MUSQUEAM INDIAN RESERVE

A Case Study for Community Development Purposes.

by

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard required for the degree of Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1965

The University of British Columbia
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Department of School of Social Work

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date 30th April, 1965
ABSTRACT

This year, the School of Social Work of the University of British Columbia initiated a fieldwork placement for a second year community organization student with the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The community directly concerned with the placement was the Musqueam Indian Reserve. This placement made it possible for the writer to make a study of this community.

The community organization practitioner is very often faced with the problem of conducting community studies with no simple model which he can use. This has led to a variety of approaches, for example, studies whose focus has been on the various aspects of the community such as its ecology, its power structure, its demography, the interaction of the local people, and its behaviour pattern and belief systems. The weakness in the use of any one of these approaches exclusive of the others is that only one aspect of the community is studied, and this is often done as if the community studied existed independently of the larger society of which it is a part. Furthermore, the results gained from most of these type of studies cannot be applied profitably as a guide in studying a different community.

This has been an analytic study, and the approach used has been based on a model suggested by Warren in his book *The Community in America*. His definition of the community as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions of locality-relevance" is used in this study, and the focus of analysis is the type of systematic relationship of the people and organizations in the local community and in the extra-community. This approach was chosen because it is assumed that it can be used in studying any type of community, regardless of its geographic location and size. It is hypothesized that the Musqueam community has problems, and that this method of social systems analysis can be used to indicate where the weaknesses lie in the community's horizontal pattern.

The material on Musqueam's social systems which was gathered by the writer was organized under the five major functions of locality-relevance. This material was assembled from various sources: interviews with leaders and representatives of institutions and organizations which have connections with Musqueam, a socio-economic survey of the local community's adult population, attendance at meetings and conferences on Canadian Indians, and examining relevant records and documents of the Indian Affairs Branch.

Only Musqueam's social systems which the writer felt have endured through time were selected and described. These
were then analysed by making use of the four dimensions in which communities differ in structure and function. The communication process which, according to Warren, is one of the six master processes in which all social systems are constantly involved, was also used for analysis.

The analysis by the four dimensions has shown that Musqueam has a very weak horizontal pattern. Analysis of the communication process has shown that lack of adequate communication between social systems in the community has contributed to misunderstanding and ignorance between social systems in both the intracommunity and in the extracommunity, thereby resulting in a weak horizontal pattern. The results of the use of both analytic concepts has indicated that the weakness in Musqueam's horizontal pattern is due mainly to the influence of the extracommunity which is in direct control of most of the intracommunity's social systems. This weakness also has implications for the process of community development which aims at strengthening a community's horizontal pattern. This study has been analytical, however, it has opened some avenues whereby it could be continued either with further analysis or with a diagnostic or clinical enquiry.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Boys, British Columbia Commissioner for Indian Affairs, without whose permission this study could not have been carried out, and to Mr. W. M. Nicholls of the School of Social Work, who was both field work faculty consultant and thesis supervisor of the study, for his constant help and encouragement, which made possible the use of the systems analysis method for the study.

In the field work, the assistance rendered by Miss Shirley Arnold, Regional Social Work Consultant of the Indian Affairs Branch, who was supervisor of the field work placement, and who also read through the main text and suggested some alterations, was valuable. Mr. Letcher, Superintendent of the Fraser Agency also offered much help. Thanks are due to Mr. Willard Sparrow and members of the Musqueam Band for their friendly co-operation. The help rendered by members of organizations and institutions interviewed is also appreciated.
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MUSQUEAM INDIAN RESERVE

A Case Study for Community Development Purposes
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Scope of Study

There are 2,200 Indian Reserves in Canada, of which 1,625 are located in British Columbia. They vary greatly in size and population; their economies differ considerably and cultural backgrounds of tribal groupings also contribute to major differences to be found in the various reserves.

The case study of Musqueam Reserve has been undertaken to describe and analyse important characteristics of one of the Indian Reserves to be found in Canada. The Musqueam Reserve is situated at the mouth of the River Fraser, south-west, and adjacent to the city of Vancouver in British Columbia. A particular method has been selected with the hope that it might have application to studies which might be conducted in other Indian communities. Throughout Canada, various programs and projects have been initiated recently. Characteristically, these have been related to proposals for community development activities similar in nature to ones operating in many developing countries in other parts of the world.

It is not the purpose of this study to discuss com-

munity development programs or projects, nor indeed to suggest how this study might be used for community development purposes. However, before any program can be undertaken for any particular Reserve, it is reasonable to assume that adequate information about the community is necessary. If programs are to be coordinated from one community to another, it could be of some considerable importance to select a usable model or frame of reference for community studies which would allow for meaningful comparisons to be made.

One such model for community study outlined in Roland Warren's book *The Community in America* has been employed in this study.

Because the writer was assigned as a community organization student to a field placement in Musqueam, information about this community was available. A basic question to which this study has been addressed was: What insights about the nature of this community can be obtained by the use of Warren's model for community study? More broadly, does the method of this case study have particular utility for community development purposes?

**Method**

The type of systematic relationship of the people

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2The study, *Community development in Canada*, a Master of Social Work Thesis written in 1965 by Antony J. Lloyd, presents various approaches of community development concurrently to be found in Canada.
and organizations in the community will be the focus of analysis. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, a community will be considered as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance." Other alternative approaches could have been used. For instance, a community could be analysed by focusing on its ecological process, or its demographic characteristics, or on its behaviour patterns and belief system, or on the community's power structure. Some of these approaches, for example, the analysis of the growth of the community's power structure, has made a great impact on community theory, research and practice.

However, for the purpose of this study, the social system analysis approach is much more comprehensive and adequate than any of the above approaches. An analysis with a focus on the ecological process of a community would be inadequate, because this type of analysis can be related only to a particular time and place, disregarding the change sequence and the impossibility of generalizing from individual community studies.

A demographic analysis provides an approach which leads to the scientific task of making general statements about a whole class of phenomena, but this approach has

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4 Ibid., pp. 40-46.
5 Ibid., pp. 28-29.
6 Ibid., p. 30.
tended to isolate the community as if it were not functionally dependent on the larger society in which it exists.

The institutional approach to the study of the community in which the behaviour patterns and the belief systems form the focus of analysis, gives a community a look of uniqueness and separateness. It gives a community a personality, and does not provide a model of analysis which can be used for studying other communities.  

When a community is analysed by studying the interaction of the local people, an action becomes the unit of analysis, and the community is seen as a series of interrelated actions. Although the field of community development is interested in action models which arise in the process of planned change, the full implications of this theory of the community as interactions have not yet been fully explored.

The community's power structure is dynamic according to the task to be accomplished, and according to the dynamic forces within the different groups in the community. Therefore, further research is needed in this approach of community analysis.

For the purposes of studying the community as a functionally dependent part which is meaningfully related to the rest of society, the social system analysis has been used in this study. In using this approach, the community has been seen as a social system with sub-systems (organ-

7Ibid., p. 36.  
8Ibid., pp. 38-39.
izations and institutions), of social activities which promote "people's necessary activities."\textsuperscript{9}

In his book, Warren developed a model for social system analysis. He applied the concept of social system only to structures of interactions which endure through time and can be recognized as entities in their own right. Warren considered the following five major functions which have meaning of locality relevance.

1. **Production-distribution-consumption:** This function has to do with "local participation in the process of producing, distributing and consuming those goods and services which are a part of daily living and access to which is desirable in the immediate locality."\textsuperscript{10}

2. **Socialization:** This function "involves a process by which society or one of its constituent social units transmits prevailing knowledge, social values, and behaviour patterns to its individual members."\textsuperscript{11} If this process is successful, the individual takes on his cultural way of living rather than another culture's.

3. **Social Control:** This is the process through which a group influences the behaviour of its members toward conformity with its norms. This function is

\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., pp. 7-10. \hfill \textsuperscript{10}Ibid., p. 10.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 10.
performed by several different social units on the community level; for example, the government, the family and the school are units which exercise social control over individual community members.\(^12\)

4. **Social Participation:** This function involves the provision of local access to social participation in the community. Religious organizations are important social units in performing this function.\(^13\)

5. **Mutual Support:** The community's function here is to provide mutual support to its several unit systems. Traditionally, this mutual support has been performed locally, under primary-group auspices; but specialization of function, along with social changes has led to a gradual change in auspices for many of these mutual support functions to secondary-group auspices.\(^14\)

Warren also has given four dimensions of the ways in which communities differ from each other in structure and function:

1. **Autonomy:** The amount of a community's autonomy depends on the extent to which it is dependent on or independent of extracommunity units in the performance of its five functions;

2. The extent to which the service areas of local

\(^{12}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 11.} \quad ^{13}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 11.} \quad ^{14}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 11.}\)
3. The extent of psychological identification with a common locality;
4. The extent to which the community's horizontal pattern is strong or weak.\textsuperscript{15}

In addition, Warren has considered the community "problem". He has stated that because no social system is static or "perfect," each system will produce certain problems, some of which become problems of the larger society of which the community is a part. Likewise, some local problems such as that of unemployment, are a part of the larger cultural patterns of living which communities share by being a part of the larger society. Warren then has given three factors as barriers to the "efficient mustering of forces" for community action. These were: (1) Many problems faced by communities are beyond any realistic expectations of resolution at the community level without the help of the larger society which likewise shares the problem; (2) the loss of community autonomy over specific institutions or organizations located within it and closely intermeshed with the community's welfare; (3) lack of identification with the community due to apathy, or alienation or anomie.\textsuperscript{16}

Thus in presenting the social system analysis model, Warren has realized that there are certain differences which are to be expected, and that certain problems

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 13. \hspace{2cm} \textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 16-19
may hinder a community from mobilizing itself for action. His model has relevance to the community organization practitioner, and indeed to the student of the community. There has been a "crying need in community theory, for practical as well as theoretical reasons, for a relatively simple model of the community which can permit meaningful analysis and testable research hypotheses."17

Very often, the community organization practitioner has been faced with the process of analysing communities for the purposes of assessing problems, planning for action, implementing plans, and evaluating programs. If the community is to be considered and treated as a client, there is need to know its social functioning at the initial and throughout the process of problem-solving. Besides increasing theoretical knowledge of the community, the social system analysis may prove useful in assisting students of the community to develop a more systematic method of analysis.

In studying the Musqueam community, Warren's model has been used. All the activities of the community's sub-systems have been arranged under the five major functions of locality-relevance, previously outlined.

There are certain limitations in using the social system analysis for studying a community. Both the community and other social systems have sub-systems, but the

17 Ibid., p. ix.
community's sub-systems are not "rationally and deliberately related to each other in a centralized fashion" as other social systems, such as a formal organization. Furthermore, the concept of system analysis has developed mainly around the small group. It is a concept which is in its initial phase for use in community studies. Therefore, when it is applied to the community, it must take into consideration not only the interrelations among sub-systems which make up the community social system, but the more direct, rational and ascertainable relationship of the various sub-systems functioning on the local level, to social systems of the larger outside community.\textsuperscript{18}

The following page shows identifiable social systems of the Musqueam community that have been discussed in relation to the five major functions.

Various techniques were used for gathering information for the analysis of the community. These were: interviewing key people in the community and members of institutions and organizations working with the community, examining pertinent records of the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, using results of a socio-economic survey conducted by the writer\textsuperscript{19}, and

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 50

\textsuperscript{19}This was an adult population survey conducted by the writer from October to December, 1964. Questions which were on I.B.M. cards, covered the type of school attended, the highest grade completed, religious denomination, place of residence, special vocational training taken, if any,
I. **Production-Distribution-Consumption:**

1. Employment
2. Indian Affairs Branch Vocational Training and Placement Programme
3. Band Funds and British Columbia Indian Special Funds

II. **Socialization:**

1. The Family
2. The School
   - Residential
   - Integrated
3. Religious

III. **Social Control:**

1. Indian Affairs Branch
2. Band Council
3. Land Tenure and Housing
4. Federal-Provincial Law

IV. **Social Participation:**

1. The Church
2. Homemakers' Club
3. Vancouver Friendship Centre
4. Spirit Dances
5. Young Men's Christian Association Fun Club
6. Young Women's Christian Association Youth Club
7. The School

V. **Mutual Support:**

1. Health Services
   - Indian and Northern Health Services Clinic
   - The Metropolitan Public Health Services
2. Welfare Services
   - Social Assistance
   - Child Welfare Programme
   - Social Insurance
   - Workmen's Compensation

Social Systems Involved in Performance of Five Functions of Locality-Relevance
attending local meetings and conferences on native Indians.

The Musqueam Indian Reserve has been included in a few of the many studies on the native Indians of British Columbia, which have been conducted by the University of British Columbia students and professors. However, sections on Musqueam have been very short, and there has never been a complete coherent socio-economic analysis of that community.

**Historical Background of Musqueam**

The present day Indians of the Musqueam Band are descendants of the Coast Salish people of the Pacific Northwest who, before the European invasion, inhabited villages from Puget Sound in Washington State, U.S.A., to Bute Inlet in British Columbia as far north as Campbell River. It is generally believed that the original home of the Coast Salish, centuries before the arrival of the European in North America, was in inland areas, and that although they seem to be of a different stock from the North, they have a common origin with the Interior Salish group.

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There are four main divisions of the Coast Salish: the Comox group, the Cowichan group, the Sanetch and the Squamish. Musqueam is of the Squamish group. This grouping is based on geographic and linguistic aspects. However, rigid linguistic lines cannot be drawn because of inter-marriage and periodic movements of whole villages - occurrences which were not infrequent up till very recent times. Other aspects of the past have been discussed under the appropriate sections in this study.

The present day geographic area of the Musqueam Band was allocated to the Indians in 1871, and was first surveyed in 1881. It was further surveyed in 1897. Besides owning the Musqueam Reserve, the Band also owned land near New Westminster by Patulla Bridge, which it sold. It still owns some land on Sea Island. Some areas, such as the land on which the Shaughnessy Golf Club and the Point Grey Golf Course are situated are leased by the Band. The land on which the Chinese gardens are situated in Musqueam, and the fifty-four acres of land on the Sea Island Reserve are also leased lands.

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24 Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Historic Documents on Allocation of Bands in British Columbia.
CHAPTER II

PRODUCTION-DISTRIBUTION-CONSUMPTION

The first major function of the community is to provide the local organization of individuals and systems which facilitate productive effort and to provide for distribution and consumption of what is provided.¹

Pre-European Days

The economic base of the Coast Salish, ancestors of the Musqueam Indians, was quite different from what it is today. Economic production was carried on principally by ad hoc working or hunting parties. The food mainly consisted of sea products. Salmon was the chief food, supplemented by other fish, such as the halibut, cod, sturgeon, eulachon or candle-fish and clams. However, the different geographic locations of various tribes made for a certain degree of specialization in fishing, with the fresh water fishermen up the river, and the salt water people down the river.

Whales were hunted by high rank Indians among the Salish people, but as there were few whales seen, no systematic method of catching them was attempted. However, there were seal and porpoise in large numbers and their catch was highly prized. The diet was supplemented by the water fowl, the deer, elk and mountain goat. From the mountain

¹Warren, op. cit., p. 168.
goat wool, blankets were woven by the women.\(^2\) The women and children gathered vegetables which consisted of "edible roots, berries, green leaves and seaweeds."\(^3\) Bread was made from the acorn and from the inner bark of certain trees, such as the maple and alder. This was done by a process of scraping the inner bark and laying it in criss-cross fashion until a thick cake is formed.\(^4\) The cake was then dried in the sun.

**Effects on Economy by European Settlements**

Soon after the settlement of the European in the 1770's, the economic production pattern of the Salish people began to be affected. Gradually, the socio-economic aspect of their society began to change, with the Indian becoming increasingly dependent upon the white man for his means of existence. In the process of identifying with the new culture, there was neither independence nor equality for the Indians in the new society brought by the white man. Although the Indian culture was not destroyed, there was no compromise made between the two cultures. This has created social and economic problems of a serious nature to the Indians:

It has led to a lower standard of living, to a waste of the productive power of the Indian, to his inability to compete on equal terms in the labour market, to a general lower standard of health and education.\(^5\)

\(^2\)Toren, *op. cit.*, p. 11.


\(^4\)Ibid., p. 23.

\(^5\)Toren, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
Employment

After the "great change" in his economic pattern, the Indian had to make use of the white man's method of production-distribution-consumption. Thus, to a large extent, ad hoc working or hunting and fishing parties were displaced by individual competition in the labour market. Although fishing is still done today, it is done on individual basis or on the basis of exclusively selected groups, rather than on informal parties.

Because of his status in the non-Indian community, the Indian has lacked the educational and vocational opportunities to prepare him for full participation in the economic life of Canada. Apart from fishing, trapping, long-shoring and lumbering, many Indians do not seem equipped to work in modern industry and factories.

This low standard of education is shown in Table 1, which gives the educational level of the eighty-four adults interviewed in Musqueam during the writer's socio-economic survey period. The younger generation experience the greatest difficulty in getting employment. The young Indian leaves school by the time or before he reaches grade eight. He has no training or skill that would enable him to compete successfully with the average white Canadian for a job. Employers, especially in white-collared jobs, look for a certain degree of sophistication which the Indian lacks.
Table 1. Formal School Education of
Musqueam Adult Population.
(December, 1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest grade completed</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Number of males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>VI</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st yr. university</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The problem of employment for Indians is even more complex in a community like Musqueam. Here, the Indian is living in a community where there are no industries, and yet outside his immediate surroundings is a very large and sophisticated community to which he does not belong. At the same time, the only work on steady basis which he can get is from this larger community. Most of the male labour force claim to be fishermen, but this is a seasonal occupation, which usually lasts three to four months. Table 2
shows the types of occupation in the community. To be a successful commercial fisherman these days, one has to make use of modern technological equipment which is expensive. Thus, sometimes an Indian fishes the whole summer, only to find out that he uses about half of his earnings to pay for hired fishing equipment.

Table 2: **Male Labour Force.**

(December, 1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of occupation (males only)</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbering</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labouring</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longshoring</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish packing and canning</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tug-boat operating</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship mechanic helper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carving</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From writer's socio-economic survey.

Table 3 shows the male labour population. It indicates that of this force, there are only about a quarter who have full-time employment. Table 4 further shows the distribution of yearly earnings made by the number of adults who have had some type of employment during the year, 1964. The
amount in each case shows approximately what was earned. In the case of fishermen, bills for nets and boats are paid for out of the amount shown.

Table 3: Employment Status for Adult Population.
(December, 1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Total of adults</th>
<th>Number of males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full time</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal and part-time</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From writer's socio-economic survey.

*This number includes housewives and single unemployed women.

Table 4: Yearly Wage and Income for Employed Males.
(December, 1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yearly wage and income</th>
<th>Number of males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $ 500</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ 500 - $ 999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 - 1,999</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 - 2,999</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 - 3,999</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 - 4,999</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 - 5,999</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000 - 6,999</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>243* (35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source for Table 4: From writer's socio-economic survey.

*This number does not include three men who are on old age security plan.

By contrast, surrounding the Reserve is the highest family wage and income area of metropolitan Vancouver. This area is part of the highest twenty census tracts where family wage and income vary from $9,300 to $6,500. The lowest twenty census tracts where the family wage and income vary from a low of $3,000 to $4,900. See Figure 2.

The statistics in Figure 2 do not include investment income and hence they generally understate the actual level of income within the more affluent areas. In the midst of the affluent area of the highest family wage and income is the Musqueam area with only nine out of the forty-three male wage and income earners making an amount larger than the metropolitan Vancouver's lowest twenty census tracts area. This contrast between two adjacent communities will recur as several of the social systems of the community are discussed.

**Indian Affairs Branch Vocational Training and Placement Program**

This program which is operated by the Indian Affairs Branch is a sub-system in the economic system of the Indian communities. The program was initiated in 1957 primarily as a result of three fundamental factors which came into play after the second World War: "(1) the marked develop-
Figure 2

Average Family Wage and Salary Income

120 census tracts in Metropolitan Vancouver

Highest family wage and salary income - $9,300 - average of $6,500 for top twenty census tracts

Lowest family wage and salary income vary from a low of $3,000 up to $5,000 for lowest twenty tracts

ment of health programs for Indians, which contributed significantly to an upsurge in the population of Indian Reserves; (2) the great strides that have been made in recent years to improve the educational standard of Indians; and (3) the depletion of the economy of some Indians in many areas from a life directly dependent on utilization of the natural resources into wage employment." It was then inevitable that Indians would have to earn a livelihood within the industrial economy of the country.

In 1957, a placement officer was appointed to each of the Regional Offices in Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. At present, there is a senior Placement Officer who assumes direct responsibility for the program at the Branch's headquarters in Ottawa. There are also Placement Officers in the remaining Regional Offices, and additional specialists have also been appointed at a district level in several Regions.

The initial focus of the program was the selection and establishment of "suitable young Indians" in the centres where the Regional Placement specialists were located. The objectives of the program were: (1) to exploit "to the fullest possible extent, employment opportunities for Indians in both urban and rural areas, and in wider range of occupations and professions;" (2) to assist Indians now fully

6Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Field Manual, Ottawa: 1961, Chapter XII.
dependent on wild crop and wildlife harvesting to adapt to wage employment as a way of life; (3) to help select Indians with the necessary background of training and experience to become established in regular employment outside the reserves, and to become adjusted to life in non-Indian communities.7

There are two types of programs:

1. **Permanent Placement.** This is generally concerned with the establishment of suitable Indian candidates in regular or continuing employment off the reserves. The Placement Officer becomes a liaison with the National Employment Service, the Division of the Immigration Branch, Labour Unions, and all other employment agencies, in order to develop suitable job opportunities for the Indian. Through the help of educational, social and welfare agencies in Indian and non-Indian communities, the candidate is expected to receive the necessary orientation and supervision in making the transition from the reserve to the non-Indian community. The selection of candidates is by the Indian Affairs Branch Placement Specialist. The criteria used in this selection include the candidate’s desire to leave the reserve, his educational achievement, his apparent interest in regular employment and his occupational history as well as the "absence of instability in the family

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7Ibid., Chapter XII.
2. **Training on-the-job.** This applies to the Permanent Placement aspect of the program only. Through this approach, Indians who are seeking entry into trades or occupations, but have not reached the academic level required by employers, may get prepared for entry into regular employment. A contract is signed between the Placement Officer and the employers, each party paying about 50% of the trainee's payment for up to six months.  

We shall now briefly discuss the practibility of this system in the Fraser Indian Agency under which the Musqueam community comes. Compared to previous years, there has been much improvement in the number of private establishments employing Indians in the Vancouver area. The National Employment Service has been helpful in informing the Placement Officer of jobs Indians may be able to perform. However, there is still room for improvement. Some Indians who are placed in jobs make good employees and stay in the jobs steadily.  

However, there are some problems encountered by Indians in making use of this service. The main problem is the lack of the required qualification for either job placement or for eligibility as candidates for the program. Some

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8*Ibid.*, Chapter XII.

9*Writer's Recording, 16th November, 1964.* All interviews carried by writer were recorded for field placement purposes and will sometimes be referred to in footnotes as "*Writer's Recording.*"
Indians, just as non-Indians, are not patient enough to go through the long process an applicant would have to undergo for a program such as this. Those who have this patience sometimes lack the qualifications outlined above. Those Indians who have gone to vocational schools and have obtained training for certain vocations usually get job placements, and they usually stay on the job.

Another factor making employment difficult to obtain results from the Indian's family pattern. On the whole, there is such a close family bond that it is difficult to offer an Indian a job beyond commuting distance. It is also very difficult for him to adjust to the large outside non-Indian community.\textsuperscript{10} Very often the Indian would rather stay home unemployed than be separated from his family on account of employment. This poses a special problem for Indian reserves located by large cities. This type of reserve has no industry and, therefore, the inhabitants have to seek jobs off the reserve. Usually, jobs available are to be found away from the cities. Thus, the Indian has been caught between leaving his home for employment or staying at home unemployed.

Some Indian men have tried to live away from home at the place of work, going home only for weekends, but this method has not always worked. Very often, the worker stays at his work just long enough to get the first earnings, and

\textsuperscript{10}Interview with Regional Placement Officer, 16th November, 1964.
he returns home for good. Sometimes under this Placement Program, the Indian Affairs Branch has had to move a whole family to the father's place of work, but this method is not always practicable.\textsuperscript{11}

Musqueam is a good example of the problems of employment for people living on reserves situated close to large cities. At this point, we shall look at another sub-system of the community's economic system.

\textbf{Band Funds and British Columbia Special Funds}

The largest source of capital potentially available to Indians for investment purposes is found in the Band Funds system. Band funds vary in amount from agency to agency, and within the agency are also variations among bands. Band funds have been acquired mainly from revenue-producing resources that have a commercial value. Some of these are sales of land, gravel and timber. These earnings are put into a capital account.

However, only very small expenditures could be classified as direct revenue or employment-producing investments, such as irrigation and loans to individual Indians. Revenues are drawn from "replenishable sources that do not involve any permanent depletion of assets."\textsuperscript{12} The largest source of revenue is interest paid on band funds which are

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11}Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{12}Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 201-202.
\end{itemize}
entrusted to the keeping of the federal government, next is on rentals from band-owned lands, and last of all, interest on band loans to individuals, amounting to only very small amounts.

Among items of expenditure from the interest are: relief, housing, repair and replacement of lighting systems, water systems, fences, roads and bridges, and generally un-classified band property. Expenditures for revenue-producing purposes are on a much smaller scale: for dyking and irrigation, for purchase of seed, for payment of grazing fees, for purchase of land, for machinery purchases and repairs, and for repairs to a band-owned sawmill.13

Most of what is discussed above is true of the Musqueam Band. Musqueam gets most of its Band funds from four land leases: on the Shaughnessy Golf Club, the Point Grey Golf Course, the fifty-five acres of land on the Sea Island Reserve, and the Musqueam Reserve land which is now being occupied and cultivated by Chinese farmers. The total Band funds are, as of 31st December, 1964, $47,760.00, with an interest of $27,759.38 which forms the main source of revenue for the community.14

As will be discussed later in this study, among items of expenditure from the interest are relief, housing, and

13Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, loc. cit.

14Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Report of Treasury on Band Funds, 1964 Fiscal Year.
community projects, such as building roads and filling up and levelling patches of uneven land in the community.

The British Columbia Special Funds. These funds which amount to $100,000 a year, are equivalent to annuities paid annually to Indians in accordance with treaties signed with the Canadian government. Except for two small Bands in Northern British Columbia, the Indians in this province did not sign any formal treaties with the Canadian government, as did Indians in the rest of the provinces. Therefore, the British Columbia Indian Special Funds were introduced by the federal government.

Some years after the introduction of these funds, a three man Advisory Committee was nominated to advise the Indian Affairs Branch as to how the Bands concerned would want to spend the money. Sometimes several Bands in one geographic area combine their shares and give it to one Band to carry out a special project. This is done for each contributing member Band until each has had its turn. This year, the Advisory Committee has requested "that the funds be apportioned on a per capita basis and be remitted to each agency to be distributed by the Superintendents with some guidance from the Band Councils."16

15 Duff, op. cit., p. 70. Treaty number eight with Beavers and Slaves Bands of the present Fort St. John Agency was made in 1899. It covered what is now Northern Alberta and part of the North-West Territories, and also included the north-eastern corner of British Columbia.

16 Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration,
Apparently, such an arrangement has not always been quite successful, in that sometimes a substantial portion of the funds has remained unspent. If this remains unused at 31st March, which is the end of the fiscal year, the balance is returned to the treasury in Ottawa.

The purpose of these funds, as stated by the Indian Affairs Branch is "for promotion and development of economic, social and recreational opportunities for non-treaty Indians of British Columbia." ¹⁷

Besides these special funds, some Indians in British Columbia who have acquired surplus revenue moneys from the sale of timber or lease of reserve lands hold annual distributions of funds. Some wealthy bands distribute funds twice a year. It does not matter how many times a band distributes funds - the amount is always based on per capita basis. Musqueam distributes funds once a year. Some parents, especially those with very large families always look forward to this annual distribution, when they can collect money for each child in the family. For the unemployed and under-employed, the amount paid is of great importance.

The Musqueam community has no stores or bank on the Reserve. All shopping and banking transactions take place outside the community. These services are in the high income Indian Affairs Branch, The British Columbia Indian Commissioner's Newsletter to all Chiefs and Councillors, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1st December, 1964.

¹⁷Ibid.
group area shown in Figure 2.

Summary

There are three main social systems which perform Musqueam's major function of production-distribution-consumption. These are: (1) Employment, (2) Indian Affairs Branch Vocational Training and Placement Program, and (3) The Band Funds and the British Columbia Indian Special Funds.

Employment. This social system depends on the outside community for performing its function. There are no industries in Musqueam, and the community projects which are usually set up for public assistance recipients are unable to provide full employment for the community's male labour force. The main type of program on these projects is building one home per year for a young couple in the community. Since about three-quarters of the male labour force is either unemployed or underemployed, this type of a program is unable to cope with unemployment within the community. Sometimes work is available in the form of cleaning the community's cemetery, but this is usually one man's job, and it is not full time. It is equivalent to winter works programs in the extra-community. Thus, much as it is difficult for the Indian with his poor educational and technical training background to compete successfully with non-Indians in the employment market, the Musqueam Indian still has to depend on the extra-community for the function of this social system.
The Indian Affairs Vocational Training and Placement Program. This social system is intended to assist young Indians in getting trained in a skill and in getting established in regular employment outside the reserves and become adjusted to non-Indian communities. It is a system under the direct control of the Regional Office of the Indian Affairs Branch. The Fraser Agency, under which Musqueam comes does not have a district Placement Officer. The work of the district officer in the Agency is carried by the Regional Placement Officer in Vancouver.

There are one adult and two teenagers from Musqueam who are taking vocational training during the 1964-65 academic year. The Musqueam community is unable to make full use of this system because of the lack of the educational background required to enter a vocational school. Furthermore, the family bond in the community is such that the Indian would rather stay at home unemployed or underemployed than be separated from his family on account of employment. At the same time, the method of moving the whole family to the father's place of work is not always practicable. Thus in the majority of cases, the Indian has to either get a job within commuting distance or stay home unemployed or underemployed.

The Band Funds and British Columbia Indian Special Funds. These funds are used chiefly for developing the Reserve. The yearly budget for the Band is based on the revenue
accounts. If the Band makes extra money through leases, and votes for a distribution, then there will be an annual distribution of surplus funds on a per capita basis. The British Columbia Special Funds, on the other hand, cannot be distributed on per capita basis. Funds must be used for a community project.

The Band has a say in the use of these funds. The Band Council with the help of the Superintendent prepares the yearly budget. The Council can also pass resolutions for spending Band funds on some emergency programs or projects. However, the Indian Affairs Branch is entrusted with the keeping of these funds, and the Superintendent can veto the spending of funds on programs outside the original budget. There is, therefore, this type of partnership between the Branch and the Band in the operation of this system.
CHAPTER III

SOCIALIZATION

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the function of socialization is the process by which individuals learn and acquire the knowledge, values and behaviour patterns of their society, and learn to perform the various social roles which their society provides for.¹ This process is not exclusive to childhood and adolescence; but rather, it is a continuing process through which the individual maintains relationships of reciprocity with others within the framework of many social roles which pattern social behaviour.²

Three main systems in the Musqueam community will be studied under the function of socialization: (1) The Family System, (2) The School System, and (3) The Religious System.

The Family

Most social scientists agree that the patterns of family life influence, more or less directly, all other aspects of culture. The child gets many of his goals, his

¹See page 5.

²Warren, loc. cit.
fundamental habits of thought and action, and much of the
learning he uses in growing up and in later life within the
family.\(^3\)

However, the family system's pattern is dynamic,
changing according to other changes which occur in the com­
munity. The Musqueam family system pattern has experienced
change since the arrival of the European in the 1770's.

**Pre-European Days.** Before the arrival of the Euro­
pean, the social unit of the Salish people was the patri­
linear family.

Groups of three or four families, all belonging to
the same kinship group, inhabited one house and formed
a household, which in turn, belonged to one of the
various clans, every member of which was supposedly
descended from a common ancestor, no matter how
mythical or remote.\(^4\)

Thus, the extended family pattern was the only one
known during that period. Blood ties were important and all
members of a family shared possessions in a communal way.
The family system was therefore very important in the Salish
society. Each individual understood his social roles, and
the rights and privileges which accompanied them. His rank
was clearly defined within the society's class structure and
he knew his place within it. He had a psychological satis­
faction that he belonged to his culture and this satisfaction
created security within him.\(^5\)

\(^3\)Howthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

\(^4\)British Columbia Heritage Series, Our Native Peoples,

The Salish Indians were "a well-regulated, peace-loving virtuous people, whose existence was far from squalid or miserable." The aged were always sure of kindness and consideration at the hands of their kindred - "family affection being a strong trait among these tribes." Of the life of these Indians, Hill-Tout further writes:

The life then of the Western Indian, as it was lived in the earlier days, was not that of a vicious and degraded savage. He had advanced many steps beyond that when we first came in contact with him, and his life, though simple and rude, was on the whole well-ordered and happy, and if his wants and aspirations were few, so also were his cares and worries.

Present Family System. Writing on the present family life of the British Columbia Indians, Hawthorn says:

Today, the Indian culture of the Province all possess the conjugal family as an important, perhaps the major unit of their social structure. There are a number of variants in the relationship, but many of them fall within the Western family pattern. Some of the old values and arrangements have continued, but an impressive number of new rules and attitudes have been incorporated into the Indian cultures.

The above observation applies to the Musqueam community. Each of the thirty-eight families referred to in this socio-economic survey has the conjugal family pattern. Except for family guests in the homes, this pattern is prevalent. The husband and father is wage earner for the family,


7Hill-Tout, loc. cit.

8Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 43.
and in most cases residence is at the husband's place of abode. As far as many families living under one roof is concerned, the extended family type no longer exists. However, there is much visiting back and forth by members of the extended family.

Non-Indians and non-Band members assume Indian status when they legally marry an Indian man belonging to the Band and residing on the reserve. There are at present on the Reserve, two white men and one Chinese man who are married to Indian women. These women have lost their Indian status through marriage to non-Indians. These families can live on the Reserve only as long as the Band permits. The Band can charge them rental fees for living in Band houses. However, a person who is not a Band member but has Indian status can be voted into the Band List, by the Band. A Band List is the official list of names of a Band kept by the Band Council which is the Band's local government.

As indicated in the discussion on the function of "production-distribution-consumption," the Musqueam community is in an area adjacent to Vancouver's highest wage and income level group. Both communities share several services such as schools, stores and banks. The Musqueam youth more than the older group, are in contact with the neighbouring community and observe the affluence under which the immediate extra-community lives. There, may develop the aspi-
ration to acquire these luxuries, but once the Indian returns to the Reserve, he sees the impossibility of ever attaining a level wherein he would be able to secure the advantages observable to him.

Many of these young people complain that their parents are apathetic toward change and improvement. They are concerned that the city's press and radio stations always choose a poor representation of Musqueam homes for publicity. Some say that the Reserve is not worse than what one finds in non-Indian communities. Very often, the same people later on in the conversation expressed regret for being unable to live off Musqueam. Furthermore, many young couples now choose to have their homes built on the eastern end of Crown Street, toward Vancouver city. This could possibly be interpreted as an indication of a desire to leave the Reserve.

Besides being uncertain as to how the outside community will accept him, the Indian has not wanted to lose some of his privileges as an Indian on the Reserve. If he left the reserve, he would have to pay taxes and to undergo expenses such as paying doctor's bills. However, it is true that:

The Indian today - and especially the young educated Indian - is not satisfied with his condition and wants to change, but he is at a loss as to how this can be accomplished and he is not certain of the way of life that he would like to live.

There are many proposed solutions, many accusations and counter accusations but the only area where

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10 Interviews with several young couples in Musqueam.
there is agreement on both sides is that all are dissatisfied with the present existence.\textsuperscript{11}

To live the normal Canadian life, there should be some changes in the Reserve life as it is today. At present, the Reserve is used by many Indians to escape from the real life outside the Reserve. It is probably true, when some of the Indians say that it is the only place where they feel at home and at ease. At the same time, there is the conflict of wanting to live out, and at the same time wanting to stay at "home."\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{The Religious System}

Of the 234 inhabitants of Musqueam at the time of this survey, 222 are Roman Catholic by denomination. The rest are adherents of the United Church, the Shakers and of the Anglican Church denominations. Since the majority of the families are Roman Catholic, for the most part, the study of this system will be confined to that Church. Furthermore, the only Church building in the community at present is that of the Roman Catholic Church.

The first Roman Catholic Church in Musqueam was built in 1902. The financing and actual construction of the building were a Band project. Religious services were conducted once a month by visiting Oblate priests. However,


\textsuperscript{12}Interviews with Musqueam Reserve residents.
about seven or eight years ago, this order of priests relinquished management of that Church to the Jesuit Order, in order to make it possible for weekly services to be conducted in the Musqueam Church. Since that time, the Church has been under the Priest who is responsible for the diocese in the Camosun Street area north of Musqueam.¹³

Two years ago, the church building was destroyed by fire, but a new one is being built and is almost complete. The new building is situated on Crown Street, in the area most popular for building homes in the community. It is in the section of Crown Street which is toward Vancouver city on Marine Drive. The building has been financed by Band funds. The construction is being done by Musqueam Indians, while the altar furnishings will be the only articles or help to be provided by the mother Church. The Band has insured the whole building against fire. One interesting factor about this Church is that it is going to be used by non-Catholic Band members for special ceremonies such as weddings and funeral services. The Bishop, under whose diocese the area comes, has consented to this arrangement since money for the building of the Church was provided by the Band as a whole.

Before each Sunday service is conducted for adults, the Sisters of St. Ann's Order teach the youth catechism. This is the same order of nuns which operates the Immaculate Conception Elementary School. Attendance for both adults and

¹³Writer's Recording, 18th January, 1965.
children is poor. Some adults are reported to go to church only on special occasions such as weddings and funeral services. The average yearly catechism attendance is about fifteen. It is said, children attend only if no other social activity, such as a picnic, is going on that Sunday.

There are no other on-going Church activities or organizations at present. In the summer, the Church sponsors a boat race for the members of the community. There is usually very good participation in this event.

About two years ago, the Church started a Catholic Youth Organization for the Musqueam youth. However, it had to be discontinued after a short period. According to information, the reason for its short existence was that half of the time during its life, executive members went into meetings in a drunken state. The objective of the organization was to develop leadership among the Musqueam youth; but members seemed more interested in holding dances than in anything else.14

The United Church has a regular program for the youth. Every Sunday, the Church sends a van to the community to collect as many children as are willing and to drive them to Sunday school in the city. It is reported that a good number of children always turn up for this "treat". Many of these are Catholic by denomination, but, in the opinion of the writer, they like the drive.

14Writer's Recording, 18th January, 1965.
The School

This is one of the major social systems of the community which perform the socialization function. Here, the individual's role network is increased, and he meets and works with other people outside his immediate family circle. As socio-economic changes occur in the community, the school becomes singled out specifically as a socializing agent, rather than merely "as a means of inculcating certain relatively external knowledges and skills."^15

The British North America Act of 1867 placed the responsibility for the administration of Indian Affairs with the Federal Government. This meant that the educational aspect was also carried out under the same agency. There are three types of schools for Indians: (1) Residential Schools, (2) Day Schools, and (3) Integrated Schools.

Residential Schools. These schools are intended primarily to provide care, maintenance and educational opportunities for children who, because of circumstances, can not attend day or integrated schools. The selection of children for these schools is on priority basis: (1) For children whose home circumstances are so unfavourable that they must be removed, (2) for pupils for whom there are no suitable school facilities accessible to their home, (3) for pupils who have no other means of receiving a higher

education.¹⁶

At the end of each academic year, each principal of a residential school is asked to meet with his school inspector to review the necessity of retaining each pupil in the residential school for another year. Arrangements are then made for the discharge of pupils whose attendance at the residential school is no longer essential.¹⁷

**Day Schools.** These schools are operated on reserves. They are mostly denominational and are operated on reserves where home conditions are favourable and school facilities are sufficient.¹⁸

**Integrated Schools.** "Of great and growing importance in recent years has been the development of 'joint' or 'integrated' schools." In this type of school, Indian Affairs Branch enters into agreements with local school boards in order that Indian children may enter regular Provincial Schools. The Branch pays tuition costs for the number of Indian children accepted by the schools. In the case of new joint schools, the Branch pays for part of the capital costs.¹⁹

Negotiation with school boards is carried by the

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¹⁷Lagasse, loc. cit.

¹⁸Lagasse, loc. cit.

¹⁹Duff, op. cit., p. 73.
Agency Superintendent and Regional School Superintendent. The primary factors considered in negotiations are the federal government's policy on education, parental wishes, the religion of the group or groups of children concerned, the policy of the school board, the socio-economic development of the Band, school accommodation on the Reserve, school accommodation provided by the school board, transportation for the children, conditions of roads on the Reserve and the policies of the provincial departments of education on integrated programs.²⁰

With the above information, the School Board Trustees can then indicate acceptance in principle of the proposals of the Branch officials and the number of children that they will accept, the tuition fees required, transportation arrangements, and if a joint school is involved, the proposed building program and estimated costs to the Branch.²¹

The choice of school for an Indian child is primarily the responsibility of the parents. If, in the opinion of the Indian Affairs Branch, home conditions are thought to be so unfavourable as to call for the "protection" of the child, then a residential school is considered. In short, the residential schools are used as foster homes. For the most part, day schools are used where school boards of the public and

²⁰Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Field Manual, Ottawa, 1951.

²¹Canada, Indian Affairs Branch, Field Manual, loc. cit.
private schools cannot take into their schools all Indian children who under home conditions are eligible for private or public schools outside the Reserve.

In British Columbia, increasingly, the Branch is making use of integrated schools wherever possible. In 1962, the Branch maintained seventy day schools on the Reserves in the province and eleven residential schools. During that academic year, 3,792 children attended Indian day schools and 2,169 attended residential schools. The number of children attending provincial and private schools is growing too. In 1962-1963 school year, it was 5,108.22

Table 5: Number of Musqueam Children in School.

(1964-1965 School Year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number of Children*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public primary</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public secondary</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parochial non-residential</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential primary and secondary</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Vocational Institute</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnaby Technical</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*These numbers do not include non-Musqueam Band children residing in Musqueam and attending the same schools as Band members.

22Duff, loc. cit.
Musqueam has no day school sub-system located on the reserve. All the children attend residential, public and private schools. Table 5 shows the break-down of the number of children in each school sub-system.

**Primary Schools.** The Musqueam children attend two primary schools in the city, the Immaculate Conception School, which is operated by the Roman Catholic Order of the Sisters of St. Ann, and the Southlands Public Elementary School. As table 5 shows, there are seven children in the Immaculate Conception and thirty-eight in Southlands. These schools come under the integrated type of school. The Indian Affairs Branch negotiates with the school boards and pays tuition for the number of Indian children in each of the schools. In the Immaculate Conception, the fee for Indian students is $25.00 a month per student. This amount covers tuition and school supplies as well as a sum of $55.00 per month for a school bus for the children. In Southlands, tuition is $150.00 a year for each child.23

**Secondary Schools.** All Musqueam secondary school children attend the Point Grey Secondary School. For the 1964-1965 academic year, there were eight students in this school. Here, as in primary schools, the Branch negotiates with the school board for children to be accepted into the school. It also pays the book rental fees of $7.50 for each student.24

23*Writer's Recordings, 18th and 22nd January, 1965.*
24*Ibid., 22nd January, 1965.*
Table 6: Number of Days in Which Twenty Students Were Absent from School in the 1963-1964 School Year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student's grade</th>
<th>Number of days absent out of 192 school days for 1963-1964</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>77-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>32-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>19-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>36-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>38-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>33-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>51-1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of days absent: 754-1/2  
Total number of students: 20  
Average number of days absent: 37.7

Source: Tabulated from information from interviews with school staff members. Writer's recordings, January and February, 1965.

School Attendance. Canadian Indians, like non-Indian Canadians receive the monthly family allowance for children eighteen years old and under, who are attending school. Irregularity of school attendance may cause the
allowance to be suspended or withheld from the mother. However, in the opinion of the writer, this does not seem to be much of an incentive for some Indian parents in Musqueam. During the 1964-1965 first school term, three families had their allowance suspended for at least one month for their children's irregular school attendance. In all the three city schools attended by the children, the Musqueam children's attendance has been very irregular. Table 6 shows a sample of the number of days in which twenty students were absent from school in the 1963-1964 academic year. It should be noted the number of days recorded in the above table does not include the number of days in which the student went to school late. It is reported, there is a higher rate of the latter incidence, than the former. Irregularity in school attendance is no doubt one of the factors contributing to the problem of school drop-outs. Students who attend irregularly miss so much school work that they are unable to cope with students who have been attending classes regularly. These irregular attenders sometimes get so discouraged with school failure that they drop out of school. For the year 1964-1965 up to February, there were ten Musqueam Indian school children who dropped out of school in Vancouver. Half of these drop-outs completed only grade seven.

There is also a high rate of students repeating school grades. Out of thirty-five students ranging from grade two to ten, thirteen repeated grades. Of these repeaters, one repeated three grades, five repeated two each, and
seven repeated a grade each. Grades one and seven were repeated by the highest number of students. Students with a high rate of absence also rated high in the number of grades repeated.

According to teachers interviewed, homework is very poorly done by these students. During the 1963-1964 school year, there was a study time arranged in the community hall on the Reserve. However, this does not exist any longer. Parents report that during the time when the study evening was in operation, their children's work in school improved greatly. For most students on the Reserve, home conditions are not conducive to studying, as there are very often a large number of siblings at home. Among the many reasons given for the break-up of the organized study was that there was not a sufficient number of parents interested in serving as volunteers to supervise the children during the evenings when they met in the hall for studying.

The children's social participation in school activities is below average. According to teachers interviewed, they tend to move just within their group and do not mix with other children. They do not take part in the organization and operation of school clubs, but when the school arranges a "mixer dance", these children usually participate fully. The social class difference between the Musqueam children and the majority of non-Indian children in school must be considered, in order to appreciate fully some of the differences between the two groups of children. The non-
Indian child comes from the highest income level group in Vancouver. His parents can often afford to supply him with good clothes and other childhood amenities. On the other hand, coming from a large family and living in an area which is one of the lowest income group areas in Vancouver, at best, the Indian child has to do with the minimum clothes requirement and, on the average, with inadequate and poorly fitted clothes. It is the writer's opinion that this factor in itself is able to instill a sense of inadequacy in the child. A sense of lack of self-esteem develops and becomes more acute as he gets to grade seven, and as he enters the secondary school. This is more prominent with the girl than with the boy, and is probably one of the factors contributing to the high rate of drop-out in the seventh grade.

Parental Participation. Only one parent in Musqueam belongs to a school Parent-Teachers' Association. She was the president for two consecutive years. For the 1963-1964 and 1964-1965 school years, no parent from Musqueam visited the Point Grey Secondary School during "open-house" occasions, and only a very few visited Southlands. The only parent who visited the Immaculate Conception School was a non-Musqueam Band member living in Musqueam.

Teachers have said that the parents seldom call the school or visit it to discuss a child's problem. Sometimes a school would call a parent and make an appointment to see him in school in order to discuss a certain problem about his child, but many times, the parent would not make the
appointment. The writer observed that many parents use their children as baby-sitters during school hours. According to interviews with school personnel, when a child returns to school after a few days of absence, most parents do not remember to send a note to school explaining the absence. However, it is reported by teachers that this happens to non-Indians too, except that it is at a much smaller rate when compared to Indian parents.

Apparently, the majority of Musqueam parents do not help their children to become interested in attending school regularly. On the whole, the older the parents, the more difficult it is for them to appreciate the value of a formal education, as do white parents living in the same society. Some Indian children become sixteen years of age by the time they complete grade eight. Although the age requirement for family allowance has been changed from sixteen to eighteen, if a child is still in school, many parents are not aware of this change. If a child decides to drop out of school at sixteen, these parents feel they have nothing to lose in the form of family allowance as the child is no longer entitled to any. Thus the parent who has been viewing the allowance as an incentive for sending his child to school may simply overlook the fact that his child has dropped out of school.

The Band Council could use its local authority to urge parents to send their children back to school as soon as they show signs of dropping from school, but this is not done. The Council believes it is a drain on the Band funds
trying to send back to school children who drop out of it, and whose fathers are usually "a liability" in the community by being unemployed for years. In the writer's view, the Council is choosing short term goals at the expense of long term goals. These children could end up in the Band's "Relief Roll", if they are not prepared for future employment. Besides, expense for Indian children's school fees and supplies is paid for by the Branch. The Band may only help with clothing in special cases. The following table shows the number of school drop-outs living on the Reserve as of February, 1965:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Highest grade completed</th>
<th>Year dropped out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1962-1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1964-1965</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1964-1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>1962-1963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table shows that the largest number of school drop-outs occurs after grade seven. Five out of the 25 interviews with a Band Council member.
nine students dropped out after completing that grade. Grade
six ranks second with two students and grades eight and nine
each with one. As indicated earlier in this section, grade
seven also ranks high in the rate of students repeating
grades. This is also the grade when a child can enter a
junior secondary or high school, and the age when a child
usually becomes more conscious of the social structure of
his society. Some of the school dropouts interviewed said
that they dropped out because of lack of suitable clothes
for school.

Despite the case of school dropouts in the community,
there has been one outstanding student in Musqueam. This
student won the only 1964 scholarship awarded by the Branch
in British Columbia region. The scholarship amounted to
$250.00. The student completed Grade XII at the end of the
1963-1964 academic year, and is now taking a course in Survey
Technology at the British Columbia Institute of Technology
in Burnaby.26

Since the majority of Musqueam school children attend
the above "integrated" schools in the city, specific discus­
sion of the school social system has been limited to these
schools.

Summary

Three main social systems are involved in the per-

forming of the function of socialization in Musqueam: (1) The Family, (2) The School, and (3) The Religious System.

The Family. The extended family pattern still persists in Musqueam, but this system is not as strong as it was in pre-European days. At present, the majority of households have only one family each. However, there are social factions based on the extended family pattern. The family does not have as strong a control over the young people's actions as it did in pre-European days. This is because of the influence on the younger generation of non-Indian culture outside Musqueam. The older generation on the Reserve seeks to have the young conform to local norms, and at the same time, the non-Indian culture expects the Indian to conform to its own norms, thus creating conflict for the young Indians, who are in a state of ambivalence in their attempt to conform to both cultural expectations.

The Religious System. The building and operation of the Roman Catholic Church in Musqueam have been shared between the local community and the extra-community. The building has been financed and insured against fire by the Band, while the altar is to be furnished by the Mother Church from outside Musqueam. The priest and nuns who conduct the Church services and catechism are likewise from outside. The community has become involved in building the Church, and since it is financed out of Band funds, it can be used by non-Catholic denominations for special ceremonies, such as matrimonial and funeral
services. Although Church service attendance for both adults and children is below average, there is good participation in the annual boat race sponsored by the Church.

**The School System.** The two sub-systems operating under this social system are the residential and integrated types. The former is used for children who, according to the Branch, are living in homes which are not conducive to studying. More integrated schools are now being used for Musqueam children. The parents have an opportunity to choose the type of school they want their children to attend, and the Branch has the responsibility of negotiating with school boards for a certain number of Musqueam children to be admitted into the schools.

The city schools attended by the children are in the highest income and wage level area in metropolitan Vancouver. This is probably a factor in making the Indian children become more aware of the contrast between the standard of living which exists in their own locality and that in the extra-community. School attendance for children from Musqueam is below average, and there is a high rate of repeating grades among these children. Except for school dances, social participation in extra-curricula activities is also below average. Parents show very little or no interest in what goes on in the school which their children attend. Only one parent belongs to a school Parent-Teachers' Association.
CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONTROL

This function, which is "the process according to which a group influences the behaviour of its members toward conformity with group norms," has both informal and formal aspects. The informal aspects include the pressure of public opinion and the influence of blame and praise. These along with custom and local norms operate directly on the decision-making of individuals as family or neighbourhood members. The formal controls operate through the law.¹

Informal Social Control.

Hawthorn's study of the Indian in British Columbia makes a special note on the changes that have occurred in the Indian's informal social control system:

As the Indian family has altered towards a structure reflecting the values and conditions of White Society, so too its operation as an instrument of social control has changed towards that characteristic of White Society .... Each individual within the family as he or she grows up, is impressed by contacts, not merely with father, mother, and like-feeling kinsfolk, but also with Indian families of different outlook, with white school teachers, policemen, superintendents, friends and movies. Each individual comes into contact with values that differ more or less from those experienced by other members of his family, and this means that individual goals differ within the family and are

¹Warren, op. cit., p. 218.
sometimes felt to be inconsistent, and disharmonious, just as they are in White families.²

The Indian situation is made worse by the fact that in some families, different generations represent different view points on their roles within the culture, and by the fact that the older generation is unacquainted with, or has rejected large elements of the over-all culture which are important to the younger generation.³

A good example of change in social control can be cited from the different attitudes toward the winter dances by the two generations in Musqueam. These dances are held annually from the latter part of January to the end of April. This year, during the dancing period, the writer tried to find out how the younger generation felt about the dances and how the older generation felt. The former did not think much of those dances. Some said that the dances are out-moded, others, that such dances are un-Christian, and therefore a true Catholic should not participate in them, still others complained that the dances encourage unemployment, as some men would stop work in order to join the ceremonies. On the other hand, the older generation have an outlook which is quite different from that of the younger members. The former explained that the dances are a part of Indian life and, therefore, they should be held annually, others say that they


³Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, loc. cit.
"are different from anything the white man has," and that the white man is unable to understand them. They are very enthusiastic participants, unlike the younger generation who may use the dances as a way of escaping school work or a way of keeping busy, if unemployed or underemployed.

As discussed earlier under the Religious System, religion does not seem to have a controlling effect on individuals in Musqueam. Nevertheless, there are a few individuals of the Catholic faith who seem to adhere to religious teachings. For example, certain families do not participate in the spirit dances because of religious beliefs. The Church also has tried to control the drinking of alcohol and the incidence of common law marriages, but in this aspect, there does not appear to have been any outstanding success. For example, there are four women living in common law marriages, while their legally married husbands are on the Reserve. There has also been several arrests made among men on the Reserve on drunken charges.

**Formal Social Control**

There are three formal social control systems in Musqueam: (1) The Indian Affairs Branch, (2) The Band Council, (3) The Federal, Provincial and Municipal Laws.

**The Indian Affairs Branch System.** The British North America Act of 1867 charged the federal government with the administration of Indian Affairs. The chief functions of the Indian Affairs Branch are the management of Indian Reserves.
and surrendered land, band funds, education, welfare, relief, family allowances, rehabilitation of Indian veterans living on Reserves, descent of property, Indian treaty obligations and a variety of other matters.  

In British Columbia, Indian Affairs are under the jurisdiction of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Under the commissioner are the various Indian Superintendents who are in effect regional administrators. Also responsible to the Commissioner are Regional Education Officers, a Placement Officer, an Agricultural Officer, a Fur Supervisor, an Engineer, and one Social Worker. The Social Worker serves as a liaison person between the Branch and welfare agencies offering services to Indians. Indian health services are administered separately, but are coordinated on a regional basis with the Indian Affairs Branch.

The Indian Superintendent is in direct contact with the power groups of the different Bands under his agencies. The powers he exercises are conferred on him by the Indian Act and the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. The Superintendent's powers are therefore legal. There are also traditional powers which have developed out of the Indian's need to gain the Superintendent's approval for any project involving property and money.  

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5Toren, op. cit., p. 5.
Because of his position in implementing policy, the Superintendent can discourage or encourage Indian projects. At the same time, an enlightened Superintendent can advance the welfare of the Indians in his region. However, it should be remembered that whether or not a Superintendent is in agreement with parts of the Indian Act, he has no choice but to administer it accordingly. It binds both the Indian and the Superintendent alike.

The Fraser Agency. This is an agency, created in November, 1964, by the amalgamation of the Vancouver and New Westminster agencies. The Musqueam Band which was under the Vancouver Agency is now under the Fraser Agency. Under the new agency there are 41 Indian Bands, totalling 6,109 people. An Agency Superintendent, a Deputy Superintendent and four assistants provide administrative services for these Bands. The responsibility of the agency is to "generally assist the Indian in the exercise of his rights and obligations and to meet his needs consistent with the Act."\(^6\)

The channels of communication between the agency and the Band are not always clear. Many Indians do not understand the policies under which they are governed. For many, the Chief and his Council act as interpreter of Indian Affairs policies and the Chief is their spokesman. This, sometimes, makes the agency office seem very far removed from the Indian who lives on the Reserve.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 6.
The Band Council. This is the local governmental body of Indians on the Reserve. The Band Council in its original form had the respect and loyalty of all Band members. Under the first Indian Act, the Band council was given certain powers but these were subject to prior approval of the officers of the Indian Affairs Branch. This brought about the decline of the power and status of the Council. In addition, the power of the Chief "which was inherent in the culture of the Indian could not survive the gradual disintegration of the primitive society out of which the traditional power arose."\(^7\)

The 1951 Indian Act attempted to give back to the Band Council some of the prestige which had been lost. The Act provides two main divisions of Indian chiefs and councillors: (1) Those who are chosen according to the custom of the Band, (2) those elected to office in accordance with election provisions set out in Sections 73-78 of the Indian Act.\(^8\)

Where councillors are chosen according to Band custom, the number of Council members chosen and their terms of office vary according to the custom of the Band. The procedure to be followed in choosing chiefs and councillors also depends upon the custom of the Band concerned.

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\(^7\)Ibid., p. 17.

\(^8\)Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, A Handbook for Indian Chiefs and Councillors, Ottawa, 1961, pp. 4-12.
In the elective system, chiefs and councillors hold office for a two year period. According to Section 73 (2) of the Indian Act, a Band Council elects one councillor for every one hundred members of the band, but no Band elects less than two or more than twelve councillors. However, with the permission of the Minister (the Indian Affairs Branch), the number of councillors in a Band may be increased or decreased. In case of such a change, the view of the majority of the members of the Band is considered. A band is entitled to only one chief.

Under the elective system, a chief is elected by the majority of the votes of the electors of the Band at large, or by the councillors from among themselves. Councillors are elected by a majority of votes of the electors of the Band, or by a majority of the votes of the electors of a section. Where there are electoral sections, councillors must be residents of the sections they represent, and electors may only vote in the sections in which they are ordinarily resident. Only electors ordinarily resident on the Reserve may be nominated for the office of Councillor. A candidate for chief or councillor has to have his nomination moved and seconded by persons who are themselves eligible to be nominated. All Band members who are ordinarily residents on the Reserve and are twenty-one years of age or over may vote in Band elections.

The Band Council is the officially recognized body with which the Indian Affairs Branch deals in matters relat-
ing to Band affairs. The Council is given certain specific powers and duties by the Indian Act. These include (1) deciding on Band membership, (2) allocation of reserve land to individual Band members, (3) Band fund management, (4) Employment, (5) by-laws.

**Deciding on Band Membership.** In accordance with Sections 9 and 12 of the Indian Act, the Band Council may protest deletions or additions to the Band list, and it may also "protest inclusion in the Band list of illegitimate children born on or after August 15th, 1956."\(^9\)

**Reserve Lands.** Parcels of land may be allotted to individual Band members by the Band Council, with the approval of the Indian Affairs Branch. The Council may also call a general meeting of the Band to consider a proposed surrender by the Band of any right or interest in a Reserve. The consent of the Council is required before uncultivated or unused land in a Reserve may be leased, and before temporary permits can be renewed for the taking of sand, gravel, clay and other non-metallic substances upon or under lands in the Reserve.

**Band Fund Management.** Although the "Minister" has the final say for authorizing and directing the expenditure of Band funds, the Band Council, assisted by the Indian Superintendent, is expected to plan and recommend expenditures of the Band revenue money.

**Employment.** The Council is expected to help Band

\(^9\)Ibid., p. 3.
members get to the right channel for obtaining employment. Where a Band can afford it, unemployed Band members are given financial assistance from Band funds. If the help of the Indian Affairs Branch is needed for this assistance, the Council is responsible for determining an applicant's eligibility for help. Then the Council makes its recommendation to the Superintendent as to who are eligible for assistance.

By-Laws. The Council has the authority to pass by-laws for the welfare of the Band members on the Reserve. However, by-laws passed by the Council should not in any way contradict the Indian Act.  

Musqueam has an elective Council, consisting of a chief and three councillors. The number of councillors is based on the total population of registered Musqueam Band members. Voting is by secret ballot, but because of the kinship system in the community, it is not difficult predicting the successful candidate for chief. Each family faction on the Reserve is openly aligned with several other factions. When an elector nominates a candidate for the office of chief, the elector can count on certain sections of the community to support his nominee. During the past election in November, 1964, there were two candidates for the office of chief, but at the beginning of the election procedures several people in the community were able to predict success for

10Ibid., pp. 7-8.
the candidate who, in fact, won the election. Even the unsuccessful candidate had earlier expressed a feeling of being the loser and explained that it was impossible to win the election as there were "more people on the side of the other candidate." Apparently, popularity and a large extended family have been the most important criteria in winning an election for the office of chief.

During the same election, councillors were elected, but things seemed slightly different for these candidates. Here it seemed popularity had priority over the candidate's family background. For instance, a man was elected councillor while one of his parents lost for the office of chief. At the same election, the father of the elected chief lost for the office of councillor. It should be noted, however, that, although the father of the elected chief has a home in Musqueam, he lives off the community most of the time, when he is working. Another interesting factor about the present Council members is that they each have a steady job and income.

Theoretically, the Council has control over certain aspects of the community's social life, but in practice, this is hardly true. The writer observed that this has sometimes aroused hostility from some Band members who see the Council as a body determined to be with the white government against the Indian. Some see the Council members as selfish individuals who are simply concerned with their own better-
ment, instead of helping the Band improve social conditions on the Reserve. However, the positions of both chief and councillors are not salaried.

However little it may be, there is some prestige and power in the position of councillor or chief. For, although the Indian Affairs Branch has the last say in most Band decisions, a Council which has good relationship with the Branch is often able, with backing from the Band, to pass through the Branch certain recommendations about the Reserve.

Council meetings are held at least once a month. They are open to all Band members, and at all times the Superintendent of the agency or his representative should be present. Should urgent matters arise before the time scheduled for a general meeting, the Council holds a meeting and makes a report of that meeting to the next general meeting. The chief is chairman of Council meetings. In his absence, with the consent of the majority of Band members present, the Superintendent becomes presiding officer or, with the consent of the majority of members present, one of the councillors acts as chairman.

Land Tenure. The pattern of land tenure is quite different from what it is in the larger Canadian society. Whereas the non-Indian can own and sell land as he wishes without consulting any type of government level, the Indian cannot. After the introduction of the "Reserve" system, a Band still owns the piece of land allocated to it by the Federal Govern-
ment of Canada, but this is held on a communal basis. Any leasing or selling of a piece of land to either Indian or non-Indian has to be approved by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, who in most cases is represented by the Indian Agency Superintendent. In Musqueam, there was a special case in which a family owned the piece of land on which their home is situated. On the 11th January, 1965, the Band voted to pay the family for the land, in order to reclaim it for the Band once more.¹¹

**Housing.** The first houses in Musqueam were wholly financed by the Indian Affairs Branch. However, there is now a new system for financing the building of new homes. Every April, the Band appropriates $2,800.00 and $500.00 for building a home for a family in the Band. In considering applications for these homes, priority is given to young and newly married couples. Of the $3,300.00 sum total, $500.00 is refundable by instalments. Usually, refunding this sum is facilitated by collecting the family's share of the annual Band distribution fund by the Indian Affairs Branch.¹²

The total sum includes wiring and plumbing. The Indian Agency (Fraser Agency) buys the building materials with part of the money, and the Indians help with the construction of the building itself. The Agency has three types of archi-

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¹¹Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Minutes of the Musqueam Band Meeting, 11th January, 1965.

tectural plans for homes. The Indians can make use of those plans, but they are at liberty to use plans other than the Agency's, as long as the total cost of the home does not exceed the $3,300.00. Otherwise, the family will be responsible for the additional cost.

There are no by-laws for building, as one would find municipal building by-laws. There is an "over-all coverage" of the area by the Vancouver City Fire Department, but the homes are not inspected for fire safety or to see that public health regulations are not violated. There is no public health inspection of homes as such.¹³

This land ownership pattern raises some very serious problems for families wishing to sell a home in which they have invested much personal money. The Band is the only legal body that can buy such a home, and usually, the price it gives is far below what such a home would cost in Vancouver city. At the same time, the Indian cannot get a mortgage for a home in the city. According to the way the Indian sees it, a family wishing to buy a home outside the Reserve can do so only by one of the following conditions:

1. paying the full cost of the home and six months in advance for taxes, or
2. living in a rented home off the Reserve for a one year period, making sure all the rent and electricity and telephone bills are promptly paid for that period,

in order to be able to produce evidence that the family is capable of living outside the Reserve - this can then be used to consider giving the family a mortgage.

Case Illustration. Mr. and Mrs. X. are a young couple in their twenties. They both grew up in a non-Indian community. After marriage, they lived in an apartment in the city a few months and decided to move into Musqueam. They got the yearly home loan on application, but they also contributed much of their earnings toward the building. This home is today one of the best in Musqueam. It has inside plumbing, central heating, a large living-room, a kitchen, a dining-room and three large bedrooms and modern furniture. Mrs. X.'s housekeeping standards are very good.

Several times Mrs. X. has spoken to the writer about their problem in selling their home. They had tried to purchase a home off the Reserve, but because they were unable to meet either of the above two conditions, they did not succeed. The couple does not want to live in an apartment with their three children for a length of one year. They have approached the Band Council for purchasing the home from them, but so far, nothing has come out of it. The couple may have to wait until the Band feels, there is extra money they can spare, or until there is an urgent need for getting a home for a new couple which is qualified for a new home. In that case, the Band may consider buying this home, if Mr. and Mrs. X. do not ask for a price much higher than the $3,300.00 loan for constructing new homes.

Thus, the land ownership pattern is one of the factors discouraging Indians from leaving the Reserve. On the Reserve, although they do not own the land individually, they do not pay any rent or land tax, but if they invest private money in a home, they are unlikely ever to get it back, should they decide to leave the Reserve. It should also be noted at this point that Indians get many articles such as cars and television sets on hire purchase, but when it comes to getting
mortgage for a home outside the reserve, this is impossible.

Another aspect of the home system is the very small amount given for the construction of the home. The writer is of the opinion that this accounts for most of the unfinished look of several of the new homes which have been built within the past five years. Families who are unable to provide more than what they get from the Band simply live in incomplete buildings. Of the nineteen relatively new houses in Musqueam, there are four with unfinished stairs, four unpainted outside walls, two with a pool of water in what is supposed to be a basement. Some of these missing finishing touches may probably never be finished. Most of the walls of the houses are made of poor building materials. As such, it is not unusual to find a five year old house already having large holes in its walls.

The old homes on the western end of Crown Street have no plumbing facilities, no running water and no central heating system. For heating, they depend largely on heat either from the kitchen range or from a tin heater placed in the living-room. Very often homes are extremely warm in the day time, but once the family retires to bed and the fire dies out, the cold becomes intense. Comparing Indian housing to non-Indian Hawthorn writes:

Admittedly, the standards quite widely spread among the whites in the Province (British Columbia), placing the appearance, location, and furnishings of the home before other material values, are not nearly as general among the Indian population. Yet today the limitation of the purposes of so many Indian houses to the tradi-
tional ends of storage, sleeping, shelter, and cooking stems less from a lack of desire for houses which afford beauty and recreation space than from inability to pay for those extensions and facilities.\textsuperscript{14}

However, Hawthorn goes further than the above observation. He points out that an increasing number of exceptions can be seen among the Indians, that inevitably and universally, "white standards of housing and furnishing are being diffused," and that "even the use of gadgets for social competition is spreading." This is applicable to the Musqueam community. The young generation there has far better housekeeping standards than older parents.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{Federal and Provincial Law System.} Although the Indian is the only ethnic group under special legislation in Canada, this uniqueness does not exempt him from the general law of the land. Indians are subject to both criminal and civil law in the same manner as non-Indians.

With respect to debts and obligations, Indians are regarded as being in the same position as other Canadians, except that, under the provisions of Section 88 of the Indian Act, Indians are protected from seizure of their real and personal property situated on the Reserve. However, when an article is on the instalment or credit plan and the title to that article is held by the person who sold it, then, of course, it may be seized even if it is situated on a Reserve.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14}Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 43.
\item \textsuperscript{15}Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, \textit{loc. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{16}Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, \textit{Handbook, op. cit.}, p. 16.
\end{itemize}
There did not seem to be a problem of juvenile delinquency in Musqueam during the study period. However, among the adult population, there were instances of arrests on drunken charges. There were also three adult men serving prison terms.

Summary

Since the family system now has very little social control over the individual's actions, emphasis has been put on formal social control in Musqueam: (1) The Indian Affairs Branch, (2) The Band Council, (3) Land Tenure and Housing, and (4) Federal-Provincial Law.

The Indian Affairs Branch. This is the social system whose function it is to administer the Indian Act of 1952. This Act distinguishes the Indian from any other Canadian, in that the former is governed under a special legislation. The Indian Affairs Branch is a federal government body, and the direct representative of the federal government who deals with Musqueam is the Fraser Agency Superintendent. The Superintendent has the final say in all matters affecting the Band under the Indian Act. He is responsible to the British Columbia Indian Commissioner, who in turn is responsible to the headquarters' office in Ottawa. Authority flows from above down to the Band Council which is Musqueam's local governing body.

The Band Council. This system is an elected body consisting of a chief and three councillors, responsible
for implementing policy passed down from the Superintendent. Among other responsibilities performed by the Council are: working with the Superintendent in preparing the Band budget, administering means test for eligibility for social assistance, making local by-laws, supervising local community projects, calling Band meetings, presiding over Band meetings, introducing resolutions at Band meetings, and making up-to-date the Band list. However, all decisions taken have to be approved by the Superintendent, also, the Council cannot make any by-laws which are contradictory to federal and provincial laws.

**Federal-Provincial Law.** Laws under this system have priority over the Band Council by-laws. Any Band member is subject to arrest and trial in federal and provincial law courts should he commit a criminal or civil offence. Generally, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) and sometimes the Provincial Police see that there is peace and order on the Reserve, and arrests are made, depending on the situation. Section 88 of the Indian Act protects the Indians from seizure of their real and personal property situated on the Reserve, except in the case of an article taken by an Indian on instalment or credit plan with the title still held by the seller, then the article could be seized from the Reserve.

**Land Tenure and Housing.** The Band owns the land on which the Musqueam Reserve is situated, the land on the Shaughnessy Golf Club, the land on the Point Grey Golf Course,
and fifty-four acres of land on Sea Island Indian Reserve. These lands are held on communal basis, and one of them can be sold or leased without the permission of the Branch, which represents Her Majesty the Queen of England, under whose keeping all Indian Reserve lands are entrusted.

Land and houses can be allocated to, and built for families respectively, but no individual or family has the right to sell his allocated piece of land, or a home on the Reserve to an outsider. These must always be sold back to the Band, if need be. There are no mortgages on homes on the Reserves. Instead of such an arrangement, every year, the Band appropriates some money for building a new home for a family in the community. Priority is given to young couples. Old couples with houses needing large scale repairs or needing new homes are not given priority.

The insurmountable difficulties encountered by Indians in trying to buy homes outside the Reserve have contributed to the Indian's attachment to the Reserve. Although the Indians do not pay rent and house taxes, many of the younger generation among them are unsatisfied with this social system of land tenure and housing. Housing facilities are very poor and housekeeping standards among the old homes and homes of the older generation are likewise below average.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

This function involves the provision of local means to individuals for social participation in the community. Social participation also takes place outside the community. This is especially true of small communities such as Musqueam. In this section certain systems in Musqueam and in the larger society, which provide opportunities to Band members for social participation, will be examined. The amount of social participation by the community in some systems such as the Band Council System and the Religious System has been examined previously. Therefore, in this section, attention will be given mainly to those systems which have not been already discussed.

Some of these systems function partly on extra-community basis, some function wholly on intra-community basis, and others almost wholly on extra-community basis.

The Religious System

As already indicated under Social Control, the community's social participation in the religious system is very limited. Church service attendance for both children and adults is poor. The Catholic Youth Organization lasted for just a very brief period.
Nevertheless, the weekly adult services and children's catechism classes provide some facilities for the community to perform the major functioning of social participation. The little group of Shakers (there are two families), also keeps its weekly religious services regularly, on every Wednesday. There was a small Shaker Church building situated close to the community hall. Following the winter dances in Musqueam this season (1965), the building has been torn down. Services are now held in homes of members. One of the male members is a Shaker priest, and he conducts most of the services. Apparently, he is a well known priest, for it is reported that sometimes he is invited by some Indian Shaker Churches in the United States to conduct services.

The United Church Sunday School for the Musqueam youth likewise provides some facilities for social participation.

The Homemakers' Club

Indian Homemakers' Clubs were first organized in the British Columbia region in 1949 and 1950. By 1952, there were eight Clubs in five Indian Agencies. By 1957, there were twenty-four Clubs in eleven Agencies, with a membership of four hundred Indian women, and as of January 1965, there are listed forty-four active Clubs with a membership of well over five hundred women. Most of these members are mothers, grandmothers and single adults. Some of them are women already occupying positions of leadership in their communities, and
having a wide range of influence.¹

This organization can almost be considered officially part of the administrative aspect of the Indian Affairs, in that it is an Indian Affairs Branch sponsored club program for women on Indian Reserves. However, the initiative for organization has always come from the Indian women themselves. A few clubs have had leadership from non-Indian women, such as nurses and teachers, but this has not always been successful in cases where the non-Indians have tended to impose programs on members, or where they have tended to "take over" the club. Some of the clubs have been exceptionally successful, particularly in the fund raising area. Well organized programs like bingo, rummage sales, baby contests and the like have produced much toward club treasuries. The weakness in most clubs is found in the other program areas, such as in club management, and this is largely due to lack of experience and "know how".²

Musqueam organized its first Homemakers' Club in 1962. The first president of the Club was Indian, and so were all other executive members of the Club. The second president was non-Indian but with Indian status by marriage. The rest of the executive members were all Indian. Both presidents re-

¹Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, Memorandum of Social Work Consultant, to the British Columbia Indian, Commissioner, February, 1965.

²Ibid.
ported that they resigned as president, because they felt that the women in the community were not sympathetic toward the Club's objectives. The common complaint was that the women were not interested in the Club after the end of its first phases, and that some of them felt they were doing the president or executive members a favour by attending meetings of the Club. There was very little participation at meetings by this group. One of the presidents reported that she had to always call them several times to remind them of a forthcoming meeting, and that she had to drive several of them to and from the meeting each time. Another complaint was that the Band Council was not sympathetic toward the Club. A Club member reported that at one time the Council refused to have the Club make use of the community hall for meetings.

During the second year of the Club's existence, some non-Indians offered to assist the Club, if it was interested, in organizing a nursery school on the Reserve. This was to be operated on voluntary basis, with mothers taking turns in helping care for the children. There was interest shown at the beginning for this idea, but full participation in discussing the idea was left to a few members - the younger set of the group. Just before the 1964 summer, meetings were no longer held - not even by the interested few.

During the 1964 Christmas season, a meeting of the Club was called after the very long period of silence. Although prior to that time several women had indicated their
interest in giving the Club another trial that season, only nine women turned up for the meeting. The former president resigned, and a new all Indian executive was elected. This group tried hard to get more women interested, but at the second meeting only seven of the previous nine were present.

The task before the Club at that period was to raise enough money for a Christmas party and Christmas presents for the children of the community. For that purpose, a bingo game and a rummage sale were held by the Club. Over $90.00 was raised. The members then bought Christmas presents for the children, regardless of whether or not parents belonged to the Club. There was a Christmas tree decorated for the occasion of distributing the presents. The party was held at the community hall. Scheduled with it was a movie to be shown the children by one of the men in the community. Unfortunately, he was a few minutes late in arriving at the hall, and by the time he got there, all the children had dispersed home with their presents.3

After Christmas, the members decided to "catch up with their house work." Meetings which had been held weekly during the Christmas season were now discontinued. The hope of the members was to have a short break and continue after January, but they were, in fact, following old patterns of operating the Club. During the life of the organization, it has always functioned on an ad hoc basis, operating only to

accomplish a task - mainly during the Christmas season. It seems that its goal is simply that of holding a Christmas party for the children. On the other hand, Christmas is the only season when there is no social activity of some type going on on the Reserve. After Christmas, you have the spirit dances, in which many people in the community participate either directly or indirectly. These dances go on till the beginning of April. Most of the women are busy cooking for the spirit dancers. In the summer, the children are out of school, and they and the men are busy fishing or travelling or doing some other type of summer activity.

All the Club members are of the young generation in Musqueam. They are in their twenties or early thirties. Their husbands have steady jobs and income. Each of these members completed grade ten school work, four completed grade ten and five grade eleven. The older generation group does not seem to show any interest in the Club. Some of the young wives who are non-members have refrained from joining for several reasons. Some explain that the present members are not serious in planning programs, others, that certain members are not fit to join the organization, and still others complain that the Club, as a whole, is not doing anything worthwhile as an on-going organization. Thus, of the thirty-eight women in Musqueam, only nine are members, of which only seven are active.

\[4\text{Ibid.}\]
However, with the recent appointment by the Indian Affairs Branch of a staff Advisor to Homemakers' Clubs, it is hoped that this system of social participation will be strengthened, and that a pattern of continuous existence by the Club be developed. The Advisor, who was appointed to this position in March this year, has the responsibility for the organization, supervision and development of women's organizations on Reserves.

The Spirit Dances

This is one system in the community which is purely Indian, as far as social participation is concerned.

Spirit dancing is performed by the Coast Salish Indian tribes from Nanaimo to Victoria on Vancouver Island, and from North Vancouver to northern Puget Sound on the mainland. Initiation of dancers takes place when the young are in their late teens. It involves the capacity to acquire supernatural "power".

In some cases the power has entered the individual earlier in life (it may cause a sickness which can only be cured by initiation as a dancer), but more often nowadays it is breathed on him (or her) by the older dancers, who begin the initiation by going through the motions of forcibly abducting the unsuspecting initiate. The power brings with it distinctive personal variations in the song, dance, costume, and pattern of painting the face. For four days while these are being learned, the dancer undergoes special rituals and observances to help him through this important period of change in his life, and for the remainder of the dancing season he is expected to live in the dance house, wear a special costume, and observe certain other restrictions.5

Large barn-like buildings are used for dance houses. The floors are dirt, and tiers of benches are placed around the walls. The building is heated by large bonfires.

Where there are dancers on a Reserve, dances are held every night. These are restricted to the local people only. In addition to these dances, almost every weekend from mid-January to mid-April a large spirit dance is held in one or other of the villages, attended by up to one thousand people from all over the area. These occasions are also used for performing certain social ceremonies, which were formerly performed at potlatches, such as the conferring of Indian names, the honouring of dead members of the family, and the display of special family-owned rituals and dances. Dancing may not begin until well after midnight and may continue until the following forenoon. Up to a hundred dancers may perform at one dance.

One at a time in their turn, the dancers become possessed, rise, dance clockwise around the house, and are assisted back to their seats. The spectators help by drumming and singing the dancer's song. The dance costumes, especially those of the men, are often spectacular, with long pointed headdresses of human hair surmounted by swivelled pairs of eagle feathers, and black velvet shirts and trousers decorated with sequins and small paddles.6

Musqueam still observes the tradition of holding winter spirit dances every year. They are usually held from January to about the beginning of April. Like the rest of their tribe on other Reserves, only certain local people are

6Duff, loc. cit.
permitted to enter the dance house and participate in the ceremonies. However, there are other ceremonies and activities which take place outside the dance house. These activities can be seen by any observer on the Reserve.

During the 1965 period of dancing, the community had visitors from other British Columbia Indian Reserves. These and other local people seemed very busy going from one home to the other, and then to the dance house. A few women were responsible for cooking for the dancers. The Musqueam dance house is a large old wooden building situated in the oldest area in the community. This area was the first place to be settled in Musqueam, and the dance house was one of those very first houses to be built. It must have been a home for a very large family. Besides the dance house, ceremonies are also carried out in the community hall. The community hall is heated by means of a tin heater, but the large dance house is not heated. Apparently, bonfires are used for heating and lighting the dance house.

School children were not initiated in the 1965 dances, but many of these children spent their evenings as participant observers with other spectators. As a result, they went to bed late each night, and either missed their classes at school, or when they did go to school, some fell asleep while classes were going on. During the dance season, no alcohol is permitted in the area where the dances are held. In fact, drunkenness on the Reserve is strictly prohibited. However, those who are not interested in the dances try to escape the
cereomies by going out of the Reserve and getting drunk. They rebel against the cultural norms of their tribe.

The newly initiated dancer who has gone through the first four days of rituals and ceremonies has a guide when he moves out of the dance house. The guide does not necessarily have to be a dancer himself, but he plays an important role as protector of the dancer. It is believed that, if a newly initiated dancer falls down during the dancing period, he will suffer from such a serious illness that he will eventually die during the season. It is the responsibility of the guide to see that the dancer does not fall down at any time during the season. A sudden shout may frighten the dancer, causing him to fall down. Therefore, the guide is always to walk along very closely to the dancer and be prepared to act in time of danger.

During the 1965 period in Musqueam, all other social activities were almost at a standstill. The Homemakers' Club almost broke up; some men who were fully employed left their jobs in order to participate in the dances. However, there were two families on the Reserve, who said that they did not participate because their religious belief was contrary to the dances. With many, there does not exist any conflict. They go to the religious services on Sundays and spend the rest of the day at the dance house. To this group, the dances are part of the Indian heritage which is not shared with the white man.
The Y.W.C.A. Indian Youth Club

This is one of the extra-community systems which provide opportunity for social participation for Indian children.

Origin of Club. This Club was started over four years ago as a joint program by the Anglican Church, the United Church and the Young Women's Christian Association. There was one worker from each of the three organizations working with the Club. It was then an all girls' Club until 1960, when it became a mixed group of both boys and girls. In 1964, the Y.W.C.A. took complete responsibility for the Club, with a worker each from the Anglican and United Churches serving as adviser to the Club. Since that time, there has been a staff member of the Dunsmuir Y.W.C.A. working with the Club. At present, this worker is a trained social worker with experience in the field of social work.7

Objectives. The objective of the Club, like all other "Y" organizations, is to help members "develop physically, mentally and spiritually." The Club also aims at developing leadership among its members.

Membership. Club membership is open to both Indians and non-Indians, but only Indians are eligible to vote on business matters. The membership fee was originally three dollars, but a special fee of one dollar is charged the Indians to encourage those who may have to travel by bus for the Club meetings, to meet the bus fares involved. The orga-

nization hopes to raise the fee back to the original three dollars. As of January, 1965, there were fifteen active Club members, most of whom were students. The Club hopes to reach new members who are not students. The need for this new approach arises from the fact that the Indian Affairs Branch Education Division believes that the Indian students are kept busy enough with school work and activities and, therefore, do not need to be in such clubs as the Y.W.C.A. Youth Club as much as do young non-student workers. 8

The Club reaches new members through various sources: the Vancouver Friendship Centre, the Vocational Institute, the Churches and through Indians who are already Club members.

**Programs.** The Club holds two meetings each month: one is a general and business meeting, and the other is for guest speakers on various topics, such as alcoholism. Sometimes the second meeting is given up to drama lessons. Every third Friday of the month, the Club holds a dance at the Y.W.C.A. building at Dunsmuir Street. The dances are open to non-Club members for a small admission charge. These dances are usually very well attended, with attendance sometimes going as high as eighty persons per dance.

There is just one active Club member from Musqueam. Some of the Musqueam youth attend the monthly dances as non-Club members. The active member in question was also one of the very few Musqueam young boys and girls who were active

at the Vancouver Friendship Centre when it was first opened in 1963. Some Musqueam children complain that they cannot afford to pay the dollar membership fee of the Y.W.C.A. Indian Youth Club, hence they have not joined the Club. However, these same children pay about $.50 to $1.25 each month to attend the Club's dances, admission to which is usually less that amount for members of the Club.9

The Y.M.C.A. Fun Club

This is another sub-system whose function is not fully local. This Club has been operating in Musqueam for the past three summers, 1962 to 1964. It is under the direction of the Alma Branch of the Y.M.C.A. Summer Camp Director, with the co-operation of the Musqueam Band Council. The organization is specifically for boys and girls between the ages of six and fifteen, but because of the community's family pattern the age requirement is flexible enough to include interested children who do not fulfil the age requirement.

Objective. The objective of the Club, as outlined by the Y.M.C.A., is "to help establish and develop a friendly relationship between the 'Y' and the parents and children on the Reserve, to develop a co-operativeness and value among the children through example, interpretation and games, to broaden the experience of the children through crafts, games and out-trips."10

Program. A group worker is hired by the "Y" for the month of August, when the Club begins its activities. The worker tries to develop leadership in order to have some helpers in the group to operate the various items in the program. Activities on the Reserve include games, craft sessions, swimming and fishing; and those off the Reserve are mainly hikes or trips to nearby beaches and points of interest.

Financing the Program. The worker is paid by the "Y", while the Band finances bus trips. Individual children pay for small expenses incurred during trips.

Membership and Participation. There is no membership fee charged for this organization. Taking into consideration the Musqueam Indian sub-culture, attendance and participation have been average. Many children are accustomed to doing on their own most of what the Club program offers. Therefore, some of these children are either away from home for the summer or are not interested in the Club. Older children, who baby-sit for their younger siblings, often take the latter to the Club activities. This creates difficulty in operating an activity which would suit the age range at any one group gathering.

Some parents show interest in the Club. For instance, in 1964, a parent joined the Club to help row a boat conveying members across the river. There is usually also a good turn out of parents on the evening when the Club holds a cook-out and sells hot dogs at five cents each. However, the older generation seems quite content with the old informal
ways of having recreational activities.

It should be mentioned at this point that the Club is open to non-Indians and non-Musqueam Band members living on the Reserve. There has been good participation by this group of children, and one of the group leaders of the 1964 program was a Chinese teenager.

The Club has occasionally encountered difficulties on outing trips. Once, while on a beach, a hostile argument developed between Club members and white non-Club members. However, the worker was able to keep members under control without the incident developing into a physical fight. On the whole, the children seem to respond more to the outing activities than to those which take place on the Reserve.\textsuperscript{11}

The Vancouver Friendship Centre

Indian Friendship Centres are becoming very popular as the Indian is moving toward integration into the Canadian society. These centres are situated in cities wherein Indians, leaving the Reserve for the city, are liable to get "lost" because of the impersonal characteristics of urban areas. They are intended to help give orientation to Indians new to the city, until they become settled. This help is given by helping the new arrival become aware of services available in the city.

The Vancouver Friendship Centre was officially opened on the 1st of December, 1963. It is situated at 1200 West

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid.}
Broadway. The building is owned by the Y.W.C.A.

The objective of the Centre is to help Indians who are new in the city get acquainted with the social services that are available for Indians, to provide them with a place to go for social activities until they get settled down in Vancouver. The Centre also aims at providing a place where Indians between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five could meet for recreational purposes.

For the first year of its existence, the Centre was financed by the federal, provincial, municipal (Vancouver city) governments and several Indian Band Councils, each contributing a quarter of the total sum of $24,000.00. There is no guarantee that the Centre will receive the same amount of contributions from the four levels of government each year. Much depends on how well the Centre is successful in carrying out its assigned tasks.12

There is at present no planned program for activities at the Centre. The teenagers simply drop in and do whatever they feel like doing, such as playing records and having coffee. At present, the Centre is open only four days a week.

One Musqueam adult was very active at the Centre when it was first open in 1963. She was one of the Board of Directors of the Centre, but since the change in the administrative aspect of the Centre, leading to the resignation of the Centre's first Director, this board member lost interest.

12Writer's Recording, 14th November, 1964.
in the work. In fact, she has resigned that position.

There are only three Indian children from Musqueam who are at present active in the Centre. In the first year of its existence, one of these teenagers was president of the Centre's Youth Club. Since the election of a new president for the Club, the Club has not been functioning very well. Many parents have expressed concern about the drinking which is going on among the teenagers at the Centre. Some of these teenagers have even admitted the truth of this statement, and some parents have restricted their teenagers from going to the Centre in the evenings. There are regulations which prohibit the use of alcohol on the premises, but, apparently, these regulations are often broken by teenagers who go to the Centre without being supervised by a responsible adult.

The School

Social participation of the Musqueam community in school activities has already been discussed under the school system in the socialization process. It was then indicated that, except for school dances, there is very little participation in extracurricular activities by Musqueam students. This is also true with parent participation in school activities. Only one parent belongs to a Parent Teachers' Association. On the whole, parents do not show interest in the school problems encountered by their children.
Summary


Church Activities. Besides the regular weekly adult services and children's catechism classes held on the Reserve, the only other Church activity is the annual boat race. There is usually a very good participation in this activity on the part of the community. The sport is sponsored by the Mother Church through the Catholic Priest responsible for the Musqueam Church.

The Homemakers' Club. This system functions wholly at the initiative of the women of the community. However, it is an officially recognized system as part of the Branch's "community organization" among Indian women on the Reserves. To strengthen systems such as this one, the Branch has hired a staff advisor to women's organizations on Indian Reserves.

There are nine members in this organization in Musqueam. All the members are in their twenties or early thirties, and they have all gone as far as Grade ten in formal education. Since the formation of the Club in 1962, this system has been functioning on ad hoc basis, mainly during the Christmas season when the need for a children's Christmas Party is felt. So far, there have been three successive
presidents of the Club.

**The Vancouver Friendship Centre.** This social system is intended mainly for Indians coming into the city from the interior of British Columbia. However, it is also intended for the use of Indian youngsters in and around the city, who are in need of a meeting place for social activities. There is an Indian Youth Organization at the Centre, which was founded with the help of a Musqueam girl who became the first president of that Club. One adult in Musqueam is a board member of the Centre, and three teenagers from the local community have been participating in several activities held there. However, the Centre has no supervised programs for the young people, and it is reported that drinking is becoming a problem among teenagers who go to the Centre regularly. Although federal, provincial and band governments contribute toward the operation costs of the Centre, this is a voluntary system, and is not controlled by any level of government.

**Spirit Dances.** This system is part of the Indian's tradition, and the dances are held on the Reserve. Except for dancers from other Indian Reserves, invitations for participation in the ceremonies are strictly restricted to the local people of the Band. There is much participation by Band members. Some of the older generation are almost spirit dance "fanatics", in that they go as far as leaving their jobs in order to participate fully in the ceremonies. One family in the community does not participate in these dances because of religious reasons. Although they may participate
as spectators, many of the younger generation do not think much of this system. However, with the older generation, this system is Indian, and no white man is entitled to enjoy its worth.

**The Y.M.C.A. Fun Club.** This social system has been operating in Musqueam the past three summers, 1962 to 1964. It is operated on a shared basis between the Band and the Y.M.C.A. Alma Branch. The Y.M.C.A. supplies the group worker who heads the Club, and it also sets out the program for the Club. The Band helps in financing the major aspects of the program. When the Club is not on an outing trip, the activities of the program take place on the Reserve. There has been average participation and attendance by the children, and on the whole, parents have shown interest in the Club.

**The Y.W.C.A. Indian Youth Club.** Control over this system is entirely from outside Musqueam. The community's children know about the existence of this system, but there is only one active member of the Club who is from Musqueam. However, many teenagers from the community attend the monthly dances held by the Club at the Dunsmuir Y.W.C.A. building.

**School Activities.** On the whole, parents are not active in the schools attended by their children. Only one parent belongs to a school Parent Teachers' Association. Parents seldom visit the school, either during an "open house" occasion, or to discuss with a teacher or principal their children's school problems. Most of these parents do not encourage their children to attend school regularly and on time.
CHAPTER VI

MUTUAL SUPPORT

Warren defines this as the function of "providing help in the time of trouble." This type of help is given at times when individual and family crisis present "needs which are not otherwise satisfied in the usual pattern of organized behaviour," for example, illness and economic need, and problems in family social functioning. More and more, this function is being assumed by formally organized special agencies and decreasingly by family, kin and neighbourhood. This is an important change as a community undergoes the "great change" in its economic and social aspects.¹ The organizational network for performing these functions includes both voluntary and public agencies in the health and welfare fields.

The above applies to Indian communities. The Indian of today is no longer able to get adequate assistance from his family alone without the help of formally organized special agencies. There is hardly any great difficulty which can be wholly assigned to a community in isolation from the society of which it is a part. Thus, what is generally thought of as "the Indian problem," is in effect a situation affecting the rest of the Canadian society as a whole. Both the federal and

¹Warren, op. cit., p. 196.
provincial governments and in some cases the municipal government co-operate in some way in giving mutual assistance to Indians.

There are certain formally organized special social systems which perform this function of mutual support. The most important of these systems are: the welfare services and the health services.

**Indian Affairs Branch Relief System**

Although this social system no longer functions in its original form, it is worth mentioning in order to fully understand the new system which now performs this function. The term "relief" as previously used by the Indian Affairs Branch was equivalent to modern social welfare "public assistance." Relief assistance was provided by the Branch,

in order that Indians who are out of work or otherwise unable to provide for themselves may receive the basic necessity of life .... Before: recommending (to the Indian Superintendent), that assistance be given to a Band member, council should make sure that everything has been done by the person's family to meet the need without outside aid. Council should also make sure that the person asking for relief has made an honest attempt to find a job if he or she is capable of working.2

Thus, when the employment social system failed in carrying out its function of production-distribution-consumption, the relief system was made use of to give mutual support to the community, and thereby ensure that the com-

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2Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, A Handbook For Indian Chiefs and Councillors, Ottawa, 1961, pp. 11-12.
munity's social units get goods and services necessary for some degree of social function. In some instances, this type of relief system subjected the receiver to a "work for relief" program, doing any type of job given him by the Band Council in return for what he received. Furthermore, as stated in the above quotation, relief was considered a last resort. The applicant was to first try to make use of family help, and when that failed, he was then considered for relief assistance.

As Table 3 shows, just about a quarter of the Musqueam male labour force has full-time employment. Of this number, several, who are longshoring, receive fluctuating wages according to the number of ships which dock at their place of work. This fluctuation applies to labourers' wages also. The labourer is laid off each time work for which manual labour is needed no longer exists. For instance, the number of labourers needed at the beginning of a building project, when there is need for clearing the area, will not be needed when the construction of the building has passed through its initial phase of laying its foundation. As a result, most of the labourers who are untrained in the use of modern building machinery are eliminated from the working force. The Indian, if he is working with such a group, will very likely be among the number which is retrenched. Besides lacking the necessary training, there is a public stigma of laziness and lack of a sense of time attached to the Indian. This stigma contributes toward many of the stereotypes white employers
Fishing as an occupation has already been discussed in an earlier section of this study. It was then pointed out that, besides being seasonal, to be worthwhile moneywise, present day fishing calls for some modern equipment, such as good nets and a motor boat. It was also discussed that many Indians are not financially able to make good fishermen. Like labouring, lumbering is an occupation which does not guarantee job security. There is much retrenching of workers according to the weather conditions and according to the demand for timber. There is also much shifting of workers from one section of a mill to another. If a worker is unable to make satisfactory adjustment to these conditions, he either leaves or is asked to leave the job. Modern machines are also made use of in the mills, and workers are expected to be able to use them skillfully.

Thus, the Musqueam Indian, who has a very low educational and vocational background, stands very little chance of obtaining and retaining steady employment. It is no wonder about three quarters of the male labour force may at one time or another, during the year, depend on relief assistance.

It is the opinion of the writer that the means test for assistance, which was administered by the Band Council, was not always carried out according to set out policy. The Council could withhold recommending an applicant for relief on purely personal rather than out of policy reasons. This is especially true, when it came to the Council having to
decide whether a certain family should receive a cheque or relief in kind. The Council's policy was to give groceries as assistance to people who have a "drinking problem." Here again, the decision was often inconsistent as far as the definition of a "drinking problem" went. This system was replaced by a new system in January, 1965. We shall now examine the new system.

Social Allowance

On January 1, 1965, the Indian Affairs Branch introduced a new program of public assistance for all Indians on British Columbia Reserves. This new program ended the old "relief" system whereby the married Indian received food allowance, plus clothing, fuel, and rent, as required. The Indians now receive the same amount of assistance as do non-Indians, except for shelter allowance, which may not be paid an Indian applicant, if he is not paying rent. Following is an outline of eligibility for the new Indian Affairs Branch Social Allowance:

**Eligibility For Assistance**

1. Social allowance may be granted to provide necessities for a basic standard of living to a person in need of financial assistance and unable to meet this need in whole or in part by his own efforts or some other income or resource.

2. It may be granted only to persons on an Indian Reserve.

3. In so far as possible the Branch programme will comply with the philosophy, procedures and practices employed by the Provincial Social Welfare Department in the granting of social allowance.

4. Full time earnings are not generally subsidized. Where the application of this regulation will mean
financial hardship for the individual or family exceptions may be made.\textsuperscript{3}

The Branch makes use of the Provincial Social Allowance Guide in determining the rate of assistance to be granted applicants, and allowance may be granted as appropriate to needs of the individual case up to the maximum for the unit. The Branch allows an exemption of twenty dollars a month earned income from the sale of produce and handcraft and from casual and permanent earnings. The shelter portion of the allowance is issued in whole or part where the applicant is paying rent or where he requires assistance to meet the cost of utilities or home upkeep. The administrative aspect of the assistance remains with the Agency Superintendent who has authority to issue assistance up to the maximum allowance for unit seven, that is $211.80. In order to issue assistance above this unit, the Superintendent should obtain authorization from the Regional Office.\textsuperscript{4}

Although cheques are used for payment of assistance, provision is made for grocery orders to be provided on "an emergency basis and in special cases to protect the needs of the family." The unit granted includes all members of a family needing help and living together as a family unit.


\textsuperscript{4}Ibid.
Social allowance may be granted on behalf of a child or children living with a relative, if the child's parents are unable to pay maintenance for the child. Another requirement is that the relative should first request assistance and should provide the child with adequate care and protection. The rate of payment is "dependent on circumstances but should not exceed the unit rate for total support." The Branch hopes that using the relative's home for the child will eliminate the use of the Branch foster home program for children with relatives.\(^5\)

This is indeed a very great improvement made by the Branch. However, there are some problems which may likely arise in the administration of the program. Indian Bands are to contribute toward the program where a Band can afford the money. In many cases, Band Councils still help in administering the means test for eligibility for assistance. A Band Council may decide that too many people on social assistance are draining the Band funds, and it may discourage recommendations to the Agency Superintendent. In such a case, the Branch program is not complying with "the philosophy, procedure and practices employed by the Provincial Social Welfare Department in the granting of social allowance."

Unlike the provincial program, the new Branch program does not say anything about rehabilitation for recipients of assistance. If Indians are to be helped to get steady employ-

\(^5\)Ibid.
ment, there should be provision for rehabilitation. For instance, in Musqueam, there are men who have lived on "relief" for over six years. If nothing much can be done for this group, at least the younger age group could be helped.

Commenting on people who describe the Indians as lazy, as people who have no initiative and do not want to be helped, Mulvihill writes:

The critics forget that the Indians on the majority of the reserve can not lift themselves up from unemployment and poverty. Living in poverty, after a few generations, becomes a way of life. It has its own culture and values. Apathy, school dropouts, unemployment are accepted as normal and the poverty cycle is almost impossible to break. The children have only the image of an adult Indian who is unemployed before their eyes. They think that this is the normal way of life and it is their ideal.

The above description of the Indian is partly true, but many Indian children now have better aspirations than to have as their ideal the unemployed adult. However, these children often get discouraged after they drop out of school and later find life on the Reserve very boring. The Indian Affairs Branch has counselling services for students wishing to take or taking vocational school training and upgrading classes. But for some, there are some difficulties in qualifying for these programs. For example, among other requirements for entering an upgrading course are: the student must be eighteen years old, he must have completed grade nine, he

6 Writer's Recordings, October - December, 1964.

must have been out of school for at least two years, he must be a good student. These requirements may present difficulties for certain school dropouts wishing to continue their education. There is the case of A. in Musqueam:

A. is a seventeen year old Indian girl living at home in Musqueam. She had completed grade eight before she dropped out of school two years ago. In the 1964-1965 school year, she became interested in school upgrading courses, but because of the age and grade requirements which she lacked, she was not even seen by a Branch school counsellor to discuss her feelings with her.  

If Musqueam is looked at closely, it will be found that not many men there would qualify for entrance into the Vancouver Vocational School. These unemployed middle-aged men lack the educational background to benefit from the School. At the same time, something should be done for this large number of men and women who lack the qualification for entering a vocational or upgrading school. There should be services intended to reduce or prevent the damaging effects that dependence on public assistance has for families and family members. Professional social work services are needed in order to make such reduction or prevention. At present, the Branch has only one social worker who acts as liaison officer between the Branch and provincial welfare agencies giving services to Indians in the province.

Thus, if the new system is to perform its function under mutual support adequately, there is need to accompany material assistance with preventive as well as rehabilitative...
Social Insurance

This system is also one of those performing the function of "mutual support" in the community. The broad social security programs of both provincial and federal governments include all Indians. Indians seventy years and over are covered under the Old Age Security Act of 1952, as are other Canadians who have had ten years' residence in Canada. Indians under seventy but over sixty-five years of age are also eligible for old age assistance on a means test basis.\(^9\) In Musqueam, there are three Indians who are receiving old age security, and two who are on old age assistance. The amount of grant received in each category is $75.00 per month. Indians in these categories may also qualify for the supplementary allowance.

Workmen's Compensation

The performance of the function of "mutual support" by this system is limited. All Indians are covered by Workmen's Compensation on the same basis as are any other workmen. As mentioned earlier, under the discussion on employment, the problem here is that Indian labour is less employed than non-Indian labour. Furthermore, the work Indians pursue, because of their low level of education and other social factors, tends to limit them to occupations which are not

\(^9\)Toren, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
covered by Workmen's Compensation or unemployment insurance. Thus, the value of these programs to the Indians is limited at present.10

This is especially true for a community such as Musqueam wherein only about twenty-five percent of the male labour force is fully employed. Even Indians with employment are for the most part not covered by either Workmen's Compensation or unemployment insurance. There are only two workers who are in some way covered by some type of unemployment insurance.

Health Services

This is one of the most important social systems for the performance of mutual support function in the community. The federal government has assumed what is normally a provincial responsibility in providing the Indians with health and welfare services, and there is a growing trend to obtain these services by contract from the existing provincial agencies. Medical services for Indians on Reserves and for those who have lived off the Reserves for less than a year, are the responsibility of the Indian and Northern Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare working in co-operation with the Indian Affairs Branch.11

There are two sub-systems under this social system

10Ibid.
11Duff, op. cit., pp. 73-74.
in Musqueam: (1) The Indian and Northern Health Services and (2) The Vancouver Metropolitan Public Health Services.

The Indian and Northern Health Services. There is only one family in Musqueam which has a private medical plan. The rest of the families make use of the Indian and Northern Health Services Health Clinic, which is located in the Immigration Building and local hospitals.

At the Health Clinic, the Indians get the same services offered non-Indians. Medical services are free at the Clinic. Besides providing out-patient services, the Clinic also provides referral services to the St. Paul's Hospital and to the Vancouver General Hospital, Children's Social Services Department. The Clinic was moved two years ago from Fraser Street to its present location in the Immigration Building at the foot of Burrard Street. When this change occurred, none of the Musqueam families made use of the Clinic for several months. Although there has been improvement since, there are still some families in need of health services who do not make use of the services of the Clinic.

There are certain problems which arise in the function of this sub-system. It is reported by nurses interviewed, that some families sometimes go directly to the St. Paul's Hospital for out-patient treatment, when according to regulations, they should go to the Clinic first. When this happens, the Hospital usually phones the Clinic and refers the patient to it. Sometimes, even though he has gone thus far in search of medical treatment, a patient would at this
point of referral decide to return to Musqueam without going to the Clinic for the needed treatment. This was the case with Mr. S:

In November, while on fieldwork visits, three people in the community reported to the writer that there was a seriously sick man at a particular home. The writer saw Mr. S, who seemed quite ill and was apparently having breathing problem. She advised him to go to the Clinic for a check up, which he promised to do the following day. Four days later, the Clinic informed the writer that Mr. S had gone straight to the St. Paul's Hospital, and that when the Hospital referred him to the Clinic, he promised to go there immediately, but that he never reached the Clinic.12

Many families also find it rather difficult keeping appointments with personnel at the Clinic. Dental problems are perhaps the worst of all these health problems. Even when the Clinic was at Fraser Street, and there was a dentist a block away, to whom the Clinic referred Indian patients, many Indians did not make use of such referrals. Apparently, there is a lack of understanding of dental hygiene and fear of the dentist. Furthermore, public dental services still have much to be desired. If the Indian had money to choose his dentist, then he might be able to feel more relaxed in a dental office, which was well equipped and where the Indian would not have to be in a line waiting to be seen, as is often the case of public dental services, such as those offered in a school.

In Musqueam, there were five families with problems in making use of the health services for Musqueam Indians.

This number covers only services of the Clinic known to the writer. Most of these problems have arisen mainly from poor housekeeping standards and from inadequate child rearing practices.¹³

**Metropolitan Public Health Services.** This is the second sub-system under Health Services. Some of the Vancouver Metropolitan Public Health Services are extended to the Musqueam Indians. The Medical Services Division of the Department of Health and Welfare reimburses the province for the cost of those services offered. Unit number two of the Vancouver Metropolitan Public Health Division is responsible for Musqueam.

Every third Thursday of the month, from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m., a well-baby clinic is held on the Reserve in the community hall. The clinic team consists of one Public Health doctor and three public health nurses. Mothers in the community know of these services offered by the team, and the team expects them to use their initiative and interest in cooperating with the team. The service is for all Musqueam inhabitants whether the mothers belong to the Band or not. The children are checked and weighed by the team, and those who need vaccination and innoculation are given that treatment. There is not always a large number of mothers attending the Clinic at any one day. The average attendance is about seven. A few mothers forget the time for the Clinic, and sometimes they go to the community hall on the wrong Thursday.

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However, public health nurses have observed some improvement in this aspect.

The Clinic team expressed the feeling that it finds it very difficult to get across to mothers the importance of seeing that their children are taken to the Clinic at the right time for the innoculations and vaccinations the children are scheduled to receive. Sometimes, the next shot is due on a day before the next Clinic day. This means that the child should be taken to the Kerrisdale Community Centre for the shot, but mothers forget to do this.

One of the nurses in the team is also school nurse for the Southlands Elementary School, which has the largest number of Musqueam school children. Thus, she knows families which present difficulties in making use of health facilities, and occasionally, she makes home visits to families who happen to have sick children at home.

The writer found that there were two families who were hostile to the Clinic team, because the team sometimes informed the Catholic Children's Aid Society about certain family cases wherein there was apparent child neglect.

Under an agreement between the Indian Affairs Branch and the City of Vancouver, once a week, garbage is collected from Musqueam by the city sanitation workers. The city is then reimbursed for this service by money from Band funds. As already mentioned under the discussion on housing conditions, there are no sanitation regulations enforced on the
Reserve. For certain contagious diseases, such as tuberculosis and venereal diseases, there are provisions for compulsory treatment. The residents of nine homes have to carry their water from water taps outside the homes. From October, 1964, to April, 1965, there were frequent cases of diarrhoea among babies. Four babies were hospitalized because of this problem. Three of these cases were from families with health problems and poor housekeeping standards. During that period, there were three members in one family who had had tuberculosis, and one in another family who has active tuberculosis. These patients are required to get a yearly medical check-up at one of the three hospitals operated by the Indian and Northern Health Services.

Child Welfare Services

The Province of British Columbia Child Welfare program, which involves the protection of children, services to unmarried parents, adoptions and foster care, is available to the Indians of the province.

Finding adoption and foster homes for Indian children is more difficult than it is for white children. This is especially true when both parents are Indians. On the average, Indian families are very large, and as such, it is almost impossible to find Indian foster or adoption homes. In 1961, the fertility rate was eight children for the Indian family, and 3.9 for the non-Indian family.\(^\text{14}\) It is also very

\(^{14}\) Indian Affairs Branch, A Report on Social Welfare
difficult to get a white couple wanting to adopt an Indian child. However, conditions are now improving. For instance, of the sixty-seven adoption placements of non-white children during the 1963-1964 fiscal year, thirty-eight were mixed native Indian and white, and one was a native Indian. These figures cover all adoptions carried by the Department of Social Welfare.¹⁵

Many times the only Indian homes which accept children on this placement are not always the best type of Indian homes, but since there are no others wanting to accept these children, the tendency has been to work with such homes. The Indian has also developed an informal type of foster home program, whereby children are passed from one relative to another. It is reported by a few social workers that some white parents are afraid to adopt Indian children, because most Indian children have a poor health history and also because of social reasons, such as what the neighbours will say, and how well they will accept the child. Many children in residential schools should very likely be in foster homes.

Another problem in Indian child welfare is the conflict encountered in deciding the status of the child of an unmarried Indian mother, but whose father has white status.

An illegitimate Indian child takes the status of his mother, but the Band Council has the opportunity of protesting the child's membership. If the Council can supply proof that the father of the child is white, then the protest could be approved and the child's name taken off the Band list. However, the Indian mother who wishes to keep such a child will often conceal the identity of the putative father in order to give the child her status. "It is not uncommon to see children who have all the physical appearances of being white sharing the life of the Indian people."16

The Musqueam Indian families make use of the services provided by the Vancouver Children's Aid Society and the Catholic Children's Aid Society in Vancouver, under the Children's Protection Act of 1901. Non-Catholic families make use of the former, while Catholics make use of the latter. The Vancouver Children's Aid Society also serves Catholics who ask their help.

Unmarried mothers in the community are referred to these two agencies by various sources: the Roman Catholic and the United Church priests, the Vancouver General Hospital and the St. Paul's Hospital. For the year 1964, there were two unmarried mothers in Musqueam. Both mothers have their babies at home. For one of these unmarried mothers, the present child is her third illegitimate child, while for the other, the present is her second. The former released her

16Toren, op. cit., p. 51.
second for adoption.

Where unmarried mothers are referred to the agencies before the arrival of the baby, the agencies provide counselling services. The unmarried mothers are also helped to plan to live in maternity homes or wage homes, while they are waiting for the baby's arrival. Where possible, the putative father is also given counselling. But it is often almost impossible to have an Indian unmarried mother reveal who the putative father of her child is, especially if he is non-Indian. More often than not, the Indian unmarried mother either shows passive resistance or is evasive of the services offered her. Sometimes, an Indian may leave a baby in the hospital or with a child welfare agency without either signing papers releasing the child for adoption, or enquiring after his welfare. An example of this type of behaviour took place in Musqueam:

This unmarried mother left her child with one of the Children's Aid Societies without signing the legal documents releasing the child for adoption. For months, she made no enquiry about the welfare of her child. Meanwhile, the agency in question tried to get in touch with her by home visits, with no success. Apparently, she was in the community, but everyone there conspired to inform the agency that she was not there. After repeated efforts, the social worker finally caught up with her, when during one of the usual visits at the client's home, the door was opened by the unsuspecting client.17

In the above case, the client and the community did not seem to understand the role of the social worker. The client did not want to give up her child for adoption, and

17Writer's Recording, 22nd February, 1965.
yet she was afraid she would hurt the worker, if she refused to sign the documents releasing the child for adoption. Furthermore, the community's conception of social workers has unfortunately been that of people taking away babies for adoption.

There is only one foster home in Musqueam. The foster mother is aunt of the foster children, who are four in number. The natural parents of the children are non-Musqueam Indian residents. From the writer's observation, the foster home is one of those with the poorest housekeeping standards on the Reserve. However, as the foster parents are the only Musqueam couple without children of their own, they are able to foster those children.

Protection

There have been no protection cases as such at Musqueam. On the other hand, the children's agencies and public welfare agencies do treat this community differently because of various factors. One of these is the fact that some children needing foster home care are sent to residential schools, because of the lack of foster homes for placing Indian children. As already indicated under the discussion on the School System, there are ten Musqueam children attending residential schools for the 1964-1965 academic year. Another factor is the fact that a children's agency would not apprehend Musqueam children who are living with old grandparents, on the premise that this is part of the Indian culture, and as long
as there is no evidence of cruelty being suffered by the children. The same thing happening in a non-Indian family might lead to a case for apprehension of the children by the same agency. A further reason for Musqueam's low rate in this service is due to the fact that, by and large, Indians who are given this particular service are Indians who have come to the city from the interior of the province, and who for one reason or another have got stranded or are arrested by the police for a crime they have committed.  

Summary

The family, which had been the main system in performing the function of mutual support can no longer cope adequately with the new problems which have been brought about by the "great change" in the community's social and economic aspects. The two main systems which now perform this function in Musqueam are (1) Health Services, and (2) Welfare Services.

Under the Health Services are two sub-systems: (a) The Indian and Northern Health Services Clinic, and (b) The Metropolitan Public Health Services.

Indian and Northern Health Services Clinic. This is a federal government service under the Department of National Health and Welfare. There is only one family in Musqueam which has a private medical plan. The rest of the families make use of medical facilities provided by the Indian and

Northern Health Services Clinic and facilities in local hospitals in Vancouver city. Services received at the Clinic are the same as those offered non-Indians.

**Metropolitan Public Health Services.** The Vancouver Metropolitan Public Health Division, Unit Two, is responsible for holding a monthly "Well-baby Clinic" on the Musqueam Reserve. The Indian Affairs Branch reimburses the province for the cost of these services offered the community. Musqueam families can also make use of public health services at the Kerrisdale Community Centre which houses all Unit Two nurses' and doctors' offices. On the average, the mothers make good use of the "Well-baby Clinic," but they are not keen on going to Kerrisdale for services needed in between Clinic days.

Under the Welfare Services are these sub-systems: (a) Social Allowance, (b) Child Welfare Services, (c) Social Insurance, and (d) Workmen's Compensation.

**Social Allowance.** This is the new system which has replaced the old Band Relief System, whereby the Indian received "relief" at a much lower rate than did the non-Indian under public assistance. Under the new system, Indians are now eligible to receive the same rate of assistance granted to non-Indians, except for the shelter allowance, which may not be paid an Indian applicant who does not pay rent. In Musqueam, the Band Council still administers the eligibility test for assistance, as it did under the old "relief" system.
Since the Band is expected, where possible, to contribute toward the maintenance of this system, in their desire to save money for other community projects, the Council may very well discourage social assistance recommendations from reaching the Superintendent.

The new system does not say anything about accompanying material assistance with rehabilitative and preventive measures. Unlike the provincial program, the Branch program has no social worker involved in the operation of the system, thus making it impossible for the Branch "to comply with the philosophy, procedure and practices employed by the Provincial Social Welfare Department in the granting of social allowance."

**Child Welfare Services.** Musqueam's child welfare program is directly under the city's two children's aid societies: the Vancouver Children's Aid and the Catholic Children's Aid Societies. Indians receive the same services as do non-Indians. However, because of cultural and socio-economic differences, the Indian experiences more difficulties in making use of these child welfare services than do the non-Indian. There has not always been a good working relationship between the Indian client and the social worker. Many times the former views the latter as an authoritarian. However, a progressive relationship between the two is gradually developing.

**Social Insurance.** The broad social security of both the provincial and federal governments includes all Indians.
Indian children living at home get family allowance. In Musqueam there are three Indians who are receiving old age security and two who are on old age assistance.

Workmen's Compensation. This system performs the function of mutual support on a very small scale in Musqueam, because not all workers are covered by this system. Very often the unskilled worker who needs coverage most is not covered by this system. Only about two of the employed in Musqueam are covered by some type of workmen's compensation or unemployment benefit.
CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Although in this study the term system is used, it is important to indicate that each system is, in turn, a sub-system of a larger system. These larger systems are characteristically identified with the local community (horizontal pattern) and/or the extra-community (vertical pattern).

Ultimately, any attempt to change the community functions will involve changes in systematic relationships. Figure 3 shows the relationship between the sub-systems and major systems operating in Musqueam and the patterns of control over these systems.

Figure 4 shows the horizontal and vertical patterns of the community as of February, 1965. The horizontal pattern represents the structural and functional relation of Musqueam’s various social units and sub-systems to each other. The vertical pattern is the structural and functional relation of its various social units and sub-systems to extra-community systems. As can be seen, all the community's major systems are vertical. The figure shows all the community's twenty social units and sub-systems in a graphic.
### Figure 3

<table>
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<th>Sub-System</th>
<th>Major System</th>
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<th>Vertical pattern</th>
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## Figure 3 (continued)

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<td>Workmen's Compensation</td>
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Relationship between sub-systems and major systems, and their pattern of control

* "Branch" refers to Indian Affairs Branch.

X Shows pattern of control of social system.
Figure 4

Horizontal and Vertical Patterns,
February, 1965.
arrangement. The stronger the horizontal pattern of a social unit or sub-system, the weaker its vertical pattern, and vice versa.

Of the twenty social units and subsystems shown, the Spirit Dances have the strongest horizontal pattern. Moving downward from this system and across toward the vertical pattern side of the figure, the horizontal pattern becomes weaker and weaker until the last two systems are reached (Federal and Provincial Law, and the Stores, Banks, Post Office, Theatres, etc.), which have the weakest horizontal pattern. The possible significance of this configuration of horizontal and vertical patterns has relevance to Warren's view that community development is concerned with strengthening the community's horizontal pattern.²

**The Four Dimensions**

So far, the discussion has been a description of the different social systems which are involved in the performance of Musqueam's five major functions of locality-relevance. In this section, there will be recapitulation of material already discussed, but only as it has bearing on evaluating the relative strengths and weaknesses of each social system. For the purpose of analysis, the writer will make use of the four dimensions mentioned earlier, which Warren suggests are responsible for differences found among communities. These dimensions could be related to general statements applicable

²Ibid., pp. 323-327.
to all communities, despite the differences that exist from one community to another.\(^3\) Each social system in the Musqueam community has been located at a particular point along each of the four dimensions. The four dimensions which will be used are: (1) Autonomy, (2) coincidence of service areas, (3) psychological identification with locality, and (4) horizontal pattern.

In "locating" a social system at a particular point along the dimension of Autonomy, the focus is on the extent to which the system is dependent on or independent of extra-community systems in the performance of the five functions.

In the dimension of the coincidence of service areas, emphasis is on the extent to which the service areas of the social systems coincide or fail to coincide. At one extreme of the dimension, the service areas coincide. This indicates that everyone "within the community service-area boundary is served by institutions from the same community." At the other extreme, the service areas differ. Here the community's social systems lack a common geographic centre of community activities, and they likewise lack a common geographic location of service.\(^4\)

The third dimension - the extent of psychological identification with the locality - also has two extremes. At one end are "located" social systems which have a strong sense of "belonging" to the locality and at the other are

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 12. \(^4\)Ibid., p. 13.
those which have little or no sense of local identification. The last of the dimensions, the horizontal pattern, is the structural and functional relation of various sub-systems and social systems to each other. A community's "sentiments, behaviour patterns, and social systematic inter-connections of the horizontal pattern" may be strong or weak.\footnote{Ibid.}

Judgements as to which particular position along the dimensions a social system is located are made by the writer. As much as possible, indication has been given, explaining why a system is located at a particular point.

**Production-Distribution-Consumption**

Figure 5 shows the location of the three systems which perform this function, at particular points along the four dimensions.

**Employment.** This social system is strong vertically, but weak horizontally. There are no industries and no continuous types of employment of any kind in Musqueam. The only jobs to be obtained there are seasonal - such as helping with the erection of buildings on the Reserve. However, since only one home is built by the Band every year, and since the Indians themselves can do only the non-technical part of the job, it is obvious that the community has no independence in this social system. Workers go to various service areas of extra-community systems in order to get employment.
Figure 5

Local autonomy: Independent (3)  (1)  (2)  Dependent

Coincidence of service Coincide (3)  (1)  (2)  Differ

areas: J 1 1 1 1

Psychological identification with Strong (3)  (1)  (2)  Weak

locality: J 1 1 1 1

Horizontal pattern: Strong (3)  (1)  (2)  Weak

J 1 1 1 1

Production-distribution-consumption

Systems analysed: (1) Employment
(2) Indian Affairs Branch Vocational Training and Placement Programme
(3) Band Funds and British Columbia Indian Special Funds
There is a weak psychological identification of this system in the community, because most of those adults who stay on the Reserve regularly are either unemployed or underemployed, and have to depend on social assistance. The horizontal pattern of this system is weak. As already indicated above, the only employment available on the Reserve is of a short-term nature. There is no strong control of the system within the local community; control is wholly done by the extra-community.

**Band Funds and British Columbia Indian Special Funds.** Of the three systems under this major function of locality-relevance, the Band Funds and British Columbia Indian Special Funds are most related to the Musqueam community. It is almost independent from the vertical pattern, in that the local community decides on how these funds are to be used. Although this system does not quite coincide in its service areas; there is a strong psychological identification of it with the locality. Through it, community projects are carried, and the members of the community really feel that the funds belong to them. Nevertheless, the use of any of these funds has to be permitted by the Indian Affairs Branch which is entrusted with the keeping of the funds. These provide the main revenue of the Band.

The horizontal pattern of this system is strong. The funds are used for social assistance, for improving the Reserve, and sometimes for yearly distributions of money per capita basis.
Indian Affairs Branch Vocational and Placement Program. Musqueam has no control over this system. It is in the extra-community that this control is located, and authority flows from above to the local community. There are at present one adult and two teenagers from Musqueam who are attending the Vancouver Vocational School. There is also one boy in the British Columbia Institute of Technology in Burnaby.

There is no coincidence of the service areas of this system. As already mentioned above, three students are in one school and one is in another. Both areas are outside Musqueam, and the local community identifies them with the locality only in a very weak manner. The horizontal pattern of the system is likewise very weak. It has no direct connection with any social system in Musqueam.

Socialization

Figure 6 shows at particular points along the four dimensions, the location of the three chief social systems involved in the performance of the socialization function in Musqueam.

The Family. This system is not fully independent of extra-community influences. As has been mentioned earlier in discussing this major function of socialization, Musqueam children meet non-Indians in the city schools and are influenced by non-Indian values. On the Reserve, most Indian parents stand for Indian values, and they are anxious to have their children conform to the local norms. Thus a conflict
Figure 6

Local autonomy: Independent

Coincidence of service areas: Coincide

Psychological identification with locality: Strong

Horizontal pattern: Strong

Socialization

Systems analysed: (1) The Family
(2) The School
(3) Religious – Roman Catholic Church
arises for the children as they endeavour to conform to both cultures.

Not all Musqueam Band members live in the local community. There is an increasing rate of mobility taking place. For example, for the year 1961, there were ten Band members living off Musqueam, for 1962, there were thirty-three, and for 1964, there were sixty-four. These are members who are still in the Band list, hence they are full-fledged members of the Band. Because of this mobility, there is no complete coincidence of areas or localities where Musqueam's function of socialization takes place. However, for the majority of families who stay on the Reserve, there is coincidence of these areas.

Psychological identification with the locality by the family is getting rather weak, and it is very probable that this weakness will continue as long as changes keep on occurring in other social systems of the community. The horizontal pattern of this system is strong. Most of the factions which exist in the community are on familiar patterns, and one can influence others according to the familial faction in which one belongs.

The School. In both sub-systems - residential and integrated - Musqueam depends on extra-community agents to

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6Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, British Columbia Regional Office of Indian Affairs Branch, Report on Indian Population.

7Writer's Socio-economic Survey.
perform this special function of socialization for the locality. Parents choose the type of schools they want their children to attend, but they have no say on the administrative side of the process. The school boards, principals and teachers of the schools are the people who are actually engaged in carrying out this process with the children.

The service areas of this system differ. There are Musqueam children in residential and integrated schools, in public and private schools, and in primary and secondary schools. Each of these schools is outside the community, in a different community setting.

The sub-systems under the school system are not psychologically identified with the locality of Musqueam. In the thinking of the average Indian, these sub-systems are as far removed in feeling as they are in physical location. To him, they belong to the white man.

As shown in Table 7, there is a large incident of school dropouts in Musqueam. This tends to weaken the horizontal pattern of the school system, and of the three systems which perform the function of socialization, the school is the least recognized in the community.

Religious - The Roman Catholic Church. Although the Musqueam Roman Catholic Church is financially sponsored by funds from the Band, the community does not have complete autonomy over it. Members of this Church still have to receive

8See Table 5, page 41.
authority from the Mother Church through the Priest, who is appointed from the extra-community.

The areas of service for this system fairly coincide - all Band members attending church services on a certain Sunday normally worship in the local Church. Although members of the Church are irregular in attending services, there is a strong degree of psychological identification of this system with the locality. The people in the community feel the Church is theirs, and rightly so, for Band funds were involved in building and insuring it. However, the horizontal pattern of this system is not as strong as is its psychological identification with the locality. Attendance to services by Church members is very irregular.

Social Control

Figure 7 gives the positions on the four dimensions of the four social systems which perform the function of social control in Musqueam. Informal systems of social control have not been included for the simple reason that these are disappearing fast, due to the influence of outside forces, which have brought about change in the auspices providing the services for this function.

Indian Affairs Branch. This is one of the systems which are dependent on the extra-community in the performing of the function of social control. Although this system is connected with the Band Council system, Musqueam has a very little degree of say in its operation. There are certain
Figure 7

Local autonomy:

Independent  (3) (2) (1) (4) Dependent

Coincidence of service areas:

Coincide  (2) (3) (1) (4) Differ

Psychological identification with locality:

Strong  (2) (3) (1) (4) Weak

Horizontal pattern:

Strong  (2) (3) (1) (4) Weak

Social Control

Systems analysed: (1) Indian Affairs Branch
(2) Band Council
(3) Land Tenure and Housing
(4) Federal-Provincial Law
areas wherein this system has to take into consideration the consent of the Band, when making certain decisions for the Indians, but in the final analysis, the Indian Affairs Branch always has final say. This system implements policy which originates from Ottawa through the Regional Commissioner's Office. In the case of Musqueam, the direct representative of this system is the Fraser Agency office, under which all the community's administration is controlled.

The service areas of this system differ, although not widely. The Agency office is in one building, but the Regional office is in a separate building. However, these buildings are not too far apart. The community does not psychologically identify this system with the locality. To many people in the community, the physical distance from the Reserve to the office building creates a similar psychological distance. There are not many of them who like the idea of going to the office, except when it is absolutely necessary.

The horizontal pattern of this system is weak. As indicated earlier, in the discussion of the Band Council, under the function of "Social Control," the Band Council helps in implementing Branch policy, but the Branch has veto powers over Council decisions.

The Band Council. This is the local government system of the community. The Council itself has very little independence as far as local autonomy is concerned. It can pass only those by-laws that do not interfere with federal, provincial and municipal laws. The Fraser Agency Superintendent has a
veto power over decisions of the Council. The Council has only as much authority as is delegated to it by the Branch.

According to the rules and regulations governing the election of the Band Council, candidates for the positions of chief and councillors should be residents of the community for which they are running election. This makes possible the coincidence of service areas of the Council. The chief and three councillors all live in Musqueam.

Although there are few Band members who feel that the Council does not meet as often as it is supposed to, this social system is very much identified with Musqueam. The community realizes that this system is wholly for their service. However, the psychological identification does not quite correspond with its horizontal pattern. It is true that this system has major functions, such as introducing resolutions at Band meetings, planning the Band’s annual budget, administering means tests for eligibility for social assistance, and calling Band meetings. Nevertheless, the Council lacks authority which is usually given municipal governments. That is, it lacks the power to levy taxes on community members.

Land Tenure and Housing. The community cannot use the Reserve land as it thinks fit, without the permission of the Branch. Decision making as to how a piece of land is to be put into use is shared between the Band and Branch. This is likewise true of housing - the Band decides which family is eligible for a new home. The Council then makes a recommendation in the form of a resolution to the Band and Branch for
the chosen family to have the annual grant for a home.

The area of service for the function of this system coincides for housing. All homes are built on the Marine Drive land, but not all lands owned by the Band are in the same area. There are two separate pieces of land which belong to the Band: the Musqueam area and the Sea Island piece of land. There is an average psychological identification of the land and houses with the locality. The community realises that the houses belong to the Musqueam Band Indians, as long as they remain members of the Band. However, no home or land can be sold to outsiders. On the average, the horizontal pattern of this social system is fairly weak, due to the strong vertical pattern over decisions on the way land is to be made use of by the Band.

The Federal-Provincial Law. Like the Indian Affairs Branch, this system is vertical in authority, but it is binding to the Musqueam Indians. This system applies to Indians as equally as it does to non-Indians, except in the case of land problems. Whereas non-Reserve land can be legally seized, Indian Reserve land cannot be seized. The areas under which this system operates do not coincide. There are different laws passed by each level of government - federal and provincial. What may not be violation of a law in Musqueam, may be a criminal or civil offence in the city of Vancouver. For instance, impaired driving could go on on the Reserve without the driver running the risk of being arrested, but doing this in the city, this would be a great risk to the driver.
The psychological identification of this system with the local community is very weak. It is very probable that many Indians live in Musqueam most of the time "to stay out of trouble" with the provincial police and the R.C.M.P. This system is very weak in its horizontal pattern. It is imposed on the community from outside.

Social Participation

Figure 8 indicates at particular points along the four dimensions the location of the seven social systems, which are involved in the performance of the function of social participation in Musqueam.

The Church. As already mentioned under the discussion on Socialization, the Roman Catholic Church in Musqueam is not fully autonomous. Decision-making affecting the Church comes from the Bishop, under whose diocese Musqueam is placed. For example, permission for non-Catholic Band members to use the Church building for special non-Catholic ceremonies had to be granted the Band by the Bishop. The area of service for this system does not differ, as all practising Catholics attend services held in this Church.

Psychological identification of the system with the locality is weak. Many families, who claim to be Catholics, do not participate in the religious services held in the Church. The horizontal pattern of this social system in performing the function of social participation is fairly strong. The system is sometimes connected with other social systems
Figure 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local autonomy:</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>(2) (4) (5) (3) (7)</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>1 1 1 1 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coincidence of service areas:</td>
<td>Coincide</td>
<td>(4) (6) (2) (5) (1) (3) (7)</td>
<td>Differ</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological identification with locality:</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>(4) (2) (5) (1) (3) (7)</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal pattern:</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>(4) (1) (5) (2) (3) (6) (7)</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Participation

Systems analysed: (1) The Church (2) Homemakers' Club (3) Vancouver Friendship Centre (4) Spirit Dances (5) Y.M.C.A. Fun Club (6) Y.W.C.A. Indian Youth Club (7) The School
such as the Homemakers' Club, which functions best during the Christmas season.

**Homemakers' Club.** Although this social system is officially recognized by the Indian Affairs Branch as part of community organization among Indians on the Reserves, it is independent of the Indian Affairs Branch. This system operates at the initiative of the Indian women. The service area of this system is Musqueam itself, hence there is coincidence shown along the dimension for "Coincidence of Service Areas."

The psychological identification of this social system with Musqueam is fairly strong. Despite the fact that this system has had its difficult times, it has always managed to survive from one passive season to an active one. Its horizontal pattern is not quite strong. Many groups, especially those of the older generation, do not participate in the activities of this system.

**Vancouver Friendship Centre.** This is an extra-community social system, and despite the fact that one of the Centre's board members was a Musqueam Band member, the community itself has no say in the operation of this system. There is only one building which houses most of the services offered by the Centre. Therefore, the service areas of this system do not differ much.

Psychological identification of the Centre with Musqueam is weak. Except for the teenagers, not many adults even visit the Centre to find out what goes on there. Not
many of the older generation know about the existence of this system. The horizontal pattern of this system is likewise weak. Even parents who, at the opening of the Centre, had permitted their children to visit it, are now apprehensive in having them attend. This, they say, is because of the drinking which allegedly is going on among teenagers who frequently go to the Centre.

**Spirit Dances.** Except for Indian dancers from other Indian Reserves who come to Musqueam at the dance season, this system is totally independent of any outside influence of authority. There is coincidence of service area in this system. All the ceremonies take place in the local community.

The psychological identification of this social system with the locality is strong. This is thought to be one of the very few traditions which the white man has not interfered much with. For the most part, participation is strictly restricted. The horizontal pattern is not as strong as the community's psychological identification of the system, for although the community feels very strongly that this system is traditional to Musqueam, to many of the younger generation this system does not offer the Indian much in western society.

**The Y.M.C.A. Fun Club.** There is shared authority over the function of this social system in Musqueam. The community finances major expenses incurred by the Club and the Y.M.C.A. provides the group worker for the Club. Therefore, the community has average local independence of this system in
Musqueam. The service areas of this system coincide. The Y.M.C.A. Alma Branch has always provided this service on a shared basis with the community.

There is an average feeling of psychological identification of the system with the locality. Most of the Club activities take place in the locality. The horizontal pattern of this system is fairly strong. For example, the Band Council system passes resolutions to appropriate money to assist the function of the Club.

Y.W.C.A. Indian Youth Club. This system is in the extra-community and it is totally independent of the local community. Authority over the system is with the Y.W.C.A. main branch in Dunsmuir Street. There is coincidence in the service areas of this social system. The program operated under this system is sponsored and arranged by the same branch. However, members of the Club have the opportunity to work with the Y.W.C.A. staff member in preparing the program.

The system is not psychologically identified with the local community in Musqueam. Only one girl from the community is an active member of the Club. The rest of the teenagers, who show interest in it, only join the Club members at the monthly dances. Likewise, the horizontal pattern of the system is weak. Except for the monthly dances, many people in the community are not aware of the program of the Club.

The School. This system has been dealt with under the function of Socialization. However, we shall again briefly examine it under Social Participation.
The community has no say on matters pertaining to school activities. Except for one parent who belongs to one of the school's Parent Teachers' Associations, parents do not participate in school activities. As shown in Table 5, there are six different types of school attended by students from the community. This makes the service areas of the system to differ.

None of the schools is located in the local community, and school activities are not psychologically identified with the community. The local community feels the schools belong to the white man, who operates them as he likes. The system's horizontal pattern is weak. Since the disintegration of the study group, organized in the 1963-1964 school year, there has been no organization in the community which is directly connected with school activities.

**Mutual Support**

Figure 9 shows the position at various points along the four dimensions of the five sub-systems which perform the function of mutual support in Musqueam. These sub-systems are under the two main systems of Health and Welfare Services.

**Indian and Northern Health Services Clinic.** This social system is under the control of the federal government. Musqueam makes use of its services, but all decision-making concerning the operation of the system is done wholly by the federal government. Therefore, Musqueam has no autonomy over it. The Clinic makes referrals to local hospitals and to
Local autonomy: Independent (2a) (1b) (1a) Dependent (2d) (2c) (2b)

Coincidence of service areas: Coincide (2c) (1b) (2a) (1a) (2d) Differ (2b)

Psychological identification with locality: Strong (2a) (2d) (2c) (1b) (1a) (2b) Weak

Horizontal pattern: Strong (2a) (1b) (2c) (1a) Weak (2d) (2b)

Mutual Support

Systems analysed: (1) Health Services:
(a) Indian and Northern Health Services
(b) The Metropolitan Public Health Services
(2) Welfare Services
(a) Social Assistance
(b) Child Welfare
(c) Social Insurance
(d) Workmen's Compensation
dentists. This makes it impossible to have all the services in one geographical area, hence there is no coincidence in these areas.

There is a weak psychological identification of the system with the local community. This is partly due to the fact that the services of the system are found a long distance away from Musqueam, and partly, because the Band itself does not contribute financially toward the operation costs of the services. The horizontal pattern of the system is weak. There are some families in the community who could benefit from making use of the facilities offered by this system, but who do not do so.

The Metropolitan Public Health Services. The main service given by this system is the operation of a monthly Well-baby Clinic in Musqueam. The Band has no control or authority over this system. It is dependent on an extra-community setting which makes it available to the local community. The Clinic is held by the Metropolitan Public Health Staff members of Unit Two. It is always held in Musqueam, hence the service areas coincide.

There is a fairly strong psychological identification of this system with the locality. Because the Clinic is always held on the Reserve, it gives the families in the community the feeling of owning the services. The horizontal pattern of the system is not as strong as is the psychological identification of the system with the locality. There are still instances wherein mothers forget when the next Clinic day is,
and when to take their babies for the next inoculation or vaccination.

**Social Allowance.** This system performs a very important task in the local community's function of mutual support. It is a social system equivalent to the public assistance program of the British Columbia Department of Social Welfare. There is a high degree of local autonomy in the function of this system. It has already been mentioned under several discussions in this study, that the Band Council, which is the local government of the local community, has the responsibility of determining eligibility of applicants for social assistance. The Council also recommends to the Superintendent of the Fraser Agency that a certain applicant is or is not eligible for assistance. However, the Superintendent has the authority to deny assistance, if, in his opinion, the applicant is not eligible for assistance. There is coincidence in the function of service areas in this system. All recipients of assistance get the money cheque or food voucher from the Fraser Agency, or it is sent to them through the post.

Psychological identification of this system with the local community is strong. This is due mainly to the fact that the Band contributes financially toward the operation costs of this system. The Band Council is, therefore, very careful in administering means tests for eligibility for assistance. It feels that, since Band funds are involved in the operation, the system belongs to the local community as much as it belongs to the Indian Affairs Branch. The hori-
zontal pattern of this system is likewise strong. As indicated above, working with this system is part of the responsibility of the Band Council. This system is also connected with community projects wherein recipients of assistance are assigned work in the project.

**Child Welfare Program.** There is no local autonomy over this system. The program is wholly administered in the extra-community and the local community is dependent on outside forces for the full operation of the system. The service areas of this system differ. Catholic families get their services from the Catholic Children's Aid Society which is located on Robson Street, and non-Catholic families get similar services from the Vancouver Children's Aid Society on Tenth Avenue.

Psychological identification of this system with the local community is weak. Although the worker-client relationship is gradually improving, most families in the locality have a stereotype image of the social worker as an extra-community authoritarian who sometimes takes babies away from Musqueam. The horizontal pattern of the system is also weak. There is no other system which is directly connected with it in the local community.

**Social Insurance.** Musqueam has no local autonomy over this system. The system is operated in and controlled by the extra-community. Like all Canadians, Indians receive the services of this system, if they fulfil the age and residence
requirements for the old age assistance and for the old age security program. For family allowance eligibility, one of the requirements is that the child be under eighteen years of age, and that he attend school regularly. The service areas of this system differ according to the type of program under which the recipient of the services comes. Usually, money cheques are sent to recipients by post from the offices which administer these services.

Psychological identification of this system with the local community is weak. The mothers do understand that one important requirement for the issue of family allowance is regular school attendance by the child. Recipients of old age security and old age assistance likewise understand the regulations governing this program. However, this system is seen as one which is wholly outside the local community, but one which helps the community financially. On the average, the horizontal pattern of this system is rather weak. This is especially true in the case of the family allowance, wherein some families disregard the school attendance regulation and get their allowance suspended.

Workmen's Compensation. The effectiveness of this system in the locality depends on the types of employment which workers from Musqueam are able to secure. Only certain skilled workers are covered by the system, and since most of Musqueam employees are unskilled, there is a very small number affected by the system. The local community has no autonomy over this system. All full-time employment takes
place in the extra-community. There is no coincidence of service areas in this system. Employees work at various jobs and places.

Psychological identification of this system with Musqueam is very weak. Employees in the community realize that this system works only when they attain a certain degree of skill in their jobs in the extra-community. The horizontal pattern of the system is likewise very weak. The only other system in the community which is connected with this system is Employment, which likewise has a weak horizontal pattern.

Analysis By Communication Process

This study lends itself to several other ways of analysing the material in the text. One of these is to use the "comprehensive or master processes" in which a social system is involved. Warren gives six of these processes:

1. Communication - the process by which information, decisions, and directives are transmitted among actors and ways in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified by interaction.

2. Boundary maintenance - the process whereby the identity of the social system is preserved and the characteristic interaction pattern maintained.

3. Systematic linkage - the process whereby one or more of the elements of at least two social systems is articulated in such a manner that the two systems, in some way and on some occasions, may be viewed as a single unit.

4. Socialization - the process through which the social and cultural heritage is transmitted.

5. Social Control - the process by which deviancy is either eliminated or somehow made compatible with the functioning of the social groups.

6. Institutionalization - the process through which organizations are given structure and social action and interaction are made predictable.9

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An attempt at analysing all the social systems in Musqueam, using all the above master processes, will not be made. However, some of those systems will be selected and analysed, using the process of communication. This process has been chosen in order to indicate that the performance of several social systems in the community seem weak because of the lack of an adequate process of communication. Below will be discussed systems which can best illustrate this problem of inadequate communication.

Employment. Not all jobs in the extra-community call for skills beyond the reach of Musqueam workers, but because of the lack of clear communication between the intra and extra-communities, the Indians do not get most of those jobs. There is lack of education on both sides, caused by the lack of communication. This lack also creates prejudices and discrimination on each side, against the other. The non-Indian employer thinks of the Indian in a stereotyped manner, as one who is lazy and one who lacks sense of time. On the other hand, the Indian feels that, even if he asked a non-Indian for employment, because he is Indian, he would not get it. Therefore, he refrains from even trying. Thus, although the two communities exist side by side, each has biases about the other, thereby making adequate communication impossible. If there were clear lines of communication, it would be very likely that the two would try to trust and understand each other better. Eventually, they would see a person as an individual with a unique personality, and not as a
racial personality. This could help the Musqueam labour force in securing more and better jobs.

The Family. Most of the factions existing in the community are due to lack of clear lines of communication within the local community. Since the Reserve has five geographical sections, and there is no local newspaper, and since visiting back and forth is done just within one's own faction, it is not uncommon to find that one geographical section or familial faction may be ignorant of happenings outside its section or faction. This creates difficulty, when and if the community decides to find some area of common interest. This is probably one of the reasons why other systems, such as the Home-makers' Club and Church activities, do not function as well as they could. It is also probable that this is the reason why the Band Council introduces most of the resolutions considered at Band meetings. Since the community at large is unable to reach a common consensus, the Band Council, a system of three members, finds it easier to arrive at an agreement on what they feel are "common interests" of the community.

The School. This is another system which, with clear lines of communication, could help improve the socialization and social participation functions in Musqueam. If there were adequate communication between the school system and the local community, there would be better understanding between the two. As already indicated in earlier discussions,
except for one parent, none of the parents in the local community belong to a school Parent Teachers' Association. Furthermore, very few parents, if any, visit schools on "open house" occasions, or to discuss with the school their children's school problems. This lack of communication breeds disinterest on, and ignorance about, what is going on at school. Because of this inadequate communication process, there are not many parents in the local community who are aware of the fact that the age limit for the family allowance has been changed from sixteen to eighteen for children still in school.

Indian Affairs Branch. The channel of communication between this system and the local community is inadequate. As much as possible, the Fraser Agency uses the Band Council as a medium for implementing certain policies of the Indian Affairs Branch. Besides the Council, there are not many people in the community who know what the policies of the Branch are. For these people, the Council has final interpretation and implementation of policy. There are very few of these, who take the time to go beyond the Council to the Fraser Agency office for clarification of policy. This is especially true in the case of the older generation group, which finds it rather difficult to comprehend the bureaucratic set up of the Branch.

Thus, there could be privileges and services available at the Branch level, which could be made use of by certain people in the community, but because of the poor
lines of communication, the community may not know anything about the existence of such services, although the need to use them may be present. Many misconceptions about the white man, in general, and about the Branch, in particular, could be cleared by adequate lines of communication from the Fraser Agency to the local community's non-Council members. This would, in turn, increase the community's local autonomy, and strengthen this system. For example, at present, many people are afraid to voice grievances, such as those concerning land tenure and housing. It is not that the Fraser Agency has a "closed door" policy, but rather, it is due to the fact that there is nobody at the local level to encourage the residents to make use of their rights as Band members. This, in practice, imposes "a closed door" policy on the system.

The Band Council. Communication between this system and the local community is not always clear. Even the Council does not always take time to perform its function of explaining certain policies which it implements at the local level. This is one reason why certain existing factions look at the Council with disrespect, or why its members are classed with the "white men" of the Indian Affairs Branch. Because of this attitude, there is not always the required co-operation from community members, in carrying out certain Branch policies.

Vancouver Friendship Centre. The lines of communication between this system and Musqueam are blurred. The majority of the adults on the Reserve do not know about what goes
on at the Centre. Those who do know about its existence do not make use of the facilities it provides. None of the adults whose children visit the Centre has bothered to find out the truth about the alleged teenage drinking at the Centre. There is obviously no communication between the Centre and the local community, whereby problems such as this could easily be clarified and perhaps solved.

Conclusion

The Musqueam Indian Reserve has been used by anthropologists, sociologists, archaeologists, and social workers for different types of study, but these studies have been concerned with larger study areas, with Musqueam as one of the areas covered. As far as can be determined, there has not been any study which focussed attention on Musqueam as an individual community.

The present study has dealt with the socio-economic aspects of the Musqueam community. It is recognized there are several approaches that could be used in conducting a community study. For example, the community could also be viewed from any of the following approaches: the interaction of the local people, the power structure, the behaviour pattern and belief systems, the ecological process, and the demographic aspect. The difficulty in using any one of these approaches exclusive of the others, is that only one aspect of the community is examined. Furthermore, the results gained from such a study cannot be applied profitably as a guide in
studying a different community.

If our theoretical knowledge of the community is to be increased, there is need to develop a common approach for studying any community, regardless of geographic location and area. With this purpose in mind, the writer chose to use Warren's model for this study. In his model, Warren defines the community as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance."10 Therefore, the focus of analysis in this study was the type of systematic relationship of the people and organizations in the local community and in the extra-community.

Information on Musqueam's social systems was arranged under the five functions of locality-relevance used by Warren. This information was assembled from various sources: interviews, a socio-economic survey of the adult population in Musqueam and relevant documents of the Indian Affairs Branch. Each of the social systems under the functional categories was then analysed by making use of the four dimensions in which communities differ from each other in structure and function. This type of analysis illustrated in a continuum, how much the community is dependent on or independent of extra-community units in performing its major functions, the extent to which the service areas of local units coincide or fail to coincide, the degree of psychological identification

with the locality, and the degree to which the community's horizontal pattern is strong or weak.

The communication process, which is one of the six master processes given by Warren as comprehensive processes, in which all systems are constantly involved, was used to analyse six social systems in the community: Employment, The Family, The School, Indian Affairs Branch, The Band Council, and the Vancouver Friendship Centre. In this analysis, it was indicated that the absence of adequate communication between social systems caused misunderstandings and ignorance of certain matters in the community.

The model does not tell how community problems are to be solved, or how certain social systems with weak horizontal patterns could be strengthened in order to have a well integrated community. The use of the model does have many advantages. As already indicated, it makes possible the study of the community as a body of several units interrelated to each other, and to the extra-community. The model also provides a simple method of analysing the community, and of indicating areas wherein the community is weak or strong. It is useful as a guide to a systematic assembly of information on a community. This helps the researcher in selecting only that material which is relevant to the understanding of the five major functions of the community.

Sanders emphasizes the importance of the historic development of any community, because of the interplay between history and the traditions and values of a community. He poses
three questions which, he suggests, can be asked in this regard: (1) Who were the first settlers? (2) What shifts in traditions have been caused by newcomers? (3) What community crises, social as well as economic, have influenced the traditions? He further suggests that an effort should be made to evaluate the social effects of these crises, not only in terms of changed social relationships, but also in terms of what has happened to the traditions and value orientation of the people.¹¹

The model used in this study does not lend itself directly to the historic aspects of the community. Only that history which has direct bearing on the present performance of the five major functions of the community is briefly discussed. The assumption is that there is no community which is static. The "great change" in the socio-economic aspects of a community is dynamic, hence emphasis is put on the present performance of those social systems which have endured through time.¹² This factor has been taken under consideration, in discussing some of the social systems, such as employment, the family, and the social assistance systems in Musqueam. In order to understand the present functioning of these systems better, their historic aspects have been reviewed.

¹¹Sanders, op. cit., pp. 75-78.

¹²Warren, op. cit., pp. 53-54. As used by Warren, the "great change" in community living includes the increasing orientation of local community units toward extra-community systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy.
The use of the model brought to the fore, the type of community Musqueam is. Musqueam, within the Vancouver city limits, seems unique in the way in which it performs the community's five major functions of locality-relevance. Over three quarters of the number of the social systems in the locality are controlled by the extra-community. This does not imply that all social systems in a community should be controlled locally, in order to have the five functions performed adequately. On the contrary, as earlier stated in the discussion of the method used in this study, no community is functionally isolated from the larger society of which it is a part. Furthermore, as technological changes take place in a once traditional community, the auspices providing the five functions change from primary to secondary groups, and the community's local problems become those of the larger community. Likewise, the problems of the larger society become those of the local community. This interaction is distinctly seen in the Musqueam study. Figure 4, page 115c, shows that the less control Musqueam exercises over a social system, the more that particular social system is controlled by the extra-community, and vice versa. Nevertheless, the writer believes that this situation could be improved, and that the local community could have more autonomy over more of its social systems, and that there should be balanced control of the systems by both the intra-community and the extra-community.

As already indicated, this study has been analytical and could be continued by a further analysis of the social
systems in the community, using other social systems concepts, such as the concepts of "output-input" and "equilibrium-dis-equilibrium." Another approach would be to continue the study, applying a diagnostic or therapeutic enquiry as to which of the community's social systems, as analysed, could be strengthened and how this could be done. Since the present study has shown that Musqueam has a weak horizontal pattern, the researcher could look at possible implications for community development by further consideration of Warren's views on community development. Warren defines community development as "a deliberate and sustained attempt to strengthen the horizontal pattern of a community." He conceives this as a process which should be on-going.¹³ Thus, there are several presenting opportunities for the continuation of this study.

¹³Warren, op. cit., p. 325.
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Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch Field Manual. Ottawa, 1951.


APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

Representatives of extra-community institutions or organizations dealt with in study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representative</th>
<th>Institution or Organization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. C. Letcher</td>
<td>Fraser Agency, Indian Affairs Branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. D. Addison</td>
<td>Regional Office, Indian Affairs Branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S. A. Arnold</td>
<td>Regional Office, Indian Affairs Branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. C. Lawrence</td>
<td>Indian Education District Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. A. Morritt</td>
<td>Indian Education District Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. G. F. Gallagher</td>
<td>Fraser Agency, Indian Affairs Branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W. Sparrow</td>
<td>Musqueam Band Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Cockron</td>
<td>Metropolitan Public Health Services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Comba</td>
<td>Indian and Northern Health Services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. G. Webster</td>
<td>Vancouver Friendship Centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. H. Dustin</td>
<td>Y.W.C.A. Indian Youth Club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. D. Soon</td>
<td>Y.M.C.A. Fun Club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. Leahy</td>
<td>Musqueam Roman Catholic Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. M. Morley</td>
<td>Catholic Children's Aid Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Clohosey</td>
<td>Catholic Children's Aid Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss D. Trenholm</td>
<td>Vancouver Children's Aid Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister Maureen Theresa</td>
<td>Immaculate Conception Elementary School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. M. S. Wark</td>
<td>Southlands Elementary School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. G. McAllister</td>
<td>Point Grey Secondary School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. D. H. Goard</td>
<td>Vancouver School Board - Adult Education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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