A. First Interview

ANONYMOUS

Sent to Residential School

To begin with, when I was just a little wee girl of seven my parents sent me away to residential school. And this was to help me learn white ways and get an education. It was hard to be sent away. I think I was sick for a month when I was first in the school. I used to cry myself to sleep. Most of all I missed our own food. It seemed so changed from our own food, this white food. It tasted strange - there were alot of things I didn't have at home. But when I got home for my first holiday I sat down and told my Mother all about this. And then I missed what I used to eat in school. And my Mother would go all out of her way to go buy it. She would try and create both kinds of food.

There was a school in the village when I was small - a one room schoolhouse - cold! I only went to school there a year.

At Residential School

I was away from home at school for ten months, until the end of June.

I was a good student and I passed and I finished my grade eight when I was 14. And I couldn't leave school; I had to

keep going back. In those days you couldn't be out of school until you were 17 or 18. You couldn't just quit school when you finished in those days. So I kept going back, and the last year I went back we had a teacher that taught me secretarial skills.

The school I went to was run by missionaries and we were taught all these things - like I never went to another residential school where boys and girls were together. We were all girls and we had our own separate building. It was strict. I never saw any boys or men, it was all girls. We never talked to any males. Even when we used to go play in the village they kept us to ourselves. And this is what our principal, a lady who was a missionary would tell us. She taught us reading and writing and she had rules. There was no alcohol or smoking. She was really against this. All our staff were all Christians, really good Christians and that's the way they taught us.

So what I learned in residential school went together with what I learned at home. They were similar.

My Family

My parents were much older than I was. They weren't my own legal parents; I was adopted. Whenever I got home from residential school, my Mother always sat me down and she never let me forget my own culture. She made me sit there and learn our own ways. All the summer months that I was there she told me she didn't send me away to school to erase my own culture.

She wanted me to have an education. She never went to school and she couldn't read and this is what she didn't want me to do. She wanted me to get this extra schooling. So whenever I came home she kept this with me - my own culture and she told me what I learned.

Coming home on my summer holidays, and then she'd remind me what she was teaching me: about what white people would call certain things; a girl mustn't do certain things, like me being a girl I never sat at the table with my Father or went near my Father when he had to rest.

My Father was involved in what they called "The Land Question". There were always chiefs in our house. I was never allowed to go near my Father when he was talking to our chiefs and talking business. When there was nobody home I was allowed to sit on his lap and everything. But when he had visitors I couldn't. This was one of the main rules. This was similar to what I learned in residential school.

And as I grew older my Mother taught me different things about our culture - like as I came out of my girlhood. When I went out of my girlhood it was kind of hard. They had rules for those kind of things. She put me in a room all by myself and I stayed there three days. She put me on a fast and would come in and tell me how to be a lady - I couldn't be sloppy. She explained to me why I had to be on my own. In those days it wasn't right for a girl to be walking the streets all the time.

I had to be a lady. And that was why I was by myself. I had a nice comfortable chair and she brought me whatever she thought I could learn, like knitting needles and crochet hooks. And whenever I got bored with something she brought me something else. And that's what it was: I was by myself; she wouldn't let me look out the window. On the first day, I was restless. Like at the school where I was at, you were given time to play. There was always hopping or skipping - hopscotch. Then when I'd go home I'd carry out the same thing. So when she put me in this room to sit, it seemed miserable. I was 14 when I became a woman.

And my Mother went through the same thing when she became a woman. You see, our culture says you must put your daughter through this same discipline and this daughter does the same to her daughter. But now, it's different. I don't think anybody else does it. But I did it for four of my daughters.

In my day I never never went anywhere without my Mother. I went where my Mother went and where she wanted me to go. If she didn't want me to go with her then I stayed at home. She would tell me that and I'd stay home. When I was very little, we were forever in cradles, you know, that you hang up from the ceiling and then can be rocked. I can remember even when it was time for my nap she used to put me in a big one. And she had this curved piece of wood that she'd put over my face part and then she'd cover me up and that's where I'd sleep. When I'd wake up all I

did was call her and she'd take me out. I remember that so well. I was always physically close to my Mom until I was seven and I was sent to the residential school.

As a little girl I would watch my Mother when she was canning salmon. My Mother used to chase me away because I was in her way. And I was always there wanting to help. We also smoked the salmon. There's a certain way to make those fillets and that's supposed to be really hard. You have to cut them so thin. And I did it - maybe they weren't that thin. In the canneries they allowed the people to have smokehouses. All the canneries weren't on the water, just the canning part. The accommodations were on the land. So my Mother always had a smokehouse and I always wanted to help. But my Mother didn't want me to spoil the nice salmon, so she used to tell my Father to bring in the pinks. Then she'd tell me to smoke them myself. That's how I learned. We called it ----- (own language). So when we were at the canneries we were doing the fish the Indian way and the white way.

My Mother was kind. She kept alot of children that weren't her own. She raised them and they never left her until they were on their own. So her adopted family was my older brothers, and then she adopted a girl and a boy, then me. I was the youngest. But in my own legal family I was the second oldest. I never knew my own legal family until I was about 14. And I didn't even want to go near them then, they were strangers. It wasn't till after

my Father died. That was my first time with them.

I was working in the cannery at that time. I started working in the cannery when I was 11 and I was earning 10 cents an hour. I was at the cannery at ----- every summer. I worked there about two summers and then when my Father died when I was 15, because there was no work in -----, my Mother told me I had to go to the ---river with my own legal parents.

It was very hard to live with people I never even knew. My Mother had other sisters who were closer to me than my own parents. If she had given me a choice I would have stayed with one of my other aunts, but she didn't. She made me stay with my parents, and my brothers and sisters. So that was really hard. But before the summer was over, I had learned. Like when I was at residential school I had learned so much about the Bible passages. When I went to stay with my parents everything sort of came back to me that the teacher had taught us. This is what really helped me out - the faith that they had taught us.

By the end of the summer, I got pretty close. My Dad was just like my own Father. And my sisters, closer and closer. I really took care of them. I think this is what brought me close to them - I was teaching them in our own language. My mother would never allow any of her children to go to school the way I did, to be sent away. She lost so many children. She didn't want them to leave home. My sister right next to me - when she was a teenager she ended up going into an institution. I was taught and she wasn't. But I taught the younger ones. And that

was what really brought me close to them.

And I did this for about three years, going home to my Mother in our own village and then, come the summer I'd go to my own parents on the ---river. We were living in ----- on the ---river. It's closed down now.

And my mother was net woman. She would repair the nets. I had no interest in it.

My Marriage and Family

My marriage was arranged. I was told who I was going to marry - it felt strange! I wept! In my generation nobody came to court you or stuff like that. You were sitting here and the next thing you know, you were told that you were going to get married. Well, in my day, it was a little better, it wasn't forced. Like before that I know I had two cousins who were really forced, who were way older than me. So by the time it got to me, that tradition had eased a bit. You see in my day, then it was somebody my own age. But my older cousins, they had to marry really older men. That often happened, the older men got first pick. But when they came around to my time, it was somebody my own age. I could have said, 'No', I guess. But it turned out to be a good marriage. We got married in the traditional way and in the church. It was a real wedding.

The same year I got married, my mother had gone down to work on the ---river and we went down to look after the garden.

Everybody was catching spring salmon. My husband, he had no net of any kind, but he had a boat. So we decided to try and make a net. We brought out all the old webbing that was around the house. I put them together. We had it made. I think this was when we had our first fight. He didn't believe how to put the floaters on. I knew, and he didn't believe me. Like the lead line is longer than the top and this was what our fight was about. But in the end I won!

And we caught fish, oh we did really good. And right off the bat I started doing my own canning. I did the same thing as my Mother. So when I told her about it, she was really proud of me. I even brought the salmon down to taste.

I was about 23 when my Mother died of cancer. I was all alone with my children. I was pretty young then. It was then I realized that I was really on my own. I missed her very much. But I kept them together, and that's what I did - sewing, even to my baby's bunting bag. And I'm still kicking myself for not keeping it.

I used an old coat to make a bunting bag. I had two boys, and then I had two girls together. That was good you know. So I made the bunting bag and the boys told me they were going to get the fur for around the face. So I asked them where they were going to get it, and the younger one said, "Oh....." Two days later they came home with a weasel, a white weasel. They'd trapped it. It was a white weasel with spots on it. So they went

over to an uncle who is a trapper, and he showed them how to skin it and how to dry it. When it was dry I measured it and it didn't fit very good, so they had to try and get another one.

There were times when the kids were growing up I never shopped anywhere but through the mail order catalog. We'd start in about August; we'd start getting shoes for all of them, boots. And this is where my Mother's training really came into me from when I was small. I always wore homemade clothes that she made herself. And when I started getting children I did the same thing. If anything came my way that was really nice, but it was a used article of clothing, I would just rip it up and wash it. I'd look at the catalog, pick a nice little dress and I'd just copy it. That's the way with all my children; I made all their clothes and did lots of knitting. I never ever bought them sweaters from the store. I knit them all myself.

The school in our village when my daughters were young was good, it was modern. I didn't need to send them to residential school like my mother sent me. The school had three rooms and they had two teachers - that was better than what I had in the village. By then they weren't taking kids into the residential school unless they were kids that didn't have good homes or who needed more care. They weren't taking children like my own who had homes and who had care. It was mostly kids who had lost their mothers or who had mothers in the hospital with TB who were in residential school. Those were the kind of kids there then.

When my oldest daughter finished her grade eight, she did DIA residential school. There was a school in the village and my two oldest daughters finished grade 8 in the village. After grade 8, it was DIA placing. One came down to Vancouver, but they sent the other one to Edmonton. I didn't have a say in this. They just place them and you just have to agree. If I didn't want them to go, then they would have told me to find a place for them myself.

It felt like I didn't have any control over what happened. My Mom decided where I was going to school, but when it came time for my daughters to go to school, I didn't have the same kind of control over what happened to them as my Mom did for me.

The younger children didn't have to go so far away as to Edmonton like my older children. They just came here to Vancouver. They were all placed in good homes. None of them ever complained. When they came home I would sit down with them and teach them. They never forgot. None of them ever forgot.

One thing I made sure of; I kept in contact with letters all the time. If they never wrote me, I'd write again. I even sent them stamps to make sure they'd write me. They all got their grade 12 by moving away from the village. And they were all good students.

My husband was fishing then, a highliner, a really good fisherman. If the season was poor, there was nothing you could do about it. My husband was determined his sons would get a good

start. On my side, I was determined none of my boys were going to fish. Fishing is nothing but gambling. So I was determined and I helped them get a trade. There's no promotion in fishing. You stay where you are for the rest of your life. Whereas in a given job, you have papers or whatever you're going to go in for. You can keep climbing the ladder until you get to the top. And I think this is where I wonder because my boys have become heavy duty mechanics and they've got all their papers. They can go anywhere. My third son is a carpenter and he's got all his trade papers. And my youngest son finished his schooling about 10 years ago, but he's the baby and he's just a baby. He can't decide what he's going to do about going back to school. My children have chosen careers that aren't connected with the land.

My oldest son is connected with the Land Question still. And my daughter and her husband are, too. They travel around alot. She knows alot about the Land Claim.

I gave the same girlhood discipline that I had to my daughters. I did it for my four daughters, but with my fifth, school was so strict in our village, you couldn't be absent more than three days. When she started her period, she had to come home right after school and I put her back in her room. I had to let her go to school. And then I did the same thing the next day. I carried that part of our culture out with all my girls. And like my oldest daughter now, she's got a young girl who's

ending her girlhood and she phoned me and she got my instructions on what to do and she carried them out.

So it was really only with my one daughter that I couldn't follow our culture. They were so strict in our village about the children missing school. They told us that if our children missed more than so many days of school they would cut us off our allowance, our family allowance. And in those days the family allowance was such a big help even though it was five dollars for every child. So I couldn't let them do that to me. So it was just my fifth daughter's time that it changed. So whenever she came home from school I put her right in her room. I didn't feel badly about it because I was still carrying out part of it anyways.

When we bought the house, I never had time to enjoy the house because the kids were so small. Right from the time I got the kids up for school in the morning I was busy. By the time I put them to bed, I was ready for bed myself. So I really haven't enjoyed the house - I was always working until they were all out on their own. And by that time, the house was too big for us - there were just the two of us in there. I guess that's what kept me going.

Oh, we had some bad times, but we got over them. I guess when the kids started growing up I was determined to make them into respectable young men and women. This was my dream. When I think of it now sometimes it brings a lump into my throat. I

think I did well. I always tell them that as persons they were blessed. They got what they wanted; I got them where I wanted them.

Traditional and Modern Life Together

It seems that I didn't really have to make any big decisions about whether I had to go with the new way or maintain the Indian way. It seems like it just sort of, the modern day today, it just falls into your living. Like the new mothers today, they don't know how to wash diapers the way we did. Today its just Pampers for them and that's the way it seems to be. You know, the choice just rolls. With each little step I made a decision and then I went on to do whatever had to be done.

When I first had to break away from our own culture, I sort of felt badly about it. In my day little girls always went everywhere with their mothers. But when I first had to let my girls go out on their own, like I had little ones in the house, and I had to send the older ones to church by themselves. I felt badly and I used to think, "Well, what's my Mother going to think if she knew I was sending the kids out on their own, without me being around?" I used to be with my Mother all the time. I told my Dad about it and he said, "Well, we're hitting the modern times you know. Just don't let them forget our culture."

Well, I got used to that. And whenever they had to go out

anywhere or I had to go to a meeting or something like that, then I was able to feel at ease and was able to leave them. I sat down and thought about it and made a decision. And besides, you know, there were other ladies doing the same thing. So why shouldn't I? It's why I say, it just rolled into.

I've seen alot of change in the world, too. I've really seen alot, alot that ladies in my village my age haven't seen because they won't leave. Like me, that's one thing good about my daughters and their husbands - they take me around like I thought I'd never, ever do. It's not very long ago that I first went to Vancouver. I'd always seen pictures, but I couldn't believe it when I was on my way down. We drove. I was fifty years old then. We drove right down to Seattle. It really was something, a big experience. All the time I was in school, I never saw beyond our own valley, it was just a trip from home to school, by boat and back. When it was hard for me to go home for holidays, we went by gas boat and my return was by gas boat. That was the only travelling we ever had.

So about 1925 was when I saw Prince Rupert first. They only had horses. There was First Avenue. I remember seeing a horse and buggy going up the road and then they'd get lost for awhile. And then I'd see them again in the distance - the roads would go up and down. That's why I remember it so well. They'd get lost for awhile. And then after that I never saw it again until I was older. After I had children, my husband would go there to do our

big shopping; flour, sugar. It was 1948, then, before I saw Prince Rupert again. And that was a big change. So when I came down to Vancouver and then to Seattle, it was a big experience for me. We stopped in all these places, everything was new for me and exciting. And going to Seattle was going over the border. And I really went shopping!

I first flew to Vancouver when I came down to visit my husband. He was fall fishing down there. I was scared. He was tied up for ten days and he phoned and told me to come down to Vancouver. And I was scared, I was really scared. I'd never been by myself, away from home. So I took one of my sons. It was a weekend that I was travelling down - I started out on Saturday. So I took my son along just to keep me company on the plane. I paid his round trip and he went back Sunday and went home to school. That was my first plane ride. I was scared. I kept asking him if he knew his way about the airport. "Follow everybody", he says.

Then after that one trip, I was able to travel by myself. Then every year after that I always came down by myself, not always by plane, sometimes by bus. I always carried alot of things for my family in Vancouver, so I found it easier to travel by bus.

I was working then in town at the cannery, and after the season closed I would come down. I stayed away from home for three or four years. I stayed out of the village. Our village

roads are bad for travelling in the winter months, so I stayed out. Those were the years that I would work right up until before Christmas, and then we started again in January with the herring fleet. I would go home for Christmas. My husband was at home and he was fishing then. He wasn't all that well, so he just tied his boat up and he went home. He went home to keep the house. Somebody had to live in there, so he did.

Three years ago I decided that I just wanted to quit work. I couldn't work anymore; this is my fourth year since I stopped. What gave me the idea of quitting work was this - I just turned 60 and I was working with one of the ladies from home and she was hitting 64 and she wasn't well. She'd work two weeks and then she'd be in the hospital. I talked to her one time and said, "Why don't you quit work and just enjoy yourself?"

"Oh", she said, "I want to get my retirement." I don't know what they get on their retirement. And I thought to myself, why don't I just quit work, go home and enjoy the things I have been wanting to do all these years while I still have some good years left? I thought about it, never told anybody. I just gave my notice I wasn't coming back next year. My boss wasn't very happy about that because it's the oldtimers who do better work and more work than the young people. But I made up my mind. So I just packed up and went home. I weeded, put in a garden, planted fruit trees. I missed alot of things when I went home though. Like I didn't have a telephone; we didn't have TV. I missed

going into town for supper, and doing my shopping, stuff like that. Most of all, I missed the fresh fruit that I liked to buy because at home you don't get that. You only get that if you go out of the valley.

And the first week home I really missed town, especially just sitting there. When I was in town, I would knit and watch TV at the same time. But at home, it was so quiet. This is what I missed, but I got used to it. It didn't bother me after awhile.

Well, the next year we got our telephones, so that was good. The first day we got our telephones in, right after supper I phoned down to Vancouver. They thought I was in town. They didn't believe me for a long time that I was still at home. Now we have TV too, a big satellite dish. We get Edmonton and an American station as well as CBC. One thing I really learned about TV is that you can keep up with the news. We keep right up with that. You can't get it on radio, even in town. I don't know what's with it. Some days it's good and some days it's not that good. It's why I was telling my husband, I think we should drag out our old radio and get those big batteries. Because we used to get good reception with those things. But now it's electric, we can't. You can't even pick up a station. So we keep up with the news on our TV.

Everything in our village now is modern. Hardly anyone lives in the old ways now. Not many old people are left,

especially in our village. They are all my age now, not very old. But everyone is turning to the modern world. I guess most of them will turn to the modern world because it is easier. I think it's easier, especially with putting up food. Everything is easier today than it was in my day. Like to store fish you had to make it a certain way so it keeps. But now, we smoke fish the way we like it and then we slap it in the deep freeze and that's it. And we don't have to worry about it going bad.

Today

It makes sense to put together the whiteman's way with the Indian way like I did when I was little. But it just seems to be happening faster and faster. But I still stick to alot of our own traditions and I still pass them on to my grandchildren, especially my grandchildren who are having their own little ones. That's important to me. I still carry them on. I tell them to do it this way, don't do this, and I always tell them, "If you don't carry out our tradition, they will become little brats. You need to control them for awhile. That's why your grandmothers made these rules. They grow up to be respectable. I'm going to be a traditional grandmother. I'm going to stick to that. My grandchildren listen to me and I've got two little greats now and a third due next month.

My granddaughters have experienced the same discipline I

did when they left girlhood. Since I stayed away from home for three or four years, I wasn't home when my other granddaughter's time came. But for my third granddaughter's time, my daughter carried that out. I was home and she kept her in her room.

Just the other day my daughters were talking to me about doing the same thing you're doing, asking me questions, especially about the traditions, so they can keep them for themselves. I'm pleased with that.

We were able to use white people's ways because we were able to remain pretty isolated. Things didn't change really fast. ----- is the only village now that has no connection by road. It's just a ferry once a week. During the winter months they don't have much transportation. Even the planes can't land. So they're still sort of out of it even now, and change isn't going to happen there really fast. In our village, it's going to happen fast with the new bridge and paved road. It might not, but me, I think it's going to change fast. There are tourists starting to come in even with the road on the opposite side of the river. They can't always come across the river to the village. Lots of people come down but they don't come across. I think with the bridge coming in, everybody's going to be curious to see what we look like and they'll come in. We're going to get stared at.

My daughter and I have been talking about opening a gift shop for a year now. I do things with my hands - crocheting and

knitting. I can do almost anything. The only thing I kick myself about is I didn't learn how to make baskets with cedar bark. My Mother knew but I didn't want to learn. I don't remember what she did. As a young girl only old ladies did those things, so I didn't care. But now when I think about it, I wish I had learned. It's sort of dying out in our valley fast. There are a couple of people who still do it. There's one real old lady in one village and she still goes and gets cedar bark. I don't know. One thing that's really dying out, is basket making, unless someone catches it really quick.

Another village is really picking up. They're making oolichan nets. They've got very young people all working on that now. Me, I know how to make salmon nets, but I don't know how to make oolichan nets. That's dying out too, making nets.

B. Second Interview

MINNIE CROFT

Sent to Residential School

To begin with, I didn't think it was right that they should take us away from our Indian homes. I always felt that that was wrong because your people form who you are, your own family form your way of life. Before they took us off to school, most Native Indians were guided so well in behaviour and traditions. We didn't know how wrong it was to be taken from our homes until after we were in residential school.

Then we realized that in school everything Indian was suppressed, particularly the language. We were strapped and punished severely in many cases for speaking our own language. We were trying to hang onto our language, not forget it.

The teachers in residential school seemed to feel that they had to suppress everything about us; all Indian, everything Indian. Most of the Native Indians began to feel it was bad to be Indian. And that was not good for us. It didn't give us any self-respect. We thought we were bad people, inferior people. I think it was wrong that we were made to feel that way. Many, many children felt that. I think most of the Indians felt that way.

I feel that they never consulted the Native Indian about

what should be taught to their children. The parents had nothing to do with the education of their own children and I feel that was wrong. The Native Indians had no say in anything. Some Indians, even, as they grew up were kept in school to do the hard work during the summer holidays. Course, at that time probably most of us didn't know any better. A few of our Native people were concerned though even then, as early as then. There were so many things that I see now were wrong because our parents had no say in any way about what we should have in the school. Of course, many of them had no choice when we were taken to school. Some of us were just taken away, our parents weren't considered.

Childhood at Residential School

I was about nine years old when I came down from Skidegate to live in the residential school at Sardis; Coqualeetza. I had about seven years of schooling there. Our father died so nearly all of us were taken to Coqualeetza. My mother couldn't afford to bring us all home in the summer, so I went home every other summer. The summers I didn't go home, I went to a camp at Ocean Park. It was kind of nice.

Their main objective at residential school was to teach us to be Christians, good little Christians. Ours was run by the United Church of Canada. The teaching of the word of God seemed to be the most important thing to the teachers.

As we got older, many of us felt that many of the teachers were not really qualified teachers. They had affiliations with the church and that's the only thing that seemed to matter to the ones who were hiring them. The book I'm writing about the Coqualeetza Residential School; we researched that and found that many of the teachers there originally came from back east, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The teachers seemed to want to make us little white images of themselves. But if they had wanted to really succeed they should have taught us to learn the English well. When I was there, we weren't taught the proper English language, but just picked it up as we went along. A lot of it wasn't that great.

The school itself at its beginning was very bad. All they did was teach gardening and things like that. Many of the students began school when they were twelve or older and didn't really learn their ABC's. That was about 1900. The older people who are still alive said they didn't learn anything in school. Later on though, about 1920, it began to improve. They had a hospital and they taught us proper home nursing. They also taught us how to work in a laundry and how to wait on tables. We were taught to wait on the staff dining room as if we were waitresses and learn to serve the meal correctly from the left or pick up dishes from the right - I've forgotten which way! But there were many things they taught us afterwards that was good.

In the seven years of schooling I had there, it was really

only three and a half years of academic because we went to school half days and then worked the other half. But that vocational training was kind of good for us too, I guess because we learned how to cook, sew and houseclean. If you were a high school student, in grade 7, 8 or 9 you had to take turns working in the laundry or hospital on Saturday because you went to school all day. But in the younger grades, you worked in the school half of the day and went to the classroom for the other half.

We left Coqualeetza at the end of grade 9 because the government wouldn't let us go to the provincial high school in Chilliwack. A lot of us were smart enough to get through and we could have gone on further, but there was no way we could finish our high school. A year or so after I left Coqualeetza though, they did let the students go to high school. And in our research we found that more Indians graduated from high school in the 1930's in B.C. than at any other time.

I left school at the end of grade 9. I finished without a failure in any subject. And the funniest thing is that many a time I had no idea what I was learning. Algebra, geometry, French - we had all these subjects but didn't know much about any of them. But we got through.

We were shut in the school and were very ignorant about life in the outside world. Some people said it was like a jail or concentration camp and all that sort of thing. There were very few times you came out on your own. You didn't come out on

your own to go and buy a comb - they had to march a teacher with you. When you went to Chilliwack to do whatever shopping you had to do, there was always somebody with you. You didn't go alone, they marched the whole bunch of us together to do these things. They never took us there. We marched three miles into Chilliwack and three miles back to the school.

They always kept the boys separate from the girls. The girls were in one wing and the boys in another. I remember one little boy who used to run over to the girls side and see his older sister. He'd be brought back and punished for it even though he was just wanting to see his sister. The only time you were allowed to visit was on Sundays on the lawn in front of the school. They gave us a couple of hours there.

The classrooms were not separate. If you were in grade four then it was boys and girls together. They restricted us so much though! Talking to boys or smiling to boys across the room was a sin. We were punished for so many little things, like accepting an apple from a boy who had taken it off a tree. These sorts of things just make me feel angry. The teachers just seemed to feel that we were bad people, they made you feel bad. Everything you did was wrong! Yet they didn't replace it with good things about ourselves. We had some happy times, like Christmas parties and things like that. But they didn't teach us anything about our own people or our own culture.

I remember Percy Gladstone and I were at the board in high school learning French. We were writing on the board whatever

the teacher said. Percy Gladstone was one of our wonderful young people from Skidegate and he said to me, "Haida's alot easier than this, isn't it?"

I said, "I don't know if I can write Haida better, but I can speak it better. It's the other way around here. You can't speak French, but you can write it, and Haida, you can speak, but you can't write it!"

And Percy said, "We're in a fix, aren't we?"

I went into school at nine speaking Haida, but I knew a little bit of English. My father and uncle spoke it, but my mother didn't. I was told at school that I could not speak Haida. I don't think it was that hard to learn English, except as I said, we never had the proper English taught to us. I always thought that was very bad because we don't express ourselves so easily and we don't use the Queen's English that well. But when I first came out of school I had forgotten Haida, but I worked at it and could remember it all again.

I got along by going to my own brothers and sisters or my friends in the school. You more or less go to your friends or others from your own tribe in order to get along.

The teachers were so suspicious of everything we did. We weren't doing anything but talking together, but they would be suspicious. They were so dictatorial. It was difficult for us to be so rigid because the Native Indian way of life is so easygoing. Being regimented all day long was hard to take. But

we were young people and we adapted to the way. There are many things though in our minds all these years that we can't forget. Things like the cruel punishment and the loss of our culture. The worst parts of our education were these two things.

I think the residential school turned out alot of very good students after all that. Before we entered we had had a limited education and in school we learned alot. Generally, even though they suppressed everything Indian, the obedience and everything else was good for us in a way. At least I think so, but I know alot of others don't agree. And it was hard for many of us after we graduated because they hadn't taught us how to get along after we left school. We didn't know anything about what the government does or anything like that.

Returning Home to Skidegate

I went back to Skidegate to work for about three months when I first came out of school. I wanted to work so I worked in the store there for three months. When I had enough money to come to Vancouver, I left. I didn't fit in at home when I went home. It wasn't easy. After getting a little education and seeing a little bit of the outside world, I wasn't happy to stay there and do nothing.

There was nothing to do. I liked my own family and friends and to me the Queen Charlotte Islands are heaven compared to Vancouver. But still I wanted to get out and work. When you get

into the village if you're not working, you're not happy. That's why most Indians leave home.

So our minister sent me to some friends in Vancouver to get me a job - domestic work. And that's how I got started. There were about twelve Haida girls in Vancouver at the time; one was in a dressmaking shop, another was in an office, but most of us were in domestic work.

I used to go home alot because I was lonesome when I first came to the city. I used to go home whenever I could to see my grandmother. She lived to be 106. It's funny that I never used to worry about my mother, but I always used to want to go and see my grandmother. I think after my father died my grandmother looked after us more. I stayed with her alot and did little things for her.

My two favourite people at home were my grandmother and my aunt. My mother had remarried, so most of the time I was back and forth between my aunt's and my grandmother's house though I stayed at mother's.

My grandmother used to go and see white people who had settled on the Queen Charlotte Islands long ago, in Queen Charlotte City. They used to invite her for afternoon teas. I would go with her. Or the Doctor's mother would invite my aunt for afternoon tea and if I was home she'd say, "Minnie, let's go to Dr. S. They've asked us to tea." So we'd go for tea there. Nice memories - everybody mixed. Years ago, I never saw any prejudice in Skidegate.

I remember that the school teacher used to have a big ranch we called it, at Sandspit. Its gone now because its where the airport is. His parents had moved away, but his big home was still there. And he used to invite the whole bunch of us from Queen Charlotte City down for dancing. It was just plain dancing and having a good time. Not like today. They never used to have drinking, they never used to have sex. I used to go over and mix with everyone.

Even when I was in Vancouver, I went home on holidays and ran my own coffee shop during fishing season. It was like a holiday every time I came home. As soon as I got married I gave up the building, and my brother took over. I don't know if they just lived in it or what. I never did ask because I had a lot of brothers and all my relatives helped me to build that place anyways. I paid for the lumber and everything and they built it good and strong, and we had dancing on the weekends. I baked bread and pies, and cakes and things like that. I used to be an excellent baker. I just served coffee, small things. I never cooked meals. It was too expensive; I had to get the food in Prince Rupert, and you had to have a fridge, and I didn't have that. Just a daily sort of thing. My girlfriend from Vancouver, an old school chum, and my sister would come and help me run it. Sometimes we'd shut up, we'd shut the place up and go on a hike somewhere on beautiful white sand on the very westcoast of the Queen Charlottes. Ohhhhhhhh! Long stretches of white sand, beautiful! We'd hear the roar of the surf, and then just sit

there and listen to it. Just beautiful - ohhhhhhh!

Every Sunday in my mother's house a beautiful atmosphere existed. No household work was done, there was no loud music. It seemed so quiet in the home. My mother was quite religious, not overly religious, no Indians are. But they lived their own religion very well, so it wasn't hard to take the white religion that was taught us. Because I'm an older person I know all this.

But one thing I noticed at Coqualeetza and at home in Skidegate; the very people who taught us the word of God from their own Bible, didn't live it. We always used to notice that. It was very puzzling.

I remember one time I got in trouble in the village. All us girls, 17, 18, and 19 would have Sunday dinner at a girlfriend's home and then we'd go off to church. One time we sat right in the front and the preacher was saying things we didn't agree with and one of us began laughing at what he was saying. And the whole row of us was giggling, just shaking. We disgraced ourselves and mother was really annoyed. But we didn't like the way some ministers would say one thing and act another way yet. We made fun of them. We always used to think that they didn't live what they said to us. We couldn't understand that. We used to make fun of some of them after we got out of church. I often think about it. I think Indians had a higher religion than the white people did, and they actually lived their religion years ago. They had a higher spiritual existence before the whiteman came and I think it was easy for us to understand Christianity.

The older leaders at home they speak very well, and the nicest part of it is that they are so very wise. They seem to govern their own people far better than the young ones today. Really, when you're as old as me you can see that. And yet, the young ones have had all the education they can get today, far superior to ours. Yet they don't seem to do their work much easier than the ones that used to run the villages. Years ago they seemed to have no problem.

I remember my uncle speaking over the radio from Prince Rupert talking to the Indians first in Haida and then in English. Today the leaders speak in English more than in Haida because the Haida was lost a long time ago. Today many of them are trying to learn it because I suppose they are all getting to realize how much of their own culture they've lost.

Another time I remember when a great big battleship came to the Queen Charlotte Islands when I was at my coffeeshop. There was a big First of July dance in Massett and the battleship was there. Many of us girls from home met in the hotel in Massett to get dressed and go to the dance. We went to the dance, said "We're from Skidegate", paid our way and they just let us through. And we realized after we got in that we didn't see many Massett people there. They wouldn't let the Massett people in and yet they let the Skidegate people in. We didn't accept this and we didn't know anything about it. We danced a few dances and then we left. One of the white girls came out with us and we all went to her house and had a party of our own. She

invited some Massett people in. You see there was alot of prejudice among white people then, but in our own villages and in Sandspit there was none. Basically there was no prejudice among the people on the Queen Charlottes, but there was in the city, in Vancouver.

My brother is hereditary Chief 'Skedans - he just died a couple of months ago and all the oldtimers, old girls like my age and his age that have lived on the Queen Charlottes all their lives came to the big feast after his burial. These white people all came along without an invitation because they knew him. Today they don't have that same kind of friendship on the Queen Charlottes. There didn't used to be prejudice in our village. White people used to come visit us and we'd come visit them.

We're all friends whether we meet in the city or elsewhere. So maybe the prejudice had alot to do with us because people that have bad treatment most of their lives in Indian villages, they're the ones that don't turn out too well. And they're the ones who feel all these things.

Now I go home about once a year. Since my mother and grandmother have died, I just phone someone and say, "I'm coming home. Can I stay with you?" "Sure" they always say, and sometimes I don't even have to ask. My brothers and their wives always invite me. They'll say "Come on, come on, you're bed is empty."

But I'll tell you where I find it so hard. I like to be

able to go home when I feel like it and stay by myself. But I can't go home because I married a non-Indian. There are restrictions by the white people about this and I think its ridiculous. I'm so independent and alone in Vancouver that I'm used to going exactly where I want, when I want. It's just the fact that I would like to have a little place there if I want to go home, a shack or something in Skidegate. You don't always want to stay with friends when you go somewhere. Maybe stay for a month like some of the white people who have a home in Hawaii, stay for a month and then come back. We can't do that if you're like me. That's the only thing I always felt was wrong - that we can't live in our village if we feel like it. I fight for the principal of the whole darned thing. No other country does that to their citizens, telling them you can't go back to your own village where you were born. I think that's ridiculous! A lot of the Indians are going back, they're not paying attention to that law anymore.

I went home for my brother's 50th wedding anniversary. It was nice at that anniversary. My brother first danced with me, then all the other different brothers just came and did a slow dance with me, a waltz or something. Even the young ones all came and danced with me. Natives know how to show respect and that's their way of showing me that they respect me. All of them came and took turns dancing with me.

Life in the City

The minister sent me to some friends in Vancouver to get a job, domestic work, and that's how many of us started when we came to the city. We would just do domestic work. Then after we were here awhile, we went along to other things. One of the girls was stenographer for Coqualeetza and she went right to work in an office. Another worked in a dressmaking shop. But the rest of us, there were twelve Haida girls in the city at the time, were doing domestic work. I used to go home alot because most of us were lonesome for our home when we first came to the city.

We used to meet on Sundays, our day off and go to church at St. Andrews Wesley downtown. We'd go to church and then we'd go to Stanley Park and go swimming. At that time there was no swimming pool but there were great big rocks where you could take your clothes off and change into your swimsuit. Nobody cared. We didn't worry. We left our things on the beach behind a rock. We'd swim and then go and have dinner downtown.

When I was lonesome for home, I'd say to my employer, "I do want to go home this summer, is it okay? I'll find you another girl from Skidegate." Then if my employers liked her, when I got back they would keep her and find me another place.

One time when I returned to Vancouver, I called my former employer and she said, "I've got a nice lady for you. She needs a girl right now."

This woman was interviewing girls right then so I went over and was the last one to be interviewed. She lived on Angus Drive and had three small children and paid \$30 a month which was quite abit. We usually got paid \$12 a month.

After she interviewed me, she said, "I think I'll have you come in. You've got good recommendations, you speak well and you look good and strong. Would you like that?"

So I stood up and said, "If you want me to come, I would be happy to come."

"And by the way" the lady said. "What nationality are you?" You see, my former employer hadn't told her I was Haida.

And I said, "I'm a Haida Indian, a full-blooded Haida Indian."

And she says, "Ooooooooooooooooooh!" just like that!

I said, "Makes a difference, doesn't it? You didn't realize I was an Indian otherwise you wouldn't have hired me."

She was stunned when I said this.

"Don't say anything else. I don't want to work for you after your surprise that I am an Indian", I said.

"Oh, I did tell you how well you spoke and how your references are good and you carry yourself well and you dress well", she said.

I said, "I wouldn't work for you if you paid me twice as much." And I walked out. I walked to the front door, opened it myself and walked out.

She walked out behind me, holding her baby. She said, "I'm sorry, I didn't mean to offend you. Please reconsider."

"I'm sorry. I don't want to work for you, you were so surprised", I said. And I kept on walking.

I phoned my former employer and she wanted to know how I had gotten along in the interview. And I said, "Fine, until she found out I was a Haida Indian. She was so surprised I told her I wouldn't work for her for any money, and I walked out on her."

My former employer laughed and said, "It serves her right. She's my friend, but she's never had an Indian working for her. Serves her right. We'll find another employer for you, don't worry."

I learned that white people were pretty prejudiced at that time. They were very prejudiced.

I remember my girlfriend from Skidegate, she was a beautiful girl, and she was a telephone operator before she got married. She worked at the better hotels in Vancouver, the Grosvenor, the Devonshire and other places. She was halfbreed; her father was white so she went to high school in Queen Charlotte City. A lot of Haida Indians chose better hotels to stay at when they came to Vancouver. So when they came into her hotel she always spoke to them and said "Hello" and "How's things?" One time when her boss was around she spoke to some of her friends from home, and he asked her how she knew how to speak to those people? And she said, "I'm a Haida Indian." They fired her. That was

prejudice at that time. I often think of that. There was so much prejudice when we first came to the city.

Even when I married my husband, his family were prejudiced until they saw me and got used to me. He and I met through a friend. He was a friend of her husband's. He was after me to go out with him for a long time and I wouldn't. I was still an Indian and thought Indian and I didn't want to go out with him.

I always had the attitude right from the beginning, you know how I walked out of that lady's place, if you don't like me, to hell with you. That attitude. I used to say that. I often went with my husband to nightclubs and that was the attitude we had. If you don't care about me then I won't pay any attention to you. I guess alot of Haida's are like that; you don't like me, then I don't give a damn. That's the way I am and that's that.

My husband and I had one son. He graduated from high school when he was 16 and went right into University. He hasn't been around Native people most of his life because he's been too busy going to school and working. I think living in the city has something to do with it too.

After my husband passed away, I decided to take a secretarial course. This had nothing to do with Indian Affairs; I was paying for this myself. I took an achievement test and did well enough, but I wanted to complete my grades 11 and 12. So while I was taking the secretarial course, I also took my high school certificate. I had been smart enough to go to high school

when I was younger, but they wouldn't let us in residential school. They didn't let us continue; they should have thought of that.

When I wrote essays for my grade 11 and 12 courses, my teacher would write 'very good essays' and compliment me on my grammar. I could write well, but I can't express myself well when I'm talking. A lot of Indian people my age are like that. But the younger people who speak English all their lives have a far better grasp of English than we older people do.

Putting Native Indian and White Together

At Coqualeetza they gave us the message that to be Indian was bad. Most of us felt that. I was never ashamed of being a Haida, so that I don't think I believed it. I've always been a proud person.

At school I objected to all the things that they didn't teach us about our own people. They never taught us anything about our culture. A lot of us resented the fact that our culture was lost while we were in school. And also, they didn't prepare us to get out into the world. They were so much on teaching us to be religious and making us into little white images of themselves. They were in charge and just took over and we had to do everything as they said. But you weren't really prepared to meet the outside world. Most of us were 16, 17, 18 when we left school but we were like 12 year olds. You were really a child, a

little child when you came out. They never taught us what the outside was all about; government rules, or sex, or things like that. We lost alot of training that our parents would give us. When they took us to school they separated us and lost a family unit. There were many things that your parents could teach you where in school nobody taught you anything. When you became a young lady they didn't know that this happened to you. And they never taught you these things. It's no preparation for the outside world. It's a wonder! It's a wonder that any of us could think for ourselves. That was wrong.

And then of course with Indian Affairs looking after us when we came out, that's another thing. We can't think for ourselves.

I've hated Indian Affairs for the things they have done to Indians. I've never worked for them, I can't stand it. If they have their little finger in something, they take the control away. I have nothing to do with them.

I remember about 35 years ago, my uncle was band manager of the Skidegate Indian Village. He tried to get our money from Indian Affairs, invest it and work on the principal. But Indian Affairs wouldn't give it to him. I've always thought that nobody seemed to want us to get along in the outside world, outside the Indian village. It's as if, if you can't be white, don't bother!

I don't think many of us wanted to be all white. They wanted to assimilate us and none of us wanted that, I don't think. I didn't. We don't mind integrating, but assimilation is

something quite different.

I used alot of the schooling that I got at Coqualeetza. I've done all sorts of things. I've been a manager of a hotel, manager of a store, done general office work, managed Native Indian organizations. Aside from the fact that alot of us think that we were suppressed so much in everything Indian, I think many of us learned alot at residential school. The obedience and everything else, it was good for us in a way. At least I thought so, but alot of people don't agree. We have different views from each other, it's not all the same. I know that because I guess I'm more Indian than white in my thinking.

I've always made certain that no matter what company I keep, I'm an Indian! When I'm with white people for an evening, I truly enjoy myself, I don't put it on. And when I go to my own people, I enjoy myself thoroughly there too. You have to live both worlds very well.

I've worked on behalf of Native Indian organizations most of my life, but I didn't work FOR Native Indians until the last two years of my retirement. I was working for white people, managing a store, and the Indians wanted me to work for them and manage a store. They said no other Indian in Vancouver had the ability that I have; that I'd managed stores and no other Indian has done that. They said if I didn't come to manage they would have to hire a white person because the Indian Affairs wanted a white person. So I broke down - I try to help my Native people. But

it was very difficult working in business to think Indian. Because, do you know, you have to think white! And yet, you're dealing with Indians. It was Native Indians who owned the store in name only. They sat on the board. But the Indian Affairs looked after the money. They took the control away. It was terrible. I can't stand it. I've always been very independent and I enjoy doing things. I may not always be right, but I TRY to be right in what I do. I've done very well.

One leg is white and it tends to be business and job oriented, and the other leg is ME and it is Indian, at home. Even in my own home, when my husband was home, I had to live white. And when we had Indian friends or relatives to visit, I'd explain to him; now this is such and such a way. I always had to teach him just as he taught me alot of things. I've enjoyed both worlds. I think almost any job I've had I've enjoyed very much.

I've retained my Haida language. You forget it in school for a little while, but then when you come back, if you want to remember it and keep at it, you can. Because once you've spoken it you won't forget it that easily. I've even translated in the Supreme Court of B.C. I've been asked to do that so I did.

If you're speaking to white people, you have to think their ways. And if you're talking among yourselves (Native Indian), you have to think their ways, so that you live two worlds! You've got to think two worlds too! It's kind of difficult and

maybe it makes us hesitate a bit in everything we say. And we do talk to white people because we've had to do that.

I do things the white way and then I do things the Indian way. I can switch. And at the same time too, when people insult you, you have to stop and think where they're from because that way you stop to think of their thinking. You act accordingly. I think that we've had to learn as Native people to fit ourselves into any situation. At least that's the way I see it. I've had to adapt. And when I go home I must put myself into another situation that is there.

I think this makes me a richer person because I understand both worlds. You try to understand why a white person does this to our Indians; because he doesn't think like us, he doesn't know the reason we're like we are. And alot of them don't even speak to Indians, so how could they know anything about us? Many atime I've talked to my white friends about Native Indians and told them " we do alot of different thinking than you people." Or I'll say some awful things to them. Then I'll say, "Oh, you'll have to excuse me because I get so angry about that particular situation." You know, I'm always apologizing. I shouldn't apologize, but I do. I've lived both worlds very well in Vancouver most of my life.

Many atime I feel like telling white people what it's really like. It's amazing. I travel alot on the bus and nearly always somebody sits beside you that's white because there are no

Indians living nearby. I only see the Indians that are going back and forth to university. I meet people and some of them are very, very aware. They seem to know about the Haidas. I'm quite amazed at it. But there are many things that they don't know. They just read alot, but people don't talk to Indians so they don't really know. Maybe it's partly this too - I'm kind of a reserved person and I like being by myself. So even if they're friendly, I don't encourage it in that area.

I went to John Turner's election gathering. My son and I were standing on sort of a hill quite a ways from where he was. But he came right by us and shook my hand and just held it. Gee, he hurt my hand. He hurt my arthritis.

I had to have my own rings cut off my fingers. I had these Haida rings made just for me. Many of us Haida's on the Queen Charlottes have arthritis. I think it must be the climate maybe. I guess it's the dampness there. My brother has it.

We were all in Hawaii at the same time; my brother, his wife, my nephew and niece, and my son and me. We all walked into one of the best restaurants there to have steak and lobster. When we walked in, the maitre d' came over and met us, and said, "How do you do? Are you local people?" We all had on muumuus and Hawaiian shirts of course. We said, "No, we're Haida Indians" "Oh", he said. "We have common ancestry! Where would you folks like to sit? You can sit anywhere you'd like!"

And another time in the Koona Inn, my lady friend and I had

just had dinner and we came outside where there was music and a luau was going on on the grounds. So we just sat and listened to the music. And a little Hawaiian gave this dish to me and said, "Compliments, compliments". And I said that I'd just had dinner. "Oh, you must have it, you must have." You couldn't refuse it just like with Native Indians, you can't refuse when somebody gives you something. They made a big dish for me, and no matter how much I told him I had just finished dinner, I had to say thank you very much and take it.

And on Lahina, I walked into a jewelry shop and I got one of those beautiful pearl and amber necklaces. I told the man there, after I paid for it, "Too bad you don't have earrings to match it." "I have a pair", he says and went over and got a pair from somewhere else. "I'll give them to you!" And he gave them to me! And my lady friend couldn't understand how people were so kind to me all the time. Everytime I've been in Hawaii I've been treated royally.

There's an Hawaiian girl married to a white boy in Queen Charlotte City and I was telling her about this. And she said, "Why didn't you tell them you were Hawaiian? They would have treated you royally." They do treat their own people very well there they say. They give them the best tables and very good treatment, especially those going to the nicer places.

You have to try and work both sides of both worlds because you are an Indian. That is the way you get along. I have always

had one leg in one culture, and one leg in the other culture. I have been so long associated with both cultures that I don't know that I've shifted one way or the other. Maybe more on the white side than the Indian now. Course, that's because I'm not at home as I grow older. I can shift either way if I want to, but because I'm in the city I lose alot of my Indian ways. I dress up when I'm asked to wear my costume, and do whatever I have to do. I made button blankets for my son and me. My crest is raven. I'm very proud of being Haida. That's important to me.

Third Interview

ARNOLD GUERIN

The Native culture has almost been totally lost along with the loss of our language. You see, the language seems to be what holds the Native culture together. It seems to be the heart of it. As you use the Indian language it becomes quite hard to properly translate some sentences or translate them as you understand them in the Indian language. It seems that you've got to "think Indian" to speak it. There is no two ways about it. I had to learn to speak Indian.

Schooling Experiences

I went to school and we were not allowed to speak Indian. I went to the Kuper Island residential school in the Gulf Islands from 1920 until 1926.

There were 100 acres of farm behind the school and we hauled wood and cut it to use in heating the school. And being so far away from those who looked after us, we could speak Indian. That's where I learned to speak my Indian language; out in the fields, out in the woods. After some years I spoke fluent Cowichan!

I can remember coming home from school in the summer

holidays and talking Indian to my stepmother. She would just sit back and laugh at me because I was translating. I was thinking in English and speaking Indian. Because of that experience I became strongly determined to learn to speak my language properly.

My Mom, my Indian mother wanted me to be a good speaker of the English language. My Dad was halfbreed. My Dad wanted me to be Indian, mother wanted me to speak English. So I did my best, that's about all I could do under those circumstances.

There was no choice about going to school, no choice. I might have had the choice of going to the North Vancouver school. Being Roman Catholic, it was either Kuper Island or North Vancouver for me.

I remember I was visiting Ed Sparrow's mother, Matilda who lived in Stanley Park. I was there with my Uncle Bill, my Dad's brother and his wife. I was up on a hill in the Lumberman's Arch area playing on the swings when my oldest brother came. He picked me up off the swings, hugged me and took me with him and his wife. We drove in his Rio down to Lummi and I lived with him there for sometime. I also lived there with my mother's brother, Alec George on my old grandfather's land. That was at Sandy Point. Then when I came back to Musqueam, Dad picked me up and took me to school at Kuper Island. I was 10.

I began school in July, July the 4th, 1920. There was a month's summer holiday from June until July, and I started then.

But I never saw my mother. In 1921, my first vacation, Dad took me across to Musqueam. That was the last time I saw Mom. She was in Musqueam and I was in school on Kuper Island. My mother passed away in 1957.

I stayed with my Dad usually after that during summer holidays. One holiday I stayed in school because they needed someone to help around with the cattle on the farm. There were four of us who stayed.

When I went to school there was a bottle of codliver oil on the window sill inside the dining room. Everytime you came into eat you took a teaspoonful of codliver oil. Horrible stuff! We got so used to it though that the boys would come in and kiss the bottle. But I could never do it.

When I was a schoolboy the Spanish influenza was around but was much weaker than it had been when it first hit the Indian people. The influenza didn't kill anybody when I was a boy. I remember sitting on the steps in front of our recreation hall when I got sick. Within an hour or so, they had me in bed. Before that there was nothing wrong with me. There were forty boys and forty girls at Kuper Island then and the only ones left walking around were five boys. They only had enough to milk the cows and slop the pigs.

My schoolmates were also catching tuberculosis. When they were too far gone, they would be sent home, sent home to die. Somehow or other my resistance kept me from catching it from the other children. We were all taking codliver oil from the same

bottle and they were dying out. There were one or two years when there were no children attending Kuper Island from either Cowichan or the Gulf Islands because all the parents refused to let them go to school. Their children were dying too fast and they blamed the priests and their religion for the deaths. Some of the old people even blamed the eucharist and wondered whatever did they put in that piece of bread.

So for a few years that I was at school all the children there were from the mainland; from Musqueam, North Vancouver, Chehalis, Chilliwack, Kamloops and Douglas Lake.

We had prayers and services and religious instruction for the six years I was at school. I served as altar boy many times; for the school, the staff and the Bishop of Victoria.

All the school staff at Kuper were French Canadian - the Montfort Fathers. They came directly from Quebec. They had no other headquarters between Quebec and Vancouver Island. Besides the school at Kuper Island, they had a rectory at Duncan, St. Anne's, and perhaps another one up near Comox as well. They were all French Canadian and Dutch, so they didn't teach us in English until they could speak it themselves. We didn't try to learn French, but French was all you heard through the hallways. There was one Irishman, Father Murphy, and he spoke French with the rest of them. I remember many of the ways things were pronounced; the funny little word, 'schedule' was said 'sched-UUle'.

I also remember the Fathers saying, "Make it hard." By

saying that they meant 'Do your best'. That didn't click with me until later.

There's alot of good people like myself who did not get a proper formal education because of the rules of the white man. The white man says, "We've been here 100 years and you're still 100 years behind us"! At Kuper Island school we were to leave when we completed the Fifth Reader which wasn't quite equivalent to the fifth grade. You were not allowed in a public school if you were Indian. You couldn't - there was no way of furthering your education beyond that.

It seems that I was quite a strong student and did quite well in school. Father Murphy, one of my teachers came to me one day and said, "You know, Arnold, you've got great promise as a student. I'm going to see if we can somehow get you up high enough in school so you can work your way through and get into high school." A year later he came back to me and said, "No. No, there's no way."

And Father De Wert, the missionary, once said to me, "Arnold, the only way you're going to get an education is to enter a seminary. This is the one way that you will get the education that you deserve. I don't say that you must become a priest, but this is the only chance that you will get." I didn't care to go that route.

I never went back and finished the schooling that the Fathers wanted me to do. I did go back to night school when I

was older and working at Kuper. One of the nuns taught upgrading and I went and raised my standard. She said it was the equivalent of grade eight, but I don't think it was a full grade eight. But I did well there.

Our Losses

We have lost the lands around us and our freedom to move on them because of the encroachment of the white people. We live on the Musqueam Indian reserve here, I think, because of the great tidal flats at the mouth of the river. We used to trap salmon, salmon coming in the north arm of the Fraser. We set our traps on the flats and when the tide was out we went and picked up our catch. Our tidal flats have been taken over and given to the Harbours Board for them to look after, so we have a large tidal flat out in front of us here that we cannot use anymore. It's not ours now, but we do claim it in our hearts. That is one of the things.

Looking back 100 years - my Dad was born in 1874. He was 12 years old when Vancouver burned. At that time this was Gastown. He used to speak to me about Gastown, about Granville, about Queensborough and all those places. I don't know too much about 100 years ago, but according to Dad there must have been quite a change. One of our old patriarchs, old Khapilahno, he was a Musqueam. 'Quyupelenuxw' (Khapilahno) his name was. He moved out to Capilano, the Capilano River to save his fishing creek.

He moved when he found that the white man was forceful in his ways of taking over everything and claiming it unto himself. Dad said that was the reason he moved. We have lost that river now to the Squamish people, of course. That is one of the things I know.

Now, we speak of diseases, the diseases that struck and knocked the Indian people over. I didn't see much of the smallpox epidemic, but smallpox was still around when I became a schoolboy. Gus Sylvester of Kuper Island once said to me, "There were times when we were having funerals in the night. We didn't bother to box anybody. We didn't bother to hardly wrap them in a blanket. We dug big graves and threw them in, they were dying off that fast." It was because of the smallpox. When I was a child, smallpox still troubled our people and I have five pox in the center of my back. My stepmother's mother, an old Squamish lady boiled some stinging nettle roots and gave us the broth to drink. And those little sores broke open and that's all I got of the pox. My brother is the same - Johnny.

Many people contracted tuberculosis and there was nothing to help those people for too many, too many years. Then the hospitals came in for Indians, for tubercular Indians. There was first Chilliwack - Sardis. And then there was Lytton, and later after that, I think after the (Second) World War, there was Nanaimo - the hospital for soldiers was turned into a tubercular hospital. Many of the people that I worked with had been in the

place a long time and it was in those years that they found the medicine for curing them. It was about that time that they started to open up their chests and operate. So some of the men, you see them today, those that are old enough, walk kind of lopsided because they have some ribs missing. But then they found a drug that helped. So now, we're free of that.

I guess in that transition from the traditional Indian life to life with the whiteman the change in our diet had a lot to do with us having diseases. I mean, you changed over to the whiteman's way, but you didn't take everything that they used you know. You didn't have the money to buy the foods that would have kept you strong. But that might be one of the things that helped me by being a student at Kuper Island for six years at the time that I had. My meals were full. There were vegetables, there was everything like that. The meats and that got pretty rancid before you finished them because you killed a cow and you killed a pig and you had to eat it all. There was no refrigeration while I attended school. I was a great little thief for stealing carrots and turnips. This was one of the things that I did always. I liked carrots - raw - and raw turnips. I could eat two turnips with no trouble at all. I'd sooner eat them than a raw carrot. I imagine that helped me during those times when other people's health failed them, being that way.

I've watched their medicine men do their work; shamans. The curing of people only, making a cure. There was nothing there

that really astonished me. I think that my span of life was almost a little bit late to see and to be able to understand all that was; the beliefs of the Indian doctors, the beliefs of the people. I didn't really see that. Dad was a staunch Catholic. He told me that one day he heard the beat of drums. This lady shaman was curing someone in the longhouse and was singing her Indian doctor song. He could hear the beating of sticks to the rhythm of her song. He thought it was an ordinary cure and wanted to see it and so he walked in. But when he got in there, there were two cedar poles, 'kwuxwtun', hitting the underside of the roof of the house with nobody holding them. And they were the beat of her song. He said when he saw that it was a little bit too much for him, so he walked out. That was only one of the things Dad did tell me.

So when you speak about the old culture, there wasn't too much of it that I can really speak about because there was much of it that was gone by the time I was a boy. I didn't see the day of the potlatch. My older sisters and brothers did. This is how much I missed by those few years. A lot of people still think that the dances, the winter dances of today are potlatch things. But they are not. I do not speak about their dances because I'm not a dancer. Once a dancer, you're a dancer for life. You're initiated and you go through quite an austere winter or two. So that part of it, I don't have the knowledge to be able to speak on. If I wanted to go and ask a dancer what it's all

about, he'll say, "If you want to know what it's all about, all you have to do is go down there and tell them that you want to be a dancer. You will know pretty quickly what it's all about."

My oldest brother left home in 1917. He was born here on Musqueam and knows a bit more of the culture of the old people than I actually do. He knows about the potlatch. He was a dancer of the masked dance. My Dad tells me when the Shakers were around, he used to go over there and ring the bells for them, even though he was not one. And he would go and help with the dancing in the big house. Then he left in 1917. When my mother died, my brother Bob came here, sat beside my Dad and spoke Musqueam. He had a conversation with Dad - and he hadn't spoken Musqueam since he left here in 1917. Dad died in 1961.

I've lived in longhouses. I lived an Indian life from a young man. At Kuper Island to establish myself and have a place to live and to work as a longshoreman in Chemainus, I lived in a longhouse. I had a nice boat that we used to go across to work. I've had snow right up to the side of my bed when I woke up in the morning sometimes. It came through the smokehole in the top of the roof. I've had to get up in that snow in my barefeet, get clothed and go down and pick up some wood to start my fire and make my breakfast.

So I've lived in longhouses. I've lived by the canoe, and I've seen the day when the Indian people out of Porlier Pass trolled, hand trolled in their canoes, about 30 canoes in the

evening. You'd see 30 or 40 canoes lying in the pass, trolling. Little dugouts. And when one would catch a salmon on his line he would stand up to haul it in and there are turbulent waters there in the Pass. They were so sure of themselves. You always knew when one of them had caught something - he'd stand up in his canoe!

I've lived on the the islands there, the Gulf Islands. I've lived on clams, I've lived on salmon, I've learned how to fish cod, I've watched the old Indian way of catching lingcod with the piece of wood. My stepmother's old Dad used to do it. And I used to see him when he'd go along the beach spearing cod, rock cod, other small salmon and small cod with a spear. That was a pretty interesting thing. I never really became good at doing that. When there was a breeze on the water and you couldn't see down to the bottom, now this is down along the shoreline, he had a mouthful of dried salmon roe and every now and then he'd spit into the water and it would smooth off the surface for awhile so he could look down. It was kind of an oily thing. I don't know how he saw through it. I guess the oil wasn't that strong that it would blur his vision, so that's what he used.

My Life and Family

I've lived a life when the coal oil lamp was all I could read by, where you had to carry your water. My wife and I had to carry our water up hill because after we got married, we lived in

her Dad's house. He had a nice house at Kuper. It was up on top of the hill. We had to carry water up hill and the well was down at the bottom; climb up the hill even when there was snow on the ground.

My mother was a Lummi, her Dad was the chief of Lummi. His name was George Tiylush. His father was the chief of Lummi before him. His name was Tthiyulikw. And I know his father before him, the one who signed the treaty with white folks. So my mother came from that land. And my father's mother, her grandmother is Khapilahno's older sister. She would be my great great grandmother; this man, Khapialahno, the great warrior was the youngest of that family. So, he'd be my great great granduncle. This is how far we carry our geneology.

My wife is from Kuper Island. Her mother was a Nanaimo lady. On her mother's side, I don't know how many sisters there were, at least half a dozen. They all have large families, and they all seem to have stayed in Nanaimo. So you go to Nanaimo and they're all first cousins to Janie.

My father-in-law was a man that never had a day of schooling. He was a longshoreman for 56 years. Of those 56 years he was a foreman for Empire Stevedores for 35 years. He retired when he was 74 years and they tried to get him back sometimes. But he wouldn't go. He was 94 when he died two years ago. Strong man, never smoked, a cigarette never dangled off his lips, that kind of a man. He wouldn't swear though he was around the longshore folks, never said a profane word. Just a great man. I

admired him very highly.

When I was a little boy here on the Musqueam Reserve, there were no houses here outside the reserve in this area. The streets were cut in; Marine Drive was in, 41st Avenue was in and Dunbar Street was in. There was only one house on 41st Avenue between here and Dunbar. Just one house, and there was nothing at the corner of Dunbar and 41st, nothing here but two little waiting stations for the streetcar - just leanto's. So to go to town, you went up there and you took the streetcar to Kerrisdale. You went on up to Kerrisdale, and you took a transfer and you took the interurban. This interurban seemed to dump us off in the middle of a bridge, whether it was Cambie Bridge or Granville - it was a steel bridge. There was a transfer in the middle of a bridge to another car that took you on down to Granville Street or Hastings Street to the main depot.

So that's the way I lived on the Musqueam reserve. There was no electricity, there was no water. We used to go up to the garage up here to get our water. We'd bring it home in tanks, big tanks, big 5 gallon cans in our car. There was water here but the Chinese gardens with all their fertilizers, made it difficult to use our water.

My first job was in the herring saltery. I happened to get out of school just as the Great Depression hit us. So I got a job in 1926, October, in a Japanese herring saltery. They caught herring out here off Galiano and around Pender in seines and salted them in these great big salteries they had at the north

end of Galiano. So I worked in seine boats and I worked in the camp, the saltery camp, salting the herrings in big tanks. Twelve ton tanks they were. The herring was brought in in sixty ton scows. And we salted them in twelve ton tanks; put 60 sacks of 125 pounds each of salt into a twelve ton tank. And after four days, you took them out of there and they would be in water, a brine. You'd take them out of the tanks in scoops, net scoops. The saltery itself could hold 450 tons of herring. I was 16. We worked hard.

So then, I gillnetted up in the Skeena River, in Rivers Inlet and on the Fraser. I didn't make a good gillnetter. For some reason or other, whether I wasn't working the tides properly or my net wasn't fixed up properly...I didn't have good luck as a gillnetter. I had a great love for soccer all these years, so I went out to Kuper Island and played there and got a job as a longshoreman. I was 48 when I stopped playing organized soccer, and then I went coaching for 12 years and I had a men's first division team playing in Nanaimo. It was competitive with the best teams in Nanaimo. I still work with my grandchildren. That one grandson way down the other end of the chesterfield, he's getting to be quite a little soccer player.

After I quit my longshoring and my logging, during the Second World War I built a boat. I was quite a boat builder. I had a 32 foot boat, a good boat that I had built. I went trolling, salmon trolling. And, oh, I had a hard time making

enough money for my gas for the first year and half of the next year. More than half. Trollers, the old trollers won't help you, you know. They won't say "this is what's wrong"...but toward the end of my second year I became a highliner all of a sudden overnight. I was making my own gear. So then I became a highliner and some days I made \$100 a day. But then our boat was small and cramped. I had children and there wasn't enough room for the whole family on the boat. The children took turns falling overboard. I was advised to sell the boat. Then from there I went back to longshoring.

I was a little bit fortunate. I didn't have to fight discrimination. I don't think I did, I can't recall at anytime. My tongue is sharp enough, it had to be. And I understood one side and the other. I seemed to have an understanding of how one people lived and the other people lived. That is the white versus the Indian. So then I could joke about my own Indianness, whatever way you want, with anyone. Some of them today, if I kind of say something that's a little bit out of place maybe, they don't even smile. They don't because they're afraid to hurt me. But being that way, you didn't have to fight with anybody. You didn't have to argue with anyone. You worked side by side with other people, and got along. But there are other people that couldn't live exactly in that same way.

I never went back and finished the schooling that the Fathers wanted me to. But when I worked at Kuper, I went to

night school and I did well there. And this is what helped me go into linguistics...I went into linguistics about 1970, maybe earlier. I was teaching in 1971. That's an aspect of my life that I'm glad I did. I'm glad I took up linguistics.

My Indian Language

A linguist came to me twice a week, both he and his wife were linguists. He came to me twice a week, out to Kuper from Victoria, from the University of Victoria. Came across on the ferry, stayed with me a couple of hours or so, and then would take the next ferry out. And he did that for a number of years, seems to me something like two or three years by the time he quit. I did pretty well. He left me homework when he'd go away. And I had to have that done when he came back, boy! He was one of these guys that wasn't going to let you off easy. He was Jewish-English and worked hard. So he said to me, "Being a Jew, nobody fails, and being an Englishman is the same thing. You better work hard." He did well for me. So much so that I work with professional linguists; they will come to me and I understand what they're talking about and can work with them.

The linguists are recording the Musqueam, and then they try to break it down into what the little parts of the language are doing; why they are in there. The articles themselves are demonstratives, are determiners. They determine something - not

just 'as', 'a', 'the'. One may show you that it's a masculine that we're talking about, and he's absent or present. So you don't say 'a grandmother'. The word for grandmother is the same as that for grandfather. But the other determiner tells you which one it is, masculine or feminine. Those are things we work with when I work with linguists. We break down the whole language.

Starting out with the Indian language, starting to write it, I had one heck of a time to even pick out my pronouns, to pick out the verbs, to pick out the first person, second person, third person. A lot of times, the third person pronoun is not used, but is implied by the aspect of the sentence. And this makes it very hard when you're starting out.

As you use the Indian language it becomes quite hard to properly translate some sentences or translate them as you understand them in the Indian language. It seems that you've got to think Indian to speak it. There's no two ways about it. I had to learn to speak Indian.

Everything you do, or everything you use, it has its own names. The coming in of a canoe to the beach, the departure from the beach, the hauling up of your canoes onto the beach. These are all so different. They each are different Indian terminology.

From the past, our culture has to do with the retention of Indian names. People's Indian names are not just given names

like the English names. They're names that you take from your ancestors. Only a direct descendent of yours can use your name. And alot of people, with the loss of the Indian language, the pronunciation has been eroded. So that when you hear someone come long and say, "My Indian name is so and so", right away, because you speak Indian, you know darn well that his pronunciation is not right. But where he is wrong, you don't know, so you can't help him. So then we have Indian names, we have Indian place names; many of those are used by the white people like 'Capilano', 'Nanaimo', 'Tswassassen'.

I taught our language at Kuper Island School for a number of years with children grades two and three. I did very well with them. The teacher used to say to me, "If I could teach them to read and write like you can teach them that alphabet that you have, how happy I'd be." And then I worked here on the Musqueam Reserve and I worked up here at Southlands School Elementary. And then I taught at Point Grey Secondary. There was only one white student that attended my class at Point Grey. The people here didn't want me to teach the white kids. "The white people have taken everything away from us, why give them our language?!" Which I didn't think was quite right either. I thought to myself, if a white person speaks some Indian, that person becomes 'more of a friend of yours.

You remember your language once you have learned it. My sisters, they all speak good Indian. They didn't when they were

younger. It seems like when they were younger they didn't want to show that they were Indian. Dad used to say to them, "You'll always be Indian." To me he'd say, "Don't let your sisters sway you. Remember, you're going to get along better when you remember you're Indian. Take the good from the whiteman, take the good from the Indian", he used to say to me. "Put those two together."

Today - Indian and White Together

Alcohol - that's been one of the great curses of our people. I thought that when they opened the beer parlours up to the Indians, I thought that it would only be a matter of time until they'd had enough and they wouldn't use alcohol. But it doesn't seem that it will work that way. There's alot of good people that don't drink, and there's alot of good people that drink.

I think that finding meaning for yourself in the midst of loss and confusion - this is the loss of the culture itself. Then you've got to become mixed, white and Indian. You're not like the European that came out here and left his country. You are a people that were segregated from the rest of society right in your own land. So then, as soon as you came within those bounds, the Indian reserve boundaries, you had to become an Indian. When you walk out of those boundaries, you become a white man. You've got to act like one, speak like one. You

split - you have kind of a dual type of a culture. You work both sides. You're not half one or half the other. You are here or you're over here. There are things where the Indian is so different to the whiteman.

Even today, I notice among the children when I'm out in the schools, you can already see that there's a little bit of friction between the Indian kids and the others in the corridors. I think the younger children are becoming more Indian in a way. They are retaining their Indianness, their Indian nature, their Indian pride. And they're apt to put up a little argument over it. And it's hard to keep them from doing it because this thing is working on both sides, not one side or the other.

I think there's still alot of contact with Lummi and Washington State. Now, today, there is alot of contact when there is a death on any one of the Cowichan reserves or the Gulf Island reserves; Nanaimo, Victoria, Musqueam, Chilliwack, Chehalis, or Lummi. There's a collection taken here to try and offset the funeral expenses. So in that way, you're in contact with all the places quite alot. We have one man here who goes around and is in touch by phone with other people. When there's a death, he takes a collection and delivers it.

Sports - we have canoe racing. You've never seen the amount of exercising and body building that goes into taking part as a crewmember. They really work themselves up. As soon as the weather gets warm enough, then the canoes go into the water

and they start training. One of the places, like Duncan, would have a Eucharist procession, and it was always held as one of their sports days. They might host the first canoe regatta, and then the regatta would go down maybe to Lummi, then maybe up to Cultus Lake, and different places like that. And when everyone's had one, then the soccer tournaments begin and things are going on till quite late in the summer. Soccer is a great game with the Indians. We like soccer and they work hard to build up a team.

We cross the Canadian - U.S. border; we can't just simply walk across. We've got to report, we can't ignore it. I don't really have any trouble crossing the border. Of course, I'd like it to be easier even than it is. I don't like to be stopped by somebody that I should be stopping! "Visitors who never left!"

I didn't learn to speak French. As a matter of fact, I kind of hated the French. And I still do because of those six years; six years of having to live with French nuns and priests. It's a heck of a thing to say, but that's the feeling I have. It stays with you all those years. A little bit angry. Oh, you don't show it to anybody, but there is the feeling inside, and it's always there after all those years. But I get along with everybody else!

I am at heart still a Roman Catholic, I am at heart very strongly. But not a practising Catholic. I mean, you have religious instruction for six years and it's pretty hard to pass

it off.

To split and be an Indian on the reserve and a white person when you're off, that might have been hard for a person at one time. But now it's just a matter of habit. You know what's expected of you when you're walking around town and your command of the language has become quite strong. You can drive a motor car as good as anybody else. You become a richer person. You become a richer person by studying the language, too, that language that wasn't written at one time. I was one of the first ones to start with the language research. And this research strengthens your English, too, because then you begin to understand why things are done say, in the English language. Why they've got to be.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Each case study, in order was analyzed according to the following criteria;

1. Patterns of irretrievable cultural loss and change are identified specifically in the elder's life history.
2. Patterns of recovery of personal meaning in the elder's life are identified through key structural elements which provided support and guidance.
3. Emotional patterns of the grief/reformulation process are identified by using Kubler-Ross' (1969, 1975) STAGES: Denial; Anger; Bargaining; Depression; Acceptance; Hope.

* In the analysis following, the numbers beside each pattern indicate first the PAGE, and then the LINE(S) on which verification of the pattern may be found in each case study.

4. Following the analysis of patterns in each case study, the patterns are matched across cases.
5. Patterns that do not match across the three case studies are then identified.

RESULTS are then discussed.

ANALYSIS OF FIRST CASE STUDY

"ANONYMOUS"

Pages 36 - 55

1. PATTERNS OF IRRETRIEVABLE LOSS AND CHANGE

a. Childhood schooling of young children now included formal white education.

"She never went to school and she couldn't read and this is what she didn't want me to do. She wanted me to get this extra schooling." 38:1 - 3

36:1,2,3 / 41:21 - 23 / 41:13 - 15 / 36:15 - 18 / 37:1 - 17

b. Both the natural and adopted family of the elder indicate family stress and perhaps, chaotic conditions, characteristics of cultural change.

"My sister right next to me - when she was a teenager she ended up going into an institution." 41:24,25

"My Mother was kind. She kept alot of children that weren't her own." 40:19 - 21

41:4 - 7, 11 - 12 / 40:19 - 25

c. The close nurturance of her parents was lost for ten months of each year for approximately ten years while attending residential school.

"I think I was sick for a month when I was first in the school. I used to cry myself to sleep." 36:4,5
37:3,4, 15 - 18 / 37:1 - 4

d. Transmission of many cultural traditions ended.

"You see, our culture says you must put your daughter through this same discipline and this daughter does the same to her daughter. But now, it's different. I don't think anybody else does it." 39:13 - 16
55:1 - 5 / 55:6 - 10 / 42:17 - 28 / 46:1 - 10 / 47:3 - 13
52:24,25 & 53:1 - 8

e. Loss of good health to disease.

"...who had mothers in the hospital with TB." 46: 9
44:24 / 46:8 - 10

f. Loss of control over the education and nurturance of the next generation.

"One came down to Vancouver, but they sent the other one to Edmonton. I didn't have a say in this. They just place them and you just have to agree." 44:23 - 25
36:15,16 & 37:1 - 4 / 45:1 - 12

g. Received a formal white education which probably was inferior to a Euro-Canadian formal education.

"...I finished my grade eight when I was 14. And I couldn't leave school; I had to keep going back." 36:16,17 & 37:1 - 4

37:5 - 15

h. Inclusion of white culture into Native Indian culture.

"But now, we smoke fish the way we like it and then we slap it in the deep freeze and that's it. And we don't have to worry about it going bad." 53:6 - 8

48:all / 49:all / 50:all / 51:all / 52:all / 53:9 - 11

40:16 - 18 / 42:20 - 22 / 44:4 - 15 / 47:7 - 23 / 48:12 - 22

49:13 - 20

2. KEY ELEMENTS WHICH ENABLED RECOVERY OF PERSONAL MEANING

a. The constant strong support and guidance of her Mother as well as others of the older generation.

"I used to be with my Mother all the time. I told my Dad about it and he said, "Well, we're hitting the modern times you know. Just don't let them forget our culture." 48:20 - 23

36:8 - 11 / 38:6 - 10 / 39:17 - 25 & 40:1 / 43:13 - 16

b. A well-disciplined, structured environment which was compatibly Native Indian and white.

"So what I learned in residential school went together with what I learned at home." 37:16,17

36:1 - 3 / 38:1 - 3 / 38:12 - 17 / 38:18 - 25 & 39:1 - 11

39:17 - 20 / 42:10 - 23 & 43:1 - 8 / 44:7 - 9 / 49:8 - 10

53:9 - 11 / 53:23 & 54:1 - 8

c. A valued knowledge of her Native Indian culture.

"So whenever I came home she kept this with me - my own culture and she told me what I learned." 38:3 - 5

38:6 - 25 / 39:all / 40:1 - 17 / 53:12 - 15 / 54:5 - 8

d. A sense of herself as primarily a Native Indian person who is successfully incorporating both the white culture and the modern world.

"So when I came down to Vancouver and then to Seattle, it was a big experience for me. We stopped in all these places, everything was new for me and exciting." 50:2 - 5

44:4 - 15 / 46:18 - 25 & 47:1 - 13 / 47:22 - 25 & 48:1 - 12

48:24 & 49:1 - 14 / 50:7 - 22 / 51:24 - end & 52:1 - 23

53:9 - end & 54:1 - 10

e. A pride in her role in life.

"I guess when the kids started growing up I was determined to make them into respectable young men and women." 47:22 - 24

43:9 - 12 / 43:16 - end & 44:1 - 15 / 44:22,23 / 45:16 - 22

46:2 - 14 / 47:14 - 25 & 48:1 - 4

f. Continuity of many cultural traditions throughout the lifetime and with the next generation, including the language.

"But I still stick to alot of our own traditions and I still pass them on to my grandchildren, especially my grandchildren who are having their own little ones. That's important to me." 53:12 -

15

53:15 - end & 54:1 - 8 / 46:18 - end & 47:1 - 13 /
53:5 - 8 / 41:20, 21 / 40:16

g. A willingness to survive and adapt.

"And the first week home I really missed town, especially just sitting there...it was so quiet. This is what I missed, but I got used to it. It didn't bother me after awhile." 52:5 - 9
41:all & 42:1 / 42:20 - 22 / 43:13 - 18 / 45:13 - 22
47:3 - 13 / 47:22 / 48:11,12 / 48:24 & 49:1 -5, 6 - 18
50:8 - 17 & 50:18 - 22 / 51:15 - 25 & 52:all

3. STAGES OF THE GRIEF/REFORMULATION PROCESS.

Three stages prevail in this case study and occur in chronological order:

DEPRESSION - Loneliness, poor health, physical distress
(Kubler-Ross, 1975, p. 161)

Depression occurs minimally in this case study.

"To begin with, when I was just a little wee girl of seven my parents sent me away to residential school...It was hard to be sent away. I think I was sick for a month...I used to cry myself to sleep...I missed our own food." 36:1 -6

"I was told who I was going to marry - it felt strange! I wept!"
42: 9, 10

"I was about 23 when my Mother died of cancer...It was then I realized that I was really on my own. I missed her very much." 43:13 - 15

ACCEPTANCE - Awareness of the reality of the present, assessment of self in the present (Kubler-Ross, 1975, p.161).

The major stage in this case study is acceptance;

* of residential school - "I was a good student and I passed and I finished my grade eight ...And I couldn't leave school; I had to keep going back." 36:16,17 & 37:1

* of strict discipline, particularly pertaining to separation from males - "It was strict. I never saw any boys or men...We never talked to any males" (37:8 - 10) and "I was never allowed to go near my Father when he was...talking business...This was one of the main rules" (38:12 - 16).

* of two cultures - "So when we were at the canneries we were doing the fish the Indian way and whiteman's way." 40:16,17

* of the control of the whiteman - "If I didn't want them to go, then they would have told me to find a place for them myself." 45:6 - 8

* of her life situation - "Oh, we had some bad times, but we got over them." 47:22

* of modern white and traditional Native Indian lifestyles - "...the modern day today, it just falls into your living."

48:7,8

BARGAINING - Gradual realization of the real consequences
(Kubler-Ross, 1975, p. 161)

This case study ends in the stage of Bargaining, which more often than not, occurs BEFORE the stage of Depression.

This elder is bargaining with the rapid change she sees about to occur in her village because a new road and bridge (modernization) have been built. She is most concerned about the increased rapidity of change; "We were able to use white people's ways because we were able to remain pretty isolated. Things didn't change really fast...In our village, it's going to happen fast...I think it's going to change fast...We're going to get stared at" (54:9,10,16,22,23). However, she plans to bargain with the influx of white tourists; "My daughter and I have been talking about opening a gift shop for a year now" (54:24,25).

Bargaining also occurs in two previous points in the case study. It appears to be a continuous pattern of unfinished business in relationship to the Euro-Canadian culture and it's forceful encroachment upon Native Indian life. This is particularly evident in the fight for recognition of Native Indian title to land This land title bargaining has continued for several generations; "My Father was involved in what they called 'The Land Question'. There were always chiefs in our

house" (38:11,12). "My oldest son is connected with the Land Question still. And my daughter and her husband are, too. They travel around alot" (46:15 - 17).

ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY TWO

"MINNIE CROFT"

Pages 56 - 80

1. PATTERNS OF IRRETRIEVABLE LOSS AND CHANGE

a. Transmission of the Haida culture by family members ended when children attended residential school.

"I always felt that that was wrong because your people form who you are...Before they took us off to school, most Native Indians were guided so well in behaviour and traditions." 56:2 - 5

59:22 - 25 / 60:23,24 / 62:3,4 / 66:14 / 73:11 - 14
74:3 - 5

b. Nurturance from her Haida family for the majority of seven years from the age of nine to sixteen while in school.

"I was about nine years old when I came down from Skidegate to live in the residential school at...Coqualeetza...My mother couldn't afford to bring us all home in the summer, so I went home every other summer." 57:13 - 19

57:20 - 23 / 58:8,9 / 60:7 - 13 / 60:21 - 23 / 61:18 - 20
62:10 - 12 / 63:14 - 17 / 73:6 - 8

c. Indications of increased family stress and perhaps chaotic conditions which are characteristic of culture change.

"Our father died so nearly all of us were taken to Coqualeetza."

57:15,16

60:8 - 11 / 62:14 - 23 & 63:1,2 / 63:10 - 18 / 67:16 - 19

66:1 - 8

d. Formal transmission of the Haida language ended.

"We were strapped and punished severely in many cases for speaking our own language. We were trying to hang onto our language, not forget it." 56:8 - 10

60:25,26 & 61:1 - 17 / 66:9 - 14 / 73:4 - 9

e. Formal white education became a part of Native Indian training.

"I was about nine years old when I came down from Skidegate to live in the residential school at Sardis: Coqualeetza. I had about seven years of schooling there." 57:13 - 15

56:all / 57:all / 58:all / 59:all / 60:all / 61:all

62:1 - 13 / 64:1 / 71:18,19 / 72:15 - 19 / 73:4 - 6

73:11 - 21 / 78:1,2

f. Parental loss of control over education and nurturance of the next generation.

"I feel that they never consulted the Native Indian about what should be taught to their children. The parents had nothing to do with the education of their own children and I feel that was wrong...Some of us were just taken away, our parents weren't considered." 56:19 & 57:1 - 12 /

56:1 - 10 / 59:all / 60:all / 61:all / 62:1 - 12
73:15 - 17

g. The formal white education was inferior to Euro-Canadian's formal education.

"We left Coqualeetza at the end of grade nine because the government wouldn't let us go to the provincial high school in Chilliwack. A lot of us were smart enough to get through and we could have gone on further, but there was no way we could finish our high school." 59:9 - 13

57:20 - 23 / 58:all / 59:1 - 8 / 59:16 - 20 / 72:23 - 25
73:18 - 25

h. Loss of self-respect in relationship to others, i.e. whites
"...they had to suppress everything about us; all Indian, everything Indian. Most of the Native Indians began to feel it was bad to be Indian." 56:11 - 14

56:11 - 18 / 59:22 - 25 / 60:1 - 6 / 60:14 - 21 / 66:15 - 26 & 67:1 - 19 / 69:22 - 24 & 70:all & 71:all / 72:2 - 6
73:11 - 14 / 74:17 - 22 / 77:12 - 22 / 78:17 - end & 79:1 - 23 / 77:4 - 6

i. Loss of respect for others, i.e. whites

"But we didn't like the way some ministers would say one thing and act another way yet. We made fun of them. We always used to think that they didn't live what they said to us. We couldn't

understand that." 65:18 - 21

57:1 - 3 / 58:1 - 7 / 58:8 - 12 / 60:18 - 20 / 61:21 - 25

62:1 - 4 / 65:8 - end / 68:12 - 17 / 73:15 - 22

74:13 - 16 / 77:12 - 17

j. Loss of control of adult decision-making.

"But I'll tell you where I find it so hard. I like to be able to go home when I feel like it and stay by myself. But I can't go home...there are restrictions by the white people about this and I think it's ridiculous." 67:26 & 68:1 - 4

72:20 - 22 / 74:17 - 22 / 75:23 - 25 / 76:3 - 6

57:3 & 10 - 12

k. Inclusion of white culture into Native Indian culture.

"...all the oldtimers, old girls like my age and his age that have lived on the Queen Charlottes all their lives came to the big feast after his burial. These white people all came along without an invitation because they knew him." 67:6 - 9

66:15 - end / 68:1 - 17 / 69:1 - 18 / 70:all / 71:all

72:20 - 25 / 73:4 - 9 / 74:17 - 22 & 23 - 25 / 64:9 - end

63:19 - 26 / 65:12 - end

2. KEY ELEMENTS WHICH ENABLED RECOVERY OF PERSONAL MEANING

a. Minnie maintained her pride in being Haida and herself.

"I was never ashamed of being a Haida, so that I don't think I

believed it. I've always been a proud person." 73:12 - 14

61:2 - 7 / 62:21 - 23 / 65:4 - 7 / 66:1,2 / 68:18 -24

70:12 - 24 & 71:3 - 12 / 72:8 - 14 / 75:12,13 / 80:6 - 9

b. The language is relearned.

"You forget it in school for little while , but then when you come back, if you want to remember it and keep at it, you can. Because once you've spoken it you won't forget it that easily."

76:17 - 21

78:17 / 61:16,17 / 66:11,12

c. Some support and guidance from members of the older generation and her family.

"I used to go home whenever I could to see my grandmother. She lived to be 106...I always used to want to go and see my grandmother...I stayed with her alot and did little things for her." 63:9 - 14

61:18 - 20 / 63:3,4 / 63:19 - 24 / 64:13 - 16 / 65:17,18

67:20 - 25 / 68:18 - 24

d. Sense of herself as primarily a Native Indian who has successfully learned how to be a white person.

"I've always made certain that no matter what company I keep, I'm an Indian!" 75:12,13

"If you're speaking to white people, you have to think their ways. And if you're talking among yourselves, you have to think

their ways, so that you live two worlds! You've got to think two worlds too!" 76:22 - 25

76:9 - 16 / 76:22 - 25 / 77:all / 79:24,25 & 80:1 - 6

62:5 - 10/63:3 - 7 / 64:7,8 / 64:9,10 & 16 - 23 / 72:4 - 6

74:23 - 25 & 75:2 - 7 / 58:23,24 / 59:2 - 4 / 75:9,10

75:12 - 16

e. A willingness to survive and adapt.

"I do things the white way and then I do things the Indian way.

I can switch. And at the same time too, when people insult you,

you have to stop and think where they're from because that way

you stop to think of their thinking. You act accordingly. I

think that we've had to learn as Native people to fit ourselves

into any situation...I've had to adapt." 77:3 - 10

56:5 - 7 / 57:5,6 / 58:10 -12 / 59:16 - 20 / 61:21 - 25

62:5 - 9 / 66:9 - 12 / 66:22 - 25 / 67:9 - 14 / 68:15 - 17

69:11 - 17 / 69:18 - 21 / 72:8 - 14 / 75:11 - 15 / 76:9 -

16 / 76:22 - 25 & 77:1,2 / 77:11 - 14 / 79:24,25 & 80:1 -

end

3. STAGES OF THE GRIEF/REFORMULATION PROCESS.

Three stages of the reformulation process occur in this case study;

ANGER - regret, hostility towards others (Kubler-Ross, 1975, p. 161)

Anger predominates Minnie's life history.

She begins with, "To begin with, I didn't think it was right that they should take us away from our Indian homes" (56:1,2) and continues in chronological order to "I've hated Indian Affairs for the things they have done to Indians" (74:13,14) and ends with the present day, "Many atime I've talked to my white friends about Native Indians and told them 'we do alot of different thinking than you people'. Or I'll say some awful things to them. Then I'll say, 'Oh, you'll have to excuse me because I get so angry about that particular situation '" (77:15 - 18).

DEPRESSION - loneliness, poor health, physical distress
(Kubler-Ross, 1975, p. 161)

Depression appears minimally in this case study.

Minnie mentions being lonely while working in the city as a young woman; "I used to go home alot because I was lonesome when I first came to the city" (63:8,9) and not being happy when she returned to Skidegate after residential school; "I didn't fit in at home when I went home...I wasn't happy to stay there and do nothing" (62:17 - 20).

Minnie also briefly refers to the arthritis in her hands "...he hurt my hand. He hurt my arthritis...I had to have my own rings cut off my fingers" (78:12,13).

At the end of the interview, Minnie makes brief reference to her behaviour with white people on the bus; "...I'm kind of a reserved person and I like being by myself. So even if they're friendly, I don't encourage it in that area " (78:6 - 8).

ACCEPTANCE - awareness of the reality of the present, assessment of self in the present (Kubler-Ross, 1975, p.161).

Acceptance is interwoven with anger in this case study.

Minnie appears to accept the white culture in order to survive, but is angry about the relationship the Euro-Canadian culture has with her Haida culture. "I think this makes me a richer person because I understand both worlds. You try to understand why a white person does this to our Indians; because he doesn't think like us, he doesn't know the reason we're like we are" (77:11 - 14). She accepts that "you have to try and work both sides of both worlds because you are an Indian. That is the way you get along" (79:24,25). The price for this acceptance, however, is anger. "We don't mind integrating, but assimilation is something quite different" (74:25 & 75:1).

ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY THREE

"ARNOLD GUERIN"

Pages 81 - 102

1. PATTERNS OF IRRETRIEVABLE LOSS AND CHANGE

a. Transmission of specific cultural traditions ends.

"So when you speak about the old culture, there wasn't too much of it that I can really speak about because there was much of it that was gone by the time I was a boy. I didn't see the day of the potlatch." 89:15 - 18

89:18 - 25 / 90:14 - 22 / 90:23 - 25 & 91:1 - 20

86:6 - 16 / 86:22 - 24 & 87:1 - 5 / 88:24,25 & 89:1 - 14

b. Formal transmission of the language ends.

"The Native culture has almost been totally lost along with the loss of our language. You see, the language seems to be what holds the Native culture together...I went to school and we were not allowed to speak Indian." 81:1 - 3 & 9

81:13 - 18 & 82:1 - 3 / 82:7 - 10 / 97:24,25 & 98:1 - 10

c. Indications of family stress and perhaps, chaotic conditions which are a characteristic of cultural change.

"But I never saw my mother. In 1921, my first vacation, Dad took

me across to Lummi. That was the last time I saw Mom. She was in Musqueam and I was in school on Kuper Island. My mother passed away in 1957." 82:27 & 83:1 - 3

82:15 - 24 / 83:4 - 7 / 99:9 - 14

d. Inclusion of white culture into Indian lifestyle.

"We cross the Canadian - US border; we can't just simply walk across. We've got to report...I don't like to be stopped by somebody that I should be stopping! 101:10 - 14

82:6 - 8 / 83:5,6 / 83:6 - 13 / 84:all / 88:7 - 12
92:19 - 22 / 93:all / 94:all / 95:1 - 10 / 99:9 - 14
101:all

e. White education becomes a part of Native Indian training.

"I began school in July, July the 4th, 1920. There was a month's summer holiday from June until July, and I started then."

82:25,26

81:9 - 19 / 82:10 - 13 / 83:9 - end / 84:all / 85:all
86:1 - 4 / 98:11 - 23 / 100:5 - 12 / 95:24,25 & 96:1 - 4

f. Formal white education is substandard to Euro-Canadian formal education.

"There's alot of good people like myself who did not get a proper

formal education because of the rules of the white man.. At Kuper Island school we were to leave when we completed the Fifth Reader..." 85:3 - 8

85:11 - end / 86:1 - 4 / 84:14 - 25

g. Loss of parental nurturing for the majority of six years while attending residential school.

"I went to the Kuper Island residential school in the Gulf Islands from 1920 until 1926." 81:9 - 12

83:1 - 4 / 83:5 - 8

h. Loss of good health to disease.

"'We didn't bother to hardly wrap them in a blanket. We dug great big graves and threw them in, they were dying off that fast.' It was because of the smallpox." 87:11 - 13

87:6 - 18 / 87:19 - 25 & 88:1 - 6 / 83:14 - end / 84:1 - 4

2. KEY ELEMENTS WHICH ENABLED RECOVERY OF PERSONAL MEANING

a. Musqueam language is learned.

"I had to learn to speak Indian...That's where I learned to speak my Indian language; out in the fields, out in the woods." 81:8, 16,17

81:6 - 8 / 81:13 - 18 / 82:1 - 5 / 96:all / 97:all

98:all / 99:1 - 7

b. The Musqueam culture and language is valued.

"You become a richer person by studying the language, too, that

language that wasn't written at one time. I was one of the first ones to start with the language research." 102:7 - 10

81:1 - 8 / 90:14 - end / 91:1 - 20 / 92:5 - 18 / 102:7 - 10 / 96:all / 97:all / 99:1 - 7 / 100:9 - 12 / 100:13 - 21

c. Guidance and support given by parents and family members.

"'Remember, you're going to get along better when you remember you're Indian. Take the good from the whiteman, take the good from the Indian', he used to say to me." 99:2 - 5

99:5 - 7 / 82:6 - 9 / 91:23,24 & 92:1 / 92:14 - end & 93:1

d. Sense of himself as a Native Indian person who can function successfully in both white and Native Indian cultures.

"You're not like the European that came out here and left his country. You are a people that were segregated from the rest of society right in your own land. So then, as soon as you came within...the Indian reserve boundaries, you had to become an Indian. When you walk out of those boundaries, you become a white man. You've got to act like one, speak like one."

99:17 - 23

101:9 - 13 / 102:2 - end

e. Willingness to adapt and survive.

"I seemed to have an understanding of how one people lived and

the other people lived, you know. That is the white versus the Indian. So then I could joke about my own Indianness, whatever way you want, with anyone." 95:14 - 17

95:17 - 23 / 94:22 - 25 & 95:1 - 10 / 93:all / 94:1 - 9
96:12 - 19 / 98:11 - 23 / 99:15 -end & 100:1 - 4 / 102:2 -
end

3. PATTERNS OF THE GRIEF/REFORMULATION PROCESS

This case study has three stages of the reformulation process;

ANGER - regret, hostility towards others (Kubler-Ross, 1975, p.161)

Arnold expresses brief but deep, emphatic anger; "I didn't learn to speak French. As a matter of fact, I kind of hated the French. And I still do because of those six years you know, six years of having to live with French nuns and priests. It's a heck of a thing to say, but that's, you know, the feeling I have. It stays with you all those years. A little bit angry. Oh, you don't show it to anybody, but there is the feeling inside, and it's always there after all those years. But I get along with everybody else!" (101:15 - 22). No other anger or hostility is apparent but this anger has been maintained since the age of sixteen.

DEPRESSION - loneliness, poor health, physical distress

(Kubler-Ross, 1975, p. 161)

One of the primary discussions of this case study is that of disease.

Arnold describes the many diseases of Native Indian people and his own poor health as a boy; he contracts Spanish influenza and "within an hour or so, they had me in bed" (83:18), has a brush with smallpox but drank a special broth and "little sores broke open and that's all I got of the pox" (87:17,18). He escapes contracting tuberculosis, but many of his schoolmates died and as an adult "many of the people that I worked with had been in that place (TB hospital) a long time and it was in those years that they found the medicine for curing them" (87:25 & 88:1,2).

Alcohol consumption is referred to as "one of the great curses of our people...There's alot of good people that don't drink, and there's alot of good people that drink, you know" (99:9,13,14).

ACCEPTANCE - awareness of the reality of the present, assessment of self in the present (Kubler-Ross, 1975, p. 161)

Arnold has reached a point of acceptance that the two cultures live in the same land and that interaction with Euro-Canadian culture has led to the irretrievable loss and change of his culture.

Arnold has come to an acceptance of the melding of the two cultures in his life. He does so in a matter of fact manner as he describes the whiteman's characteristics of "being forceful in his ways of taking over everything and claiming it unto himself" (87:1,2). He accepts the white culture for what it is and what it means for his life; "...to split and be an Indian on the reserve and a white person when you're off..." (102:2,3).

CROSS - CASE PATTERN MATCHING

A. PATTERNS OF IRRETRIEVABLE LOSS AND CHANGE

SPECIFIC FORMS:	OCCURS IN CASE:		
1. White formal education part of schooling	1	2	3
2. Family stress and chaotic conditions.	1	2	3
3. Loss of parental nurturance while attending residential school	1	2	3
4. Transmission of many cultural traditions ended	1	2	3
5. Loss of good health to disease	1		3
6. Loss of control over the education and nurturance of the next generation	1	2	
7. Received an inferior white education	1	2	3
8. Formal transmission of language ended		2	3
9. Loss of self-respect in relationship with others i.e. whites		2	
10. Loss of respect for others i.e. whites		2	
11. Loss of control over adult decision-making		2	
12. Inclusion of white culture in Native Indian lifestyle	1	2	3

PATTERNS OF RECOVERY OF PERSONAL MEANING

KEY CHARACTERISTICS:	OCCURS IN CASE:		
1. Support and guidance from parents and family	1	2	3
2. Well-disciplined structured environment which combined both cultures	1		
3. Valued knowledge of own traditional culture	1		3
4. Sense of being primarily Indian and successful at operating in both cultures	1	2	3
5. Pride in oneself in life role	1	2	3
6. Continuity of Native Indian traditions	1		
7. Willingness to survive and adapt	1	2	3
8. Language maintained	1	2	3

STAGES OF REFORMULATION

EMOTIONAL ASPECTS:

OCCURS IN CASE:

LOSS OCCURS

1 2 3

DENIAL

ANGER

2 3

BARGAINING

1

DEPRESSION

1 2 3

ACCEPTANCE

1 2 3

HOPE

PATTERNS THAT DO NOT MATCH

1. LOSS

Three patterns do not match with the others;

- a. loss of self - respect in relationship to others i.e. white (2)
- b. loss of respect for others i.e. white (2)
- c. loss of control over adult decision-making (2)

2. RECOVERY

Two patterns do not match with the others;

- a. well-disciplined structured environment which combined both cultures (1)
- b. continuity of Native Indian traditions (1)

3. STAGES OF REFORMULATION

One stage did not match any other; Bargaining. (1)

RESULTS

PATTERNS OF LOSS

Specific Forms:

1. The first and third elders related the same number of losses - eight - while the second elder, Minnie, was aware of eleven losses in her lifetime.

Minnie has lived the majority of her life in a white environment thereby increasing her cultural loss.

Arnold states that many losses in his culture occurred before his lifetime, limiting then the number he recalls.

The first elder lives in an isolated area of the province and her Native culture is highly structured and has controlled Euro-Canadian contact. This dynamic would limit her losses.

2. Minnie, Case Study Two has experienced the most losses. She expresses pride for her culture, Haida (81:26 & 82:1) and the losses appear related to her pride: loss of self-respect, loss of respect for others and loss of control over adult decision-making. This may also relate to her main stage of Anger (118).

3. There are Six Primary Forms of Loss and Change;

A. Native Indian culture now includes elements of the Euro-Canadian culture.

B. Native Indian children received an inferior formal white education in the residential schools.

C. Many Native Indian traditions, including language for a time, were lost.

D. Loss of parental nurturance during the growing developmental years of childhood.

E. Increased family stress and perhaps, chaotic conditions.

F. White formal education became a part of Native Indian training.

Of lesser importance in the forms of loss and change;

1. Loss of health to disease.

2. Loss of control over the education and nurturance of the next generation.

3. Formal transmission of the language ended.

PATTERNS OF RECOVERY

Key Characteristics:

1. There are eight characteristics of recovery and Case Study One has experienced all eight. The second and third elders, Minnie and Arnold have experienced five of these characteristics.
2. The two characteristics that do not match any other - a well disciplined structured environment which incorporates both cultures, and a continuity in Native Indian traditions - are both experienced by the first elder. She lives in a more controlled traditional environment than the other two elders.
3. The Primary Characteristics of Recovery are;
 - A. Support and guidance of parents and family
 - B. Sense of being primarily Native Indian and successful at operating in both Euro-Canadian and Native Indian cultures
 - C. Pride in oneself in life role

D. A willingness to survive and adapt

E. The Native Indian language is maintained

Of lesser importance is;

1. Valued knowledge of traditional culture

STAGES OF REFORMULATION

Emotional Aspects:

1. All three elders experience the emotions of Loss, Depression and Acceptance.

2. All three elders have reached the stage of Acceptance.

3. The first elder is now also experiencing Bargaining due to current modernization in her valley.

4. The second and third elders have experienced AND ARE STILL EXPERIENCING ANGER. Minnie expresses her anger, although she says she is usually reserved. Arnold briefly states his hatred for the French, says he is 'a little bit angry' and does not show it. (103:6 - 13)

5. The first elder does not experience Anger, but rather is involved in Bargaining. Perhaps by being in a multi-generational Bargaining stage (112 & 113) the Anger stage was shortened or not been experienced.

6. None of the elders have entered the stage of Hope and are looking to future events or planning for future generations. Arnold seems to be approaching this stage as he works with Indian students in the schools teaching the Musqueam language. He also has observed them in the corridors defending their Indianness.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

A. DISCUSSION

I. This study has identified six primary forms of loss and change in the Native Indian cultures in B.C. and five primary characteristics of recovery of personal meaning by Native Indian people. This identification of primary forms and characteristics was made by extracting key, repeated elements from the life history interviews of three Native Indian elders. These primary forms of loss and characteristics of recovery were then related to Marris' Theory of Loss and Change. This theory states that after an irretrievable culture loss or change, a bereavement process is invoked that Marris refers to as a 'reformulation' of meaning.

SIX PRIMARY FORMS OF LOSS AND CHANGE IN NATIVE INDIAN CULTURES

The following forms of culture loss and change were extracted from the interviews of all three elders;

1. Native Indian children in residential schools lost the

guidance and support of their parents during their developmental years of childhood. Guidance and support from the residential teaching staffs did not replace that of the parents.

2. Formal Euro-Canadian education became a part of the education of Native Indian children.

3. Native Indian children received an inferior formal Euro-Canadian education in the residential schools - particularly in terms of time i.e. half days in the classroom, and graduation when an elementary grade level of five or eight was attained. It is also suggested that many of the parochial teachers were poorly trained.

4. Many parts of the Native Indian culture were lost, including the language, the role of parents, religion, potlatching, netmaking, and basketmaking.

5. There was increased family stress and chaotic conditions at home characterized by the early death of a parent, or the inability of a parent to fulfill their parenting role. This could decrease the support and guidance received by the child as well as decreasing the degree of Native Indian cultural transmission. It could also increase the degree of stress the child experienced; stress already increased by attending residential school.

6. Native Indian cultures now include elements of the Euro-Canadian culture - smoked fish is frozen in the deep freeze, cars are used for transportation, Euro-Canadian food is part of the diet, English is spoken and written, and children are educated in Euro-Canadian schools.

Secondary forms of loss and change in the cultures emerged from two of the three interviews with elders. They are;

SECONDARY MEANS OF LOSS AND CHANGE IN NATIVE INDIAN CULTURES:

1. Loss of good health to disease.
2. Loss of control over the education and guidance of the next generation.
3. Formal transmission of the Native Indian language from the older generation to the children ended.

FIVE PRIMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF RECOVERY OF PERSONAL MEANING

The following characteristics of recovery of personal meaning were extracted from the life history interviews of all three elders;

1. The support and guidance of parents and extended family

was provided whenever possible.

2. There is a sense of being primarily Native Indian and successful at operating in both Euro-Canadian and Native Indian cultures.
3. Encouragement was received from the older generation to survive and adapt - to take the best from two cultures.
4. The Native Indian language was maintained or relearned.
5. There was a pride in oneself in their role in life.

One secondary characteristic of recovery emerged in two out of three of the elders' lives. It is;

A SECONDARY CHARACTERISTIC OF RECOVERY OF PERSONAL MEANING:

1. A valued knowledge of the traditional culture.

II. The study appears to support Marris' Theory of Loss and Change (1975) and show that it is applicable to the Native Indian cultures in B.C..

Marris states three characteristics of the grief/reformulation process and these will be discussed in the light of the case studies and the above findings.

1. Reformulation is generated by a loss which creates conflict.

No one knows what the reformulation process will produce.

Each of the three elders lost meaningful parts of their Native Indian culture, six forms of which they all shared as identified in the case studies. The conflict generated by these cultural losses was expressed as a set of cultural and personal conflicts in each elder's life.

In the Anonymous case study, the elder experiences her Native culture as being in conflict with the 'modern world today'. Her children are sent far away from home to continue their schooling in the white world and she has no say about where they will be sent. She tries to hold on to her traditional ways i.e. womanhood ritual in spite of conflicting values with the village school. And she comes to accept that her own young children must spend time on their own, away from her, contrary to her own traditional upbringing. "In my day I never never went anywhere without my Mother...what's my Mother going to think if she knew I was sending the kids out on their own, without me being around?" (pages 40 & 50).

She further experiences the stress of losses within the family: she must live with her 'legal' parents in the summers when she is a teen-ager and she is very afraid; her natural older sister is institutionalized; her adoptive Mother and legal mother have conflicting outlooks on schooling for their children;

and her adoptive parents die when she is a young woman.

Minnie's set of conflicts (second case study) evolves from her experience in the residential school system. Because of the residential school years, she loses continuous supportive parenting from her mother and grandmother for seven of her childhood years while experiencing harsh discipline and degrading behavior from the teachers in the school. She loses contact with her Haida culture, forgets her language, and does not gain adequate skills to function as fully in the Euro-Canadian world as she would like. Her conflict with her Indianness in the white world is intensified when she lives in the city and experiences discrimination and degrading behaviour because she is Haida. This conflict continues into her courtship and marriage with a non-Indian; "He was after me to go out with him for a long time and I wouldn't. I was still an Indian...and I didn't want to go out with him" (page 74). Minnie expresses her conflict best when she states "Many atime I feel like telling white people what it's really like. It's amazing" (page 79).

Arnold's conflict (third case study) with culture loss is expressed particularly in his experience with his language. His Indian mother wants him to speak English which he does. He is taught in English at the residential school by priests whose primary language is French. His half-Indian father, however, wants him to learn Musqueam. He does learn to speak an Indian language, but not his own Salish dialect initially. He first

learns Cowichan rather than Musqueam, and in a conflictual situation - at the residential school where the Native languages are forbidden. His stepmother laughs at his translation attempts. He becomes an expert in the Musqueam language and teaches linguists from the University - professors who represent the highest level in the educational hierarchy, a hierarchy that previously had denied him a complete Euro-Canadian education. At one point, Arnold says, "So I did my best, that's about all I could do under those circumstances" (page 84).

The reformulation process produces bi-culturalism in the lives of these three elders. Each elder individualizes both the grief-like process and its' outcome while sharing specific characteristics of the process and outcome with the others. The first elder has lived a life of bi-cultural compatibility; "It seems like it just sort of, the modern day today, it just falls into your living" (page 49). The second and third elders, however, discuss 'splitting' and 'working both sides'. Minnie describes her bi-culturalism as follows; "If you're speaking to white people, you have to think their ways. And if you're talking among yourselves (Native Indian), you have to think their ways, so that you live two worlds!" (page 78). Arnold says, "You split - you have kind of a dual type of a culture. You work both sides. You're not half one or half the other. You are here or you're over here" (page 101).

It appears, then that the bi-cultural outcome of

successful reformulation can be a continuum of psychological integration; from a low conflictual experience of cultural compatability to a relatively high conflictual experience requiring psychological splitting.

2. The reformulation process is meaningful in and of itself.

Each elder appears to feel they have lived meaningful, full lives while experiencing cultural and personal conflict. All talk about becoming "richer persons" for having experienced both cultures. Each elder exhibits pride in themselves in their role in life (recovery characteristic 5) and in successfully operating in both Euro-Canadian and Native Indian cultures (recovery characteristic 2). Having lived a life of personal/cultural reformulation according to Marris (1975), Minnie says of herself, "I think this makes me a richer person because I understand both worlds" (page 79).

3. While the reformulation process is being experienced, resolving the conflict created by culture loss is the only meaningful reference point for behavior. In order to do this, Marris states that the lost attachment must be found to still give meaning to the present (Marris, 1975, p. 159).

The conflict of culture loss for Anonymous (case study one)

is fitting the modern world with her traditional Native Indian culture. She wants to hold onto the traditional cultural values that she has maintained in spite of cultural loss. She uses the cultural values of childraising and womanhood, altered somewhat by the modern world to give meaning to her life in the present. She sees herself as a traditional grandmother passing on her Native Indian traditions to her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Her sense of meaning in the present is using what remains of her culture to tell her grandchildren "...do it this way, don't do this...if you don't carry out our tradition, they will become little brats" (page 55). By taking this stance, she maintains her sense of being primarily Indian, incorporating the modern world into her life and the lives of her family.

Minnie's conflict of cultural loss centers about her residential school experience. She makes sense of the experience by using the skills she gained at school to live successfully in a Euro-Canadian city. At the same time, she is bitter about the loss of Haida culture and the treatment Native Indian people received from Euro-Canadians. She sees herself as having one leg in one culture and one leg in the other culture, but always being Haida in whatever situation she finds herself. Being Haida, she tells white people what she thinks of their treatment of Indian people, teaches her white husband about Native Indian culture, and helps her 'Indian people' whenever she can. And adjunct to this research, Minnie is conducting her own case study research

of former students at the residential school. This research will be the basis of a book in the future.

Arnold's prime cultural loss (case study three) was his language. He sets out to learn Musqueam and succeeds. He uses Musqueam to become known presently as an expert, someone whom Native Indians and Euro-Canadians look to for education and guidance in the language. And he takes the Musqueam language into the Euro-Canadian schools and teaches young Musqueam children. He has found meaning and purpose by using his traditional language in a modern, Euro-Canadian setting. "You become a richer person by studying the language, too, that language that wasn't written at one time. I was one of the first ones to start with the language research. And that research strengthens your English, too..." (pages 103-104).

Each elder, then, has experienced culture loss which is expressed as personal conflict in their lives. Each has one particular central loss which generates conflict, and which they then use as the focus for reformulation. This reformulation is accomplished by making sense of the conflict - by using the lost cultural attachment, in a new form, to give meaning to their present life. Each elder has resolved their primary cultural conflict and made it, as Marris (1975) states, "...the only meaningful reference point for behavior" (page 159). And all three elders share five characteristics in their lives which enabled them to use the lost attachment and successfully

reformulate it .

To create a more specific understanding of the emotional elements of the grief/reformulation process Kubler-Ross (1969, 1975) was used in this study for specificity where Marris' theory becomes vague.

Kubler-Ross identifies six emotional stages that occur after a loss; Denial, Anger, Bargaining, Depression, Acceptance and Hope. These generally follow the above pattern, but may co-exist and overlap (ibid, 1969, pages 234-236).

All three elders interviewed experienced the emotions of depression and acceptance. Two of the three experienced anger. One elder experienced bargaining. Anger, Bargaining, Depression and Acceptance are the central stages of Kubler-Ross' reformulation process. Using this frame of emotional elements, none of the elders experienced the initial emotion of Denial, perhaps because they were born after drastic cultural change and loss began. Nor did they reach the final emotional element of Hope in Kubler-Ross' reformulation process. In fact, one elder expresses fear of the future.

The incompleteness of the emotional elements of the reformulation process in the lives of these elders fits with Marris' theory when he implies that the reformulation of a cultural loss may occur over several generations and is perhaps not completed in the lifespan of one individual (Marris, 1975,

159).

III. The outcome of the above two points is a cognitive framework useful in understanding the lives of Native Indian individuals in British Columbia.

By using Marris' theoretical framework, it can be understood that people of Native Indian heritage have had or are experiencing a normal, universally invoked process that is analogous with the bereavement process. This reformulation process: creates a conflict of personal meaning within an individual that must be resolved before any other meaningful ways of life can be undertaken; creates personal confusion about identity; increases stress within the individual; creates a need for that individual to articulate their experience and receive support; is an individual experience that is shared with others who have experienced the same cultural loss; is as vulnerable to end in a poor outcome as is personal grief.

It can also be understood to be a normal and universal process that every person has or will at one time experience, at least at the personal level. Native Indian individuals however, and others who experience culture loss and change experience this reformulation at a personal and at a cultural level.

This cognitive framework also creates a greater

psychological understanding of the life experience of Native Indian people in B.C. The elders in this study have survived some major psychological losses, losses which are generally understood to be traumatic with long lasting effects; the early death of a parent (for the first elder it was removal from natural parents and adoption), early separation from parents and home, separation from parents during the developmental years of childhood, a boarding school experience, separation of the sexes, ineffective parenting styles in the residential schools - rigidity, lack of emotional understanding and respect, and high authoritarianism. These traumatic experiences will influence their world view, their understanding of the Euro-Canadian culture, their interaction with others, their personal relationships, and their parenting style. These traumatic experiences will also be transmitted to the next generation in some form.

The elders have survived these early traumatic experiences and survived the psychological shock of culture loss and change in addition. The high degree of emotional and cognitive strength that these survival tasks demanded must be enormous. The elders' families were also exhibiting signs of psychological distress due to culture change. Yet in spite of the distress, members of the older generation gave guidance and support to these elders. The psychological strength of this older generation must have been high, as well.

Culturally, these Native Indian people have experienced the Euro-Canadian culture in a negative, conflictual and sometimes degrading manner. It is the entrance of this foreign culture into their lives and their culture which has forced the need for reformulation. Further, they are forced to live with Euro-Canadians as the reformulation process is occurring. The psychological strength and stress that these tasks demand in relationship to Euro-Canadians is very high.

The characteristics of recovery that this study identifies must have significance if they can enable three people to overcome and reformulate their lives and their culture successfully. Psychologically, these characteristics can be seen as 1) maintaining self-esteem 2) receiving support and guidance from significant others and 3) gaining meaning from their traditional culture in the present time and culture.

B. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is an exploratory, theory-building study which is limited in the following ways;

I. This study is limited in its' scope of generalizability to the larger Native Indian population. While elements of the elders' lives in this study overlap, the elders interviewed here share some common factors which exclude other Native Indian

people: they are of the same generation, all attended residential school, and they are from coastal Native Indian cultures. Therefore, the results of the study must be cautiously generalizable to:

- * Native Indians in the younger generations
- * the few Native Indian elders who did not attend residential school
- * other Native Indian cultures in B.C. or in Canada

II. The research method used i.e. life history interviews analyzed in the case study method limits the findings in the following manner;

- * the recorded life history was based upon a person's naturally selective recollection of events. Events forgotten could not be retrieved in the life history.
- * the elders were interviewed once with one follow-up discussion of the edited life history. No further information was extracted and added to the initial life history over any lengthy period of time, thereby, limiting the study to the events recalled in the first interview.
- * the life histories were used as the subjective experience of one individual as shared with an objective researcher. However, the complete objectivity of the researcher is more open to question in case study method than in the experimental method.
- * the interviewer was Euro-Canadian and cultural attitudes,

interaction, etc. would influence what information the elder wished to share.

III. Other research methodologies such as survey method or archival analysis could well disclose further information not readily available in the case study method. All possible methods of research have not been used, thereby limiting the findings.

C. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study reveals some of the aspects and characteristics in a person's life that have occurred as the outcome of cultural interaction resulting in irretrievable loss and change. Very little direct research has been conducted on this subject. The study, therefore, is very important in three areas:

I. Implications for Theories of Cultural Loss and Change

Marris' Theory of Loss and Change (1975), an innovative theory, has been supported and the reformulation process appears applicable to Native Indian cultures and individuals in B.C. By applying the theory to cultures other than the cultures used by Marris in originating his theory (British and African), Marris' theory has also been expanded. It is now seen as applicable to

the interaction between B.C. Native Indian cultures and Euro-Canadian culture.

Marris' theory is broad and, therefore, vague in some areas. The lack of his specific definition of stages and emotions of the grief - reformulation process was addressed by incorporating the work of Kubler-Ross (1969, 1975) into this study. The central emotions of Kubler-Ross' bereavement process i.e. depression, bargaining, anger, and acceptance were present in the Native elder's lives. This study, therefore supports the bereavement-like reformulation theory and adds specificity to Marris' Theory of Loss and Change.

II. Practical Applications of This Study

Based upon the results of this study there are specific tasks that Native Indian individuals could perform in order to find personal meaning in life and complete the cultural reformulation process. Some of these are;

1. Gain support and guidance from the older generation. If support and guidance are not readily available from the older generation, then substitutes can be sought in the extended family, the Indian community and/or the professional community.

These substitute 'parents' could, of course also reach out and offer support and guidance. The guidance could take the form of specific living skills necessary to live in both the Native

Indian culture and the Euro-Canadian culture.

2. Fully accept the primary foundation of one's Indianness.
3. Become successful at operating bi-culturally in both the Indian culture and the Euro-Canadian culture.
4. Develop the skills to adapt and survive in a cross-cultural lifestyle.
5. Maintain or relearn the Native Indian language and/or traditions.
6. Develop pride in oneself in accomplishing the rich set of tasks that being Native Indian and living in a cross-cultural situation demands.
7. Develop effective means of coping with the depression and anger that are part of the normal process of reformulation.
8. Come to understand that current personal conflict with culture and meaning is normal and has a natural progression of emotions, usually ending in hope for the future.
9. Share the experience of personal/cultural reformulation with others in order to increase support and understanding and thus reduce the length and intensity of the process.
10. Increase self-awareness in order to discover what prime cultural attachment has been lost.
11. Use the lost cultural attachment identified above (10) in a new form in the present time.

A Euro-Canadian who takes part in any of the above tasks as, for example, a Euro-Canadian counselling psychologist would have tasks to perform beyond that of working with a fellow Euro-Canadian. These would be;

1. A knowledge of the Native Indian culture and community in order to assist in the task of becoming bi-cultural.
2. An awareness of the historical elements of cross-cultural interaction which inhibit the relationship and create mistrust, disrespect and misunderstanding.
3. An ability to objectively experience and understand Euro-Canadian culture through another person's (negative) subjective experience.
4. A willingness to see the Native Indian client as an opportunity to learn more about Euro-Canadian culture and Native Indian culture.
5. A willingness to reach out, enter Native Indian homes and make personal contact.

Practical applications for the counselling setting would be the following;

1. Teach the reformulation process with its emphasis on universality, normality and hopefulness.
2. With the Native Indian client, develop a plan that will

increase their bi-cultural skills and lead to hopefulness.

3. Enable the client to discover what they have lost, culturally and personally.

4. Use the loss the client identifies as the ground upon which to rebuild their sense of meaning.

5. Use the group process to increase support and sharing.

6. Use Native Indian elders as sources of support, guidance, and cultural information for individuals or for groups.

7. Use books about Native Indian experiences, legends, and traditional culture as the beginning of discussion and sharing. Hugh Brody's MAPS AND DREAMS (1981) is a particularly effective book.

8. Encourage clients to write down their experiences and feelings. This diary can be personally therapeutic, and it can also be edited and shared with others.

9. Build cultural bridges between Native Indian and Euro-Canadian individuals or groups by sharing experiences of what has been lost, and the strength that reformulation has required.

10. To add the above applications to the counselling skills already learned and used.

III. Further Research

This study creates many opportunities for further research;

1. A continuation of this study, that is a replication with multiple-case studies of Native Indian elders to verify the

present patterns and find additional ones.

2. A continuation of this study as above but with Native Indian individuals from younger generations and cultures other than coastal B.C.

- a. One possible focus for such a study would be the comparison of reformulation processes with those found in this study. Does the younger generation reach the affective stage of hope?

3. To conduct a similar study with Native Indian people who have not successfully found personal meaning and who are maintaining one emotional place in the reformulation process i.e. depression or anger.

4. To conduct a comparative study with patterns of reformulation of younger and older generations.

5. To apply Marris' Theory of Loss and Change to immigrants in Canada by using a similar case study approach.

6. To apply Marris' Theory of Loss and Change to immigrants in Canada, but using other research methodology.

D. SUMMARY

This study has investigated what occurs in an individual's life when their culture has been changed and parts of it lost; and how an individual regains personal meaning in a time of cultural loss and change. Marris' Theory of Loss and Change was used as the theoretical foundation for the study. This theory states that people in cultures that experience irreversible loss and change are invoked to enter a reformulation process that is analogous to bereavement.

The Native Indian cultures of British Columbia were used as the cultural foundation to be investigated. Three Native Indian elders, 55+ years, male and female, representing three different coastal Indian cultures were interviewed for two hours each and their life history recorded.

The data collected was then transcribed, some minimal editing performed, and the interview confirmed as correct by each elder. The life history was then analyzed using the case study approach developed by Yin (1984) and Stake (1980). Key elements of cultural loss and change were identified and characteristics of recovery of personal meaning were identified. The second and third case studies replicated the first.

Cross matching of patterns of loss and change, and patterns of recovery of personal meaning revealed a strong

overlap between case studies. Six primary forms of loss and change were identified and five primary characteristics of recovery of personal meaning were identified. Salient forms and characteristics in each area were identified as well.

Marris' Theory of Loss and Change was supported. The case studies show the emotional elements of bereavement with the outcome of the reformulation process being an individualized form of bi-culturalism. This theory then is useful in understanding the Native Indian cultures of British Columbia and the personal conflicts of Native Indian individuals.

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