THE SEARCH FOR STATUS IN A SALISH INDIAN COMMUNITY

by

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The significance of the contemporary "winter dances" of the Coast Salish has been explained in terms of the Indian's 'search for status'. In this paper I attempt to establish the significance of Indian institutions for the Cowichan's 'search for status'. On the basis of informant interviews, I empirically describe the range of institutions in which a sample of the members of the Cowichan Band participate. Using a typology of institutions, I further delineate the type of viable 'status sets' maintained by band members and characterize the individuals who maintain them. In addition I test a theory which I feel might partially explain the differential participation manifested in the Cowichan status sets but is hopefully applicable to the members of any minority ethnic group. Briefly the theory assumes that:

Actors who participate predominantly or exclusively in 'ethnic institutions' do so because their perception or definition of non-ethnics in terms of 'threat' prevents them from attempting to acquire status in non-ethnic institutions.

A second hypothesis is also tested, namely that:

Actors who participate predominantly or exclusively in ethnic institutions do so because they have failed in attempts to acquire status in non-ethnic institutions.

The available data suggests that both the theory and the hypothesis are invalid. Contrary to expectations based on the theory, the perception of non-ethnics in terms of threat is greatest among those actors who negatively evaluate ethnic institutions but who have been unable to acquire non-ethnic status. In order to explain this result new assump-
tions focusing on the concept of 'negative self-evaluations' are intro­
duced. With regard to the second hypothesis it would appear that pre­
dominant or exclusive participation in ethnic institutions is not a
reaction to an initial failure to acquire non-ethnic status but more a
function of the fact that ethnic statuses are more highly valued than
non-ethnic statuses.
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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

The "winter dance" complex among the Coast Salish provided the initial stimulus for this study. In other works, anthropologists have given descriptive analyses and offered various 'explanations' for the persistence and significance of this complex of aboriginal religious beliefs and practices. Before proceeding, however, to a consideration of these 'explanations' a brief description of the complex is in order.

The Winter Dance Complex

The Coast Salish believe in numerous spirits which are able to enter into and bestow specific powers upon individuals. A distinction was drawn between those spirits able to confer powers of economic and political significance (e.g. doctor power, warrior powers, hunting powers, etc.) and those which simply conferred a song. The former powers necessitated a rigorous quest, whereas the latter did not. Since quests are no longer pursued it is the 'spirit singing powers' which form the core of Salish religious belief today.

Today there are essentially two ways of acquiring 'spirit singing power':

1) "Unsolicited seizure" of a person by a power; resulting in 'power sickness'; the symptoms of which are "lassitude which is usually accompanied by loss of appetite, pains in the chest or side, involuntary singing during sleep and unexplained crying spells."3 It is believed
that the 'illness' can result in death if the individual is not initiated as a dancer and the power thus allowed expression.

2) "Induced seizure" in which the individual is literally "grabbed" and forced to undergo initiation as a dancer; during which power is blown into the individual by persons already possessing power.

Wike observes that "although spirits were not of necessity acquired through inheritance, the majority obtain powers which were in the family before, either in the paternal or maternal line."

Throughout the year powers are thought to reside in their owner's chest. During the winter months, however, the power becomes active and seeks expression. The institution which allows for such expression is the 'winter spirit dance'. At these dances the owners of spirit power are possessed by the spirit, and become a manifestation of the power itself. It is explained that when the individual dances, it is not he but the power who dances, and when the individual sings, it is not he who sings but the power. Before being accorded the right to dance, however, the individual must undergo a costly and traumatic initiation.

Aboriginally, the culturally prescribed time for 'power activation' was October or November; now, out of deference for Christian holidays, 'activation' does not occur until after Xmas and persists through March or April.

In addition to the religious "functions" of the dances, they also provide an opportunity for a sponsor or sponsors to "do work". People come to these "big dances" -- held on different reserves almost
every weekend -- from many different reserves. The "work" may consist of the giving of Indian names or honorific titles, the making of speeches, public repayment of debts or the display of hereditary privileges. All such "work" requires the distribution of large sums of money to validate the claim or event. Thus the present day dance complex consists of the welding together of two aboriginally distinct phenomena; namely the 'winter spirit dances' and the 'potlatch' -- the one an overt manifestation of religious beliefs and the other a means for validating a claim or change in status as well as a means for acquiring status.

The 'Explanations'

The most intensive study to date of the significance of the dance complex in contemporary Salish life is that done by Robinson. In her paper Miss Robinson makes the following observations:

The revival of potlatching and dancing coincide because both are aimed at establishing Indianness.5

... receiving an Indian name, displaying wealth and a sense of obligation by potlatching, these bring honor and prestige the Indian way without doing violence to new attitudes adopted from the whites.6

There is evidence that long before white contact produced a social crisis, the Salish on Vancouver Island viewed spirit possession as a means to display an admirable status as much as a means to achieve it.7

In addition Miss Robinson points to an additional function of the dance; namely social control. Individuals who are considered unruly by parents, spouses or other close kin are "grabbed" at the request of these persons. Two common reasons for such action are that the individual is
drinking excessively or is spending too much time away from the re-
serve. Finally Miss Robinson identifies three emotional factors under-
lying the dance complex.

1. Defiance of the unobtainable.
2. Need to overcome frustration and demonstrate the posses-
sion of special skills.
3. The third incorporates the first two in the need to re-
lease all manner of pent up emotion, including hostility
and aggression, in a clearly defined and socially accep-
table manner.

Wike, in an earlier study, offers another and seemingly con-
tradictory explanation. She argues that "participation in the spirit
sings did not add greatly to an individual's position in the community,
although the singers are often the center of attention during the win-
ter season." Rather "their participation in the religion has to do
with the appeal its ecstasy state has for them." She elsewhere ob-
erves, however that the initiation "has become so purely a vehicle
for wealth display that an individual no longer needs a personal reli-
gious experience to become a dancer."

Lewis 'explains' the dance complex in much the same way as
Robinson. She states that:

The winter dances are still called for a variety of purposes,
and as in the past there is still opportunity for display of
family and individual privileges. Whatever the underlying dynamics may be today, it is obvious
that, the old status mechanism of gift giving is very much
alive as a value and as an actuality... The individual can
still lay claim to uniqueness and importance at the winter
dances, not only through display of generosity, but through
dance performance... Entertainment of course, was always
one of the functions of the winter dance, during the slack
winter season.
Similarly, Suttles argues that:

Both the dancing itself and the potlatching that forms a part of the big dance may thus be seen as attempts by individuals and kin groups to maintain psychic integrity and social status. Underlying both dancing and potlatching is the theme of reaffirmation of shared identity as Indians.¹⁴

Duff, after an appraisal of the literature makes the following summary statement:

The spirit dancer experiences profound sensations which are fundamentally religious in nature; furthermore he has the social security which comes from belonging to an exclusive group, he has an 'emotional safety valve' which provides a release of tensions in a socially approved way, and he has discovered a method of asserting his identity as an Indian.¹⁵

Thus, the 'explanations' of the winter dance complex have thus far consisted of a delineation of its functions; specifically:

1) The acquisition of status by becoming a dancer.

2) The acquisition of prestige by:
   a) becoming a "good" dancer
   b) potlatching.

3) The reaffirmation of status.

4) The acquisition and reaffirmation of an "identity".

5) Catharsis.

6) The attainment of an "ecstasy state" or a "profound religious experience".

7) Social control.

8) Social security.

9) Entertainment.
An Evaluation of the Explanations

I find two difficulties with the preceding explanations. First, the non-empirical usage of key terms; for example "identity", "psychic integrity" and "social security" makes it difficult to make a meaningful evaluation of the statements. Secondly, the investigators have not bothered to present the evidence supporting their explanations nor alternatively bothered to test the validity of their explanations and thus we have no way of assigning a truth value to the explanations.

A more general difficulty I find with the preceding studies is that the question of functional alternatives is largely ignored by the investigators; that is other institutions which could conceivably fulfil the functions attributed to the winter dances are given little attention. Consequently the reader is left to speculate as what other institutions are present in the setting and to what extent Indians participate in them.

The Problem and Theoretical Framework

In this study I propose to focus on the intuitively acceptable assumption that the dance complex figures prominently in the Indian's 'search for status'. 'Status', for purposes of this paper, denotes membership in an 'institution'. An 'institution' I define as an organized system of purposeful activities as conceived by the actors in a given system. Thus in effect status, as Beattie points out, denotes "what people are"; for example "a father", "a member of the Elks", "a spirit dancer", or "a Catholic".

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Specifically, I have four objectives. First, in order to deal with the question of extant functional alternatives, I propose rather than concentrate on the dance complex alone, to determine empirically the range of statuses maintained by the Indians in a given community.

Secondly, I wish to take into account the fact that the conditions for the "search" are complicated in view of the fact that the Indian is confronted by two different types of institutions, namely 'ethnic institutions' and 'non-ethnic institutions'.

An 'ethnic institution' I define as one in which membership is predominantly of one ethnic group and ultimate authority is vested in members of that ethnic group. For example, the winter dances are an ethnic institution. Similarly a 'non-ethnic institution', which I define from the ethnic's point of view, is one in which membership is predominantly non-ethnic and ultimate authority is vested in members of that group. For example, the "Elks Club" is a non-ethnic institution. Consequently there are two types of status -- ethnic and non-ethnic.

Thirdly, using the foregoing distinction, I propose empirically and analytically to determine types of viable 'status sets'. 'Status set' is defined, after Merton, as the "complement of social statuses" of a given individual.

Fourthly I wish to test a theory which might partially explain the differential participation manifested in the types of status sets.
As it is hoped that the theory is applicable to the members of any minority ethnic group, the propositions are formulated in general terms. The theory is as follows:

Given: A contact situation.

1. Actors who predominantly or exclusively maintain ethnic statuses perceive or define non-ethnics in terms of 'threat'.

   Threat: Any object, situation or event which elicits feelings of inferiority in the actor.

2. Actors avoid and negatively evaluate threat objects.

3. Avoidance precludes the possibility of the actor striving to acquire non-ethnic status.

Hypothesis 1: The greater the number of ethnic statuses comprising a status set the greater the negative evaluation of non-ethnics by the actor who maintains the status set.

In addition a second hypothesis, unrelated to the foregoing theory is also tested:

Hypothesis 2: Actors who participate predominantly or exclusively in ethnic institutions manifest a history of failure in attempts to acquire status in non-ethnic institutions.

This second hypothesis was formulated while the investigator was "in the field"; on the basis of an intuitive hunch. It was hoped that it would serve as a methodological check in alerting the investigator to possibilities contrary to that derived from the theory.

The Method

In view of the fact that the study was, to a large extent, an inductive search for empirical regularities, the technique chosen was
an attenuated form of the life history method. Particular emphasis was placed on collecting data relevant to occupation, education, voluntary association and drinking patterns, as well as data concerning attitudes towards non-Indians as well as other Indians and Indian institutions.

Interviews were obtained with 34 individuals. Due to the fact that several of the areas explored were sensitive -- for example questions related to drinking habits, education and attitudes towards non-ethnics -- much of the data concerning some actors was collected from secondary sources; usually the spouse or other close kin.

An Evaluation of the Quality of the Data

Several factors were operative in affecting the quality of data collected:

1. My own lack of knowledge of and experience with fieldwork techniques.

2. Informants were selected from among the group of people to whom I had been introduced. Consequently the data is not based on a random sampling of the population.

3. The quality and quantity of the data was very much a function of the rapport which obtained between the respondent and myself. This ranged from close friendship, entailing numerous discussions, to relationships that lasted no longer than the length of the interview.
4. Interviews were conducted under widely varying conditions in respect to the number present during interviews. Usually I was alone with the respondent but others sometimes entered and left and occasionally friends or kin sat throughout the interview.

5. Due to my failure to overcome the suspicion of the conservative actors I was unable to obtain any significant sampling of this group.

The Field Situation

The area chosen for study was the Cowichan Reserve, at Duncan, on Vancouver Island. The principal reason for the choice was that while the Cowichan community is regarded as highly 'progressive' it remains a stronghold of Salish cultural conservatism. Consequently, I hoped I would be able to obtain interviews with respondents in both ethnically and non-ethnically oriented groups.

My immediate introduction to the community was through letters of introduction to the chief, a councillor, and a native community development officer. Inasmuch as the Community Development Officer had only recently arrived, we shared the mutual problem of gaining acceptance into the community. Consequently, we formed a very agreeable working relationship and spent approximately a month "travelling round the reserve" together; introducing ourselves and being introduced as well as attending innumerable meetings.
Due to a very serious housing shortage I was unable to obtain accommodation with an Indian family. Over a twelve week period, however, I spent the major portion of every day with members of the Cowichan Band.
CHAPTER 2
SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE COWICHAN COMMUNITY

The Band

The Cowichan Indian Band is the largest Indian Band in British Columbia with a population of over fourteen hundred. The reserve, situated within and beyond the city limits of Duncan (pop. 3,726), includes 5,723 acres. The reserve is contiguous also with the District Municipality of North Cowichan (pop. 6,911); with which the reserve enjoys mutual fire protection facilities.

Band members are dependent on the area's economy for their livelihood. Service industries rank highest in terms of numbers employed. This includes, according to 1961 figures, twice as many as the next largest industry which is forest products. It is upon the latter that most Indians depend. Figures for nineteen working male informants indicate the following:

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<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Logging</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Millhand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Boomman</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Forestry Nursery</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Longshoring</td>
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<td>6.</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Janitor</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Carving/Casual</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Tradesman</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
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Although there are twenty-two public schools in the area, Indian students constitute less than two per cent of the total 4,000 students. The great majority of Indian students attend two local Catholic
parochial schools, one of which is integrated, or else attend nearby Kuper Island Residential School or Kamloops Residential School.

The Duncan Junior Chamber of Commerce boasts of seemingly limitless recreational facilities. Those of primary significance in the town to Indians are the two "pubs", the theater, the weekly bingo games, and the bowling alley.

The Community

It is difficult to speak of a single Cowichan 'community' if the term is given meaning beyond the strictly legal sense. Lewis' observations of the reserve in 1953 in my opinion hold today; specifically . . . the strong impression emerges that a community, or neighborhood, has not been formed, at least one in which there is a daily communication and contact; and that in spite of the great network of relationships that has grown up in these years of life on the reserve, it is the close ties that have remained the most meaningful.²²

Several factors contribute to the divisiveness of the 'community'.

First, "the Cowichan Band" actually consists of an amalgamation of seven aboriginally distinct local groups; namely Somenos, Quamichan, Gomiaken, Clemclemaluts, Koksilah, Kenipsen, and Kilpaulus. These separate bands, however, were treated as one since 1881. It was not until 1954 that the amalgamation was approved by the Indians themselves. The initiative for this move, as I understand it, came from officials of the Indian Affairs Branch who regarded it as administratively expedient. In a letter dated October 7, 1954 the agent at that time explains that the seven bands
have been shown in our census and membership lists as separate bands despite the fact that all their interests are in common. They have one band trust fund and their band council is drawn from all the villages comprising the band without distinction. From the administrative point of view the present arrangements make a great deal more work. Our files are broken down into seven small groups. Since the change is purely administrative I can see no reason for consulting the band members or councillors as to their wishes in the matter, but we will take up with them before the next election becomes due their wishes with respect to the provisions of sec. 73(4).

A general meeting of band members was held in which a resolution proposing official band amalgamation was passed. I was told, however, that the meeting was held at a time when many of the influential men were working elsewhere. Apparently then, and even now, an undercurrent of resentment existed over the amalgamation issue. Some members of the richer reserve areas feel that they unfairly have to support poorer bands which are now reserve areas. The resentment further colours attitudes toward the functioning of the council. I was repeatedly informed that councillors worked only for the good of their own reserve areas. What is more, this undercurrent continually intrudes into contemporary politics. For example, a leading politician, in discussing with me the proposed plans for incorporating reserves into municipalities, expressed the desire to exclude the more backward reserve areas from such a structure and include only the more progressive; explicitly Somenos and Koksilah.

A second factor contributing to the factiousness of the reserve is the rejection of some of the most acculturated families because they have "white blood" in their ancestry and are, therefore, regarded
as not being "real Indians". For example, one such woman was greeted at a gathering by the following words: "Well, here's Mrs. Bigshot. She has to poke her nose into everything before she's satisfied. She's a half-breed and yet she tries to run the reserve." This factor is also part of a third more general one; which is a tendency on the part of unacculturated people to reject those who have become acculturated. This might variously refer to those who have raised their standard of living or those who have successfully graduated from high school or those who have consistently associated with whites or even those who express white values and particularly political values. Consequently efforts of a political or even a social nature on the part of 'acculturated' individuals, frequently meet with rebuffs on the part of the 'unacculturated'. The unacculturated individual very often dismisses these efforts by saying that the initiator "thinks like a white man" or that he is "setting himself up". The implication, of course is that the individual is not to be trusted or that he isn't acting like an Indian.

This general tendency is strengthened by the religious differentiation among band members. Roughly 94 per cent are Catholics and 6 per cent (approximately 80 people) are Protestants. The difficulty arises from the fact that the Protestant families are, by and large, the acculturated families. In addition their denunciation of the Catholic Church's "stranglehold" on the Cowichan band does little to add to their diminutive popularity.
Finally, a legacy of enmity between families and individuals appears to be handed down from generation to generation. This legacy stems from rivalry over land claims. In the past apparently a favorite means of expressing this type of bitterness was by burning down a rival claimant's home. Such destruction of property is also directed against 'successful' individuals. For example, one leading politician had his garage, containing his new car, burned to the ground. Thus the price of success among the Cowichan can mean, in addition to alienation, outright material loss.

The Political Structure

The present council includes positions for a chief and eleven councillors. In addition, the band has a full-time secretary who, at the present moment is also a councillor, and by 1967 the band also hopes to have a band manager.

Elections for council positions are held every two years. It appears that candidates are nominated and elected on a personal basis. Diverse criteria are used by electors in evaluation; including religious affiliation, family connections, the reserve area in which the candidate lives and past performance if the candidate had previously been a council member. Thus there appears to be little consistency in the particularistic criteria used to evaluate candidates. It might be noted that Robinson's observations concerning the Nanaimo band holds true for the Cowichan as well, namely that
Extended families tend to become political factions, and, at the same time, to break down into social cliques which may at times include members from other families. For example from 1954 to 1966 members of only three extended families have held the position of band chief and today are still the most politically powerful groups in the band.

If attendance at nomination meetings and number of ballots cast can be used as an index of political involvement then it might be said that the Cowichan band electorate is apathetic. At the 1966 nomination meeting fewer than fifty persons attended, while out of a total electorate of 500 only 238 cast ballots. Consequently councillors have been elected with as few as 97 votes. (1962 election).

Council meetings are held weekly but due to the volume of work with which the council must deal; much of the work is handled by committees which make recommendations to the council. Each committee is chaired by a councillor and members at large from the community fill out the rest of the membership. In 1965, there were twelve such committees.

In addition to the local council an ethnically unique spectrum of political opportunity exists for Cowichan politicians including the Southern Vancouver Island Tribal Federation, the British Columbia Native Brotherhood, the B.C. Indian Advisory Committee, the Federal B.C. Advisory Committee and the Canadian-Indian-Eskimo Association.

Clubs and Organizations

A. Cowichan Indian Recreation Commission:

The general aim of this club is to provide recreational facilities and equipment for Indians of all ages. The club meets infre-
quently and although it has an executive, membership is irregular and depends chiefly on the issue. The three executive positions are currently held by three councillors. Membership: approximately 15.

B. Homemakers Club:

The stimulus for the organization of this club came from the Indian Affairs Department. Its espoused general aim is to improve home environments on the reserve. Specific activities in which this club has been engaged are the sponsoring of a rummage sale, social evenings, political rallies and a provincial conference on Indian Homemakers. The club had an initial membership of twenty but is now in imminent danger of "folding up". Membership: approximately 10.

C. Tiny Tot Nursery:

The sole aim of this club is to see to the organizational details essential to the functioning of the "head start" programme for pre-school children. Membership: approximately 10.

D. Alcoholic Associations:

The Cowichan band has its own chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous and a smaller "Pioneer" organization which differs from the A.A. in religious orientation and in the severity of its penalties for "back slidgers". Membership: Unknown.

E. Church Sponsored Clubs:


3. Corpus Christi: Meets only once each year to discuss plans for the Catholic Church's sports day. Membership: approximately 15.

F. Thunderbird Youth Club:

This club was organized to promote social and recreational activities for young Indians. The club is largely inactive due to the difficulty in finding an interested sponsor. Membership: approximately 8.

The executive organization of many clubs is characterized by what one might call an 'interlocking executive'. For example one man, in addition to being a councillor and chairman of the centennial, finance, and community planning committees is also chairman of Corpus Christi, the Legion of Mary, Alcoholics Anonymous, and Vice-President of the Recreation Commission. Similarly the executive of the Home-makers and the Tiny Tot Nursery consists largely of the same personnel.

I would like now to turn to a consideration of those institutions which constitute the uniquely Indian components of contemporary Cowichan social structure. These include the mask (swaihwe) and black dancers, "rattlers" and basket dancer, canoe races, Tzinquaw dancers, bone games and Indian (winter) dances.

Masked Dance

The masked or 'swaihwe' dancers constitute a loose form of 'society' in that members are exclusively those who have inherited the
privilege of performing the dance. The only time members come togeth­
er, however, is when they are invited to perform at the same event.  
Aboriginally the dance was performed "at all crises rites or at any  
time that guests were invited to receive gifts and a name was bestowed".  
The period of greatest activity for the dancers today is during the  
Indian spirit dances when they are called to perform at the "big  
dances" throughout the entire dance area. During the summer of 1966  
there were two occasions at which Cowichan dancers performed in the Cowi­
chan area. Four dancers performed at the unveiling of a totem pole,  
while two performed at the dedication of the Cowichan Band office. Part  
of this latter performance involved the ritualized "bringing out" of  
the guest of honor. On both occasions the dancers were paid a standard  
fee of ten dollars. There are currently six active dancers in the area.

Black Dance

"Black dancers" constitute a 'society' similar to that of the  
masked dance in that membership is restricted to those who have inheri­
ted the right to membership. Also, the only time members meet is when  
they are called to a dance. The institutions differ however in one imp­
ortant respect; and that is the black dancers constitute a secret soci­
ety and perform publicly only on rare occasions at winter dances where  
the sponsor has the right to membership in the society. The dances  
are not held in the Cowichan area and participants travel to Chemainus  
Bay and Saanich where "black dances" are held. Consequently, I would  
infer that there are few "black dancers" in the Cowichan band. I know
of only two and a third who, although desirous of membership, cannot afford the cost of initiation. It might be noted that secrecy is maintained to such a degree that not even spouses are told when a member is going to a dance. In the words of one informant whose wife is a black dancer, "She just disappears for a few days".

Other Hereditary Statuses

In addition to hereditary privileges concerning the masked and black dance, several Cowichan families take advantage of hereditary rights to enact two less prestigious privileges; namely, the basket dance and the ritual use of rattles. The basket dance is infrequently performed, and exclusively at winter dances. "Rattlers" perform more frequently at crisis rites; usually spirit dancer initiations and funerals. A reliable informant identified seven extended families who have rights to the "rattle performance" and nine individuals of seven additional families who regularly perform.

Canoe Racing

Canoe racing in the Cowichan area is as popular as it is in Coast Salish communities throughout the Lower Mainland and Southern Vancouver Island. At present four Cowichan men own canoes -- the "Mayflower", "Mt. Provost", "Thundercloud" and "Black Widow" -- and a fifth is currently building one. Races are held almost every weekend in some community during a season which lasts from June to July. Crews of eleven men train vigorously weeks before and throughout the season. It is interesting to note that for many of these "pullers", the racing season
is the one time of the year that they quit drinking. There is little prize money involved in the racing events and due to the cost of travelling most of the men 'lose' money. Yet the races are popular events and considerable prestige is attached to those connected with a winning canoe; particularly for the captain or owner. Owners, it might be noted, rarely participate in the actual racing but prefer to watch with the crowd, from which they receive much good natured kidding and the occasional bet.

**Tzinquaw Dancers**

In 1962 under the combined direction of a band member and a non-Indian, the opera "Tzinquaw" was produced; featuring an all Indian cast of approximately twenty-five and a story based on local Indian legends. The production was apparently a great success. The troupe received two offers to perform in England but they were "turned down" as some of the older members of the cast feared they might die away from home. Since the initial production, however, the Indian director and at least three other male members of the band have been performing at public events, with large numbers of non-Indians present, as "Tzinquaw dancers". Between May and August of 1966 there were three such performances: at the dedication of a totem pole, the official opening of the Cowichan band office and a public meeting featuring a guest Indian speaker. The dancers wear costumes of their own design and perform a dance which, I am told, does not have its origins in traditional Cowichan dances. It is interesting that the Indian leader of the Tzinquaw performers has no traditional ceremonial rights.
Winter Dances

The winter dances involve more people than any other ethnic institution. Although it is difficult to assess, it is roughly estimated that at least half of the band members are involved in one way or another; either as dancers or as sponsors and spectators. In 1953, according to B. Lane there were fifty dancers. It is now estimated that there are one hundred and twenty dancers. During the 1965-66 season ten dancers were initiated while in the 1966-67 season there were twelve "new dancers".

Most of the initiates volunteer themselves, in which case the grabbing is ritualistic as it is with persons suffering "spirit sickness". I would argue that "spirit sickness" is a form of sub-conscious and, in some cases, even of conscious volunteering. However, a few individuals are involuntarily forced to undergo initiation; interestingly, almost all who do continue to perform as dancers each year.

In addition to dancing, dancers and spectators perform by beating drums and boards while singing the songs of dancers from their group. Different reserve areas have their "section leaders" who know the songs of all the dancers within their respective areas and who lead the singing while dancers from their area perform.

Dance initiations also allow for the enactment of two professional roles; namely those of shaman and ritualist. Shamans are called upon to "doctor" initiates who appear to be inordinately suffering from spirit sickness. Ritualists are hired to perform the numerous ritual tasks associated with the initial four day period of the initiation.
In the Cowichan Band there is no active shaman, although one man is secretly training to be one which in practice means that he is purchasing shamanistic knowledge from an old, retired shaman. With regard to ritualists it is usually the same couple who are called in to perform at initiations.

The property distributions contingent to initiations and the "business" of the big dances similarly support a professional role, namely that of "speaker".

Speakers announce property distributions and the reasons for them, make speeches of welcome and thanks on the part of the sponsor and individuals honored through receipt of wealth, and occasionally political speeches usually lauding the merits of the dance. Speakers are paid for their services; receiving up to forty dollars in one night.

In the Cowichan area there are four active speakers and a fourth man 'training' to become one. Training apparently entails the learning of Indian names; family connections and privileges, as well as the proper form and phrases for speaking. A trainee learns by listening to other speakers and from instruction from an active speaker -- a service for which the instructor is not paid.

Finally it must be noted that the winter dance complex is the ethnic institution which precipitates the most conflict with non-ethnic institutions. Due to the frequency and length of the dances working men and students are frequently late for or miss work or school. In addition the prolonged initiation often costs a person his job or a
student his year at school. What is more health authorities report that in many homes on the reserve there is a slackening of hygiene standards because family members are "too busy" with the dances. Lastly, the "grabbing" of persons amounts in some cases to bodily assault and kidnapping which creates numerous hostilities and a volatile state of affairs which could erupt into an open conflict with non-ethnic legal institutions.

Dancers are acutely aware of the animosity directed towards the winter dances by some Indians and most non-Indians. They are equally aware and vocal about their right to perform the dances.

Non-Ethnic Participation

It remains finally to consider the type and scope of ethnic participation in non-ethnic institutions. On the basis of 34 interviews and subsequent checking I compiled the following table:

TABLE I
Non-Ethnic Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Ethnic Participation</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Church Womens League</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church AOTS Mens Club</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternal Order of Eagles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church Nursery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan Golf Club</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan Fire Protection Service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan Track and Field Club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Business and Professional Womens Club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonoptomist Club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. Arts and Welfare Council</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teen Town</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Garden Club</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship Baazaar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Clubs</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.T.A.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the table seemingly indicates extensive Indian participation in a broad range of non-ethnic institutions, this is not so in view of the fact that the table represents nearly all the members of the Cowichan Band who maintain or have maintained non-ethnic statuses. Thus when the total membership of the band is considered, participation in non-ethnic institutions is minimal.
CHAPTER 3

STATUS SETS

It is evident that a twofold classification of institutions is insufficient to analytically accommodate the institutions in which the Cowichan maintain status. Consequently, I propose the following four-fold classification:

1. **Non-Ethnic Type I:** Institutions in which ultimate authority is held by non-ethnics and the general membership is predominantly non-ethnic. Included in this category are all those institutions listed as non-ethnic in the last chapter, i.e. United Church Womens League . . . Teen Town.

2. **Non-Ethnic Type II:** Institutions in which ultimate authority is held by non-ethnics, yet the general membership is predominantly ethnic. The outstanding example of this type is the band council over which ultimate authority is held by the federal government.

3. **Ethnic Type I:** Institutions in which ultimate authority is held by ethnics and the general membership is predominantly ethnic; yet the institution is not a derivative of the aboriginal culture. Included in this category are most of the clubs functioning on the reserve; for example the Thunderbird Youth Club, the Homemakers etc. In addition the Tzinquaw Dancers fall into this category.

4. **Ethnic Type II:** Institutions in which ultimate authority is held by ethnics, the general membership is ethnic, and the institution is a
derivative of the aboriginal culture. Included in this category are the winter dances, black and masked dances, bone games, etc.

It is possible, using the foregoing typology of institutions to isolate analytically and empirically five types of status sets maintained by members of the Cowichan Band. It should be noted that work institutions are not included in the categorization. Briefly, the five types are as follows:

TYPE I: characterized by a complete lack of status.

TYPE II: characterized by predominant involvement in non-ethnic institutions of type 1.

TYPE III: characterized by predominant involvement in non-ethnic institutions of type 2 and ethnic institutions of type 1. In addition the actors represented by this type are or have been members of at least one non-ethnic institution of type 1.

TYPE IV: characterized by predominant and, in this case, exclusive involvement in non-ethnic institutions of type 2 and ethnic institutions of type 1.

TYPE V: characterized by predominant involvement in ethnic institutions of type 1 and 2.

In the following tables I shall characterize the individuals from among those I interviewed who represent each type. Before doing so, however, a few points of clarification concerning the tables are in order.

First, "house type" is evaluated in terms of two categories:

1. Furniture in good repair, interior of house tidy and clean.
2. Furniture in poor repair, interior untidy and not clean.

As I was acutely aware of the subjective nature of the categories, only the extreme instances of category 2 are classified as such.
Secondly, the key to the job classifications listed under "occupational history" is as follows:

1. Logging Industry
2. Millhand
3. Longshoring
4. Fishing Industry
5. Farmwork
6. Tradesman
7. Service Industry
8. Other; including construction, mining, shipyard, berryfields, deckhand, knitting industry, carving, army, trapping, truck driving, hospital orderly, carnival hand, chicken processing, Department of Indian Affairs, Brickyard, clerk "oddjobs".

Thirdly, "drinking habits" are rated in terms of four categories differentiated in terms of frequency. They are:

1. Non-drinker
2. Infrequent
3. Weekend
4. Heavy

In addition to the tables, data relevant to three other variables is also presented; specifically that concerning

1. "Occupational patterns"
2. "Attitudes towards non-ethnics"
3. "Attitudes towards other ethnics and ethnic institutions."

With regard to occupational patterns only those occupational histories indicating considerable fluctuation i.e. change of job type are commented upon. In some instances, this is a note to make explicit the fact that there is considerable fluctuation while in others it is a note to explain fluctuations for which there is evidence that the cause is external to the individual. For instance, comment is made in cases where frequent changes in type of employment is due to closure of places of employment or to the illness of the actor.
### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
<th>Occupational History</th>
<th>Drinking Habits</th>
<th>Hereditary Rights</th>
<th>Status Set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Logger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Infrequent</td>
<td>Non-Ethnic I</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Millhand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Non-Drinker,</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Millhand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Heavy before Marriage</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Logger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Logger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### A. Occupational Patterns:
Actor 1 has completed a twenty month vocational school course in radio electronics and is currently waiting for employment with the telephone company.
Actor 3 states that his job changes are due to the fact that each is considered an improvement over the last.
Actor 4 has worked for six different logging companies since 1954.
Actor 5 states that he "moves around a lot", that is from company to company and is frequently unemployed.

#### B. Attitudes towards non-ethnics:
Three of the men — actors 3, 4 and 5 — state that they feel uncomfortable in situations dominated by a majority of non-Indians. What is more, the wives of actors 3 and 5 state that their husbands avoid interaction with non-Indians. One of these also claims that her husband, actor 5, is "ashamed of being an Indian." Actors 1 and 2 give no indication that they feel "threatened" by non-Indians.

#### C. Attitudes towards other ethnics and ethnic institutions:
All five men manifest a complete lack of concern about local Indian events and politics. In addition all agree that the responsibility for "progress" lies with the individual. In the words of one man, "No one can help him until he is prepared to help himself." Four of the men; that is all except actor 2 would like to see complete assimilation while actor 2 would like to see such things as language and art forms preserved. All five negatively evaluate the winter dances principally because they "interfere with work" and because some initiates are "Kidnapped".
## Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No. of Maried</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
<th>Occupation History</th>
<th>Drinking Habits</th>
<th>Hereditary Rights</th>
<th>Status Set</th>
<th>Ethnic Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Millhand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1. Councilor</td>
<td>1. Soccer(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4th Reader</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Retired; Some Farming</td>
<td>1 1 1 2</td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1. Councilor</td>
<td>1. Allied Tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Retired; Some Farming</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1. Councilor</td>
<td>1. Soccer Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Student Gr. 10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Infrequently</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1. Councilor</td>
<td>1. Soccer Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>C</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type II**

### Occupational Patterns:

The occupational histories of all three working men manifest patterns of steady employment. Changes of job type in the cases of actors 7 and 8 occur because they regard each successive job as an improvement over the last.

### Attitudes towards non-ethnics:

None of the actors in this category admit to any feelings of uneasiness in the presence of non-Indians. All six express the desire to see more social "mixing" between Indians and non-Indians. In addition, all, except for actor 10, claim to have at least one close non-Indian friend.

### Attitudes toward other ethnics and ethnic institutions:

While actor 11 claims that she would like to see all extant ethnic institutions preserved, with the possible exception of the winter dances, the other five states that they would like to see complete assimilation.

+ (P) means past.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No. of Yrs. Married</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
<th>Occupational History</th>
<th>Drinking Habits</th>
<th>Hereditary Rights</th>
<th>Status Set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A.A.</td>
<td>Logger</td>
<td>3 3 1 1</td>
<td>Non-drinker</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ethnic I</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 yrs. ago</td>
<td>Heavy until</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Millhand</td>
<td>1 Infrequent</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic I</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4th Reader</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1 Plasterer</td>
<td>1 Infrequent</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic I</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>2 Logger</td>
<td>1 Nondrinker</td>
<td>Battle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Gr. 9</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic I</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1 Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Nondrinker</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>2 Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>Nondrinker</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1 Secretary</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Nondrinker</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1 Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Nondrinker</td>
<td>?</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TYPE III

A. Occupational Patterns:
The occupational history of actor 12 indicates that frequent job changes ceased when he quit drinking. Before recently returning to the logging industry, which he did because of the "better money", actor 12 worked for nine years as a hospital orderly. Actor 15 states that job changes in the logging industry were necessitated by the closure of the small companies for which he worked.

B. Attitudes towards non-ethnics:
While two male actors, 12 and 13, state that they experience feelings of "inferiority" while in the presence of non-Indians, none of the other seven admit to any feelings of unease in the presence of non-Indians. All nine state that they would like to see greater social "mixing" between Indians and non-Indians.

C. Attitudes towards other ethnics and ethnic institutions:
Actor 17 would like to see complete assimilation while the other eight would like to see Indian traditions and institutions maintained "within limits". The implication is that they should be maintained as long as they do not interfere with "progress" which these people define in non-Indian terms. Consequently five actors, 14, 15, 17, 18 and 20, express strong negative evaluations of the winter dances, while the other four; namely 12, 13, 16 and 19, suggest that while they are "all right" for the old people, there is no place for them in the lives of the young. All nine agree that "progress" is to be achieved through the combined efforts of the federal government and the community.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No. of Yrs. Married</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
<th>Occupational History</th>
<th>Drinking Habits</th>
<th>Hereditary Rights</th>
<th>Non-Ethnic I</th>
<th>Status Set</th>
<th>Non-Ethnic II</th>
<th>Ethnic I</th>
<th>Ethnic II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nondrinker</td>
<td>Masked Dance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Catholic Church</td>
<td>2. Legion of Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Longshoremen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nondrinker;</td>
<td>Masked Dance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Catholic Church</td>
<td>2. Legion of Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>8th Reader</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nondrinker;</td>
<td>Masked Dance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Chief (P)</td>
<td>2. Councillor(P)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Logger</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nondrinker;</td>
<td>Masked Dance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Councillor</td>
<td>2. Catholic Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Millhand</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nondrinker;</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Councillor</td>
<td>2. Catholic Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nondrinker;</td>
<td>Masked Dance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Catholic Church</td>
<td>2. Legion of Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5**

**Type IV Status Set**
Throughout the day, the soil was dotted with many different flowers. The air was filled with the sweet perfume of these flowers, making it almost impossible for anyone to resist their allure. Even those who tried to ignore them found themselves drawn inward by the captivating aroma. The beauty of the flowers was not just in their petals, but also in their resilience. They grew and bloomed despite the harsh conditions, their vibrant colors a testament to their hardiness.

Actors 23 and 25 have worked for thirteen companies since 1949. Actor 23 was "forced" to change jobs due to a prolonged illness. Actor 27 worked, between 1954 and 1962, "all over the place" at logging and in the berry fields until he quit drinking in 1962.

B. Attitudes towards non-ethnics:
Actor 25 states that he feels "uncomfortable" with non-Indians. Actors 21, 22 and 23 state that they feel uneasy in the presence of strange non-Indians while one of these, actor 21 is hostile towards non-Indians because she feels that they are responsible for the present "unhappy" conditions on the reserve. Another, actor 22, expresses hostile sentiments towards non-Indians, even though she would like to see complete assimilation, because of their "indifference" and "coldness" towards Indians. All six actors would like to see greater social intercourse between Indians and non-Indians.

C. Attitudes toward other ethnics and ethnic institutions:
While actor 22 would like to see complete assimilation to the non-Indian culture, the other seven actors would like to see Indian traditions and institutions maintained. Like the previous type, however, all eight object to the winter dances on the grounds that it interferes with too many other endeavours. This attitude is reinforced for six actors; namely 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, and 28, who negatively evaluate the dances because they are expressions of beliefs which contravene Catholic dogma.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No. of Yrs. Married</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
<th>Occupational History</th>
<th>Drinking Habits</th>
<th>Hereditary Rights</th>
<th>Non-ethnic I</th>
<th>Status Set</th>
<th>Non-ethnic II</th>
<th>Ethnic I</th>
<th>Ethnic II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Retired</td>
<td>Householder; Heavy up until 27 yrs. ago</td>
<td>1 2 3 3 2 2</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Masked Dance</td>
<td>1. Chief (P)</td>
<td>1. Masked</td>
<td>1. Shaker</td>
<td>1. Masked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Occupational Patterns:
Actor 29 states that his frequent job changes are due largely to a definite preference for seasonal employment.

Actor 31 claims to carve for a living. In view of the fact however that he is a qualified carpenter and in view of comments made by his wife, I feel that carving is largely an excuse for not working elsewhere. In fact actor 31 centers his life almost exclusively around the winter dances. As president of one of the big house committees he enjoys considerable status in the community, but this is maintained at the cost of considerable work with little in the way of steady monetary remuneration.

Actor 33 claims that the job changes manifested in his occupational history are due to the fact that he's not married and "likes to travel around". In addition actor 33 has been frequently unemployed due to serious illnesses.

B. Attitudes towards non-ethnics:
None of the actors admit to any feelings of hostility or feelings of unease in the presence of non-Indians. One woman, actor 34, who, it might be noted, was previously married to a non-Indian, would like to see greater integration between the Indian and non-Indian communities. The four men, actors 29, 31, 32, 33, are, however, apparently unconcerned with non-Indians and non-Indian institutions as long as they do not impinge on Indian institutions, particularly the winter dances.

C. Attitudes towards other ethnics and ethnic institutions:
The four men are exceedingly suspicious of and hostile toward Indians who negatively evaluate Indian institutions and particularly the winter dances. While all five actors would like to see the standard of living on the reserve improve, they are adamant in their demand that Indian traditions and institutions be maintained.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total Actors</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Poor Housing</th>
<th>Unsteady Occupational Patterns</th>
<th>Drinking Habits</th>
<th>Perceived Threat</th>
<th>Positive Assimilation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gr. 11</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>1 1 0 3</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gr. 8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 2 1 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gr. 9</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>4 2 3 2</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gr. 6</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>8 0 0 6</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gr. 6</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>2 0 1 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. By poor housing I mean housing which falls into category two. Statistics, of course, are based solely on the total homeowners in each type.

2. Notations are restricted to cases of unsteady working patterns, exclusive of cases where there is evidence that the cause is external to the sample.

3. P = past.

4. "Perceived threat" indicates those Indians who perceive non-Indians in terms of threat.

5. "Positive assimilation" indicates those Indians who would like to see the complete assimilation of Indians to non-Indian society.
Type I consists of actors characterized by a complete lack of status. Type I while exhibiting the highest rating for "average education" is also characterized by the highest rating with regard to "poor housing" and "perceived threat". In addition Type I ranks second with regard to "positive assimilation" and is further characterized by a high proportion of heavy drinkers and "unsteady" workers.

Type II consists of actors characterized by predominant involvement in non-ethnic institutions of type 1. It is outstanding in that it has the highest rating -- in this case one hundred per cent -- good housing; the highest rating for steady employment, and the highest rating for "positive assimilation". Type II is also characterized by a low consumption of alcohol and by a zero rating for "perceived threat".

Type III consists of actors characterized by predominant involvement in non-ethnic institutions of type 2 and ethnic institutions of type 1. In addition the actors represented by this type are or have been members of at least one non-ethnic institution of type 1. Type III marks the radical change in ratings for "positive assimilation"; from .83 for types I and II respectively to .11 for type III.

Type IV consists of actors characterized by predominant and, in this case, exclusive involvement in non-ethnic institutions of type 2 and ethnic institutions of type 1. Type IV shares two distinctions with type V, namely the lowest rating for "average education" and the highest rating for "unsteady occupational patterns". In addition,
type IV exhibits the second highest rating for "perceived threat" and while all the actors who constitute this type are now non-drinkers it is interesting to note that in the past six of these were heavy drinkers.

Type V consists of actors characterized by predominant involvement in ethnic institutions of type 1 and 2. Type V in addition to the distinctions already noted is characterized by the second highest rating for "poor housing", a significantly high rating of heavy drinkers and zero ratings for "perceived threat" and "positive assimilation".
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

In evaluating the foregoing data it must be remembered that it is based on only thirty-four interviews and consequently any conclusions must be regarded, at best, as highly tentative. On the basis of the available data, however, it is evident that my theory explaining differential participation is false. Contrary to the expectation it is type I rather than V which manifests the highest rating with regard to "perceived threat". Moreover type IV exhibits a significantly high rating with regard to the same variable. Consequently, in order to explain this phenomenon, new assumptions are necessary.

It is interesting to note that with regard to type I the majority of actors who constitute this type would like to see complete assimilation to the non-ethnic society. In fact, on the basis of the interviews, I would say that they are oriented almost exclusively to the non-ethnic culture. Even the interest of the one man in this type who would like to see the language and art forms preserved is, I feel, largely academic. These same actors, however, have not acquired status in the non-ethnic society. Consequently while I think they positively evaluate the non-ethnic culture they negatively evaluate themselves because they do not hold status in the non-ethnic society even though they initially aspired to do so. I would further hypothesize that these same actors think that because they negatively evaluate or define themselves as failures they will be similarly evaluated by their
meaningful peers, namely non-ethnics. Consequently, non-ethnics are defined in terms of threat. Furthermore, I would interpret the significantly high proportionate rating of "poor housing", "unsteady occupational patterns" and "heavy drinking" as a function of the negative self-evaluations of these actors.

With regard to type IV, it is interesting to note that until two or three years ago five of the actors who are now classified in this type would have been classified as type 1 actors characterized by a lack of status. In addition all five of these actors were until that time heavy drinkers and are now, in fact, all members of Alcoholic's Anonymous. In view of these considerations I would explain the .50 rating for "perceived threat" using the same assumptions employed to explain the .60 rating for type I actors. The fact, however, that these actors have recently acquired status in non-ethnic institutions of type 2 and ethnic institutions of type 1, leads one to hypothesize that these actors will eventually cease to negatively evaluate non-ethnics. There is an additional consideration. Type IV actors are, on the whole, actively involved in band politics and clubs. They share with type III actors the same intense desire to see "the lot" of the Indian improved. Two of the type IV actors are, however, unique in that they hold the Whiteman -- the non-ethnic -- responsible for the Indian's plight and consequently express a generalized hostility towards non-ethnics. This suggests to me that in this case the negative evaluation of non-ethnics will persist because the actors concerned will have found a new rationale to sustain it.
The available data indicates also that the second hypothesis is also false, namely that:

Actors who participate predominantly or exclusively in ethnic institutions manifest a history of failure in attempts to acquire status in non-ethnic institutions.

None of the actors in category V gave any indication that they failed to acquire a positively evaluated status which they attempted to acquire. It would appear that actors who participate predominantly in Indian ethnic institutions do so because they evaluate them more highly than non-ethnic institutions.

The results, however, I feel would have been different if a means had been devised to elicit the necessary information which took into account the fact that people are not ready to admit failure. A possible means of accomplishing this would be to collect information concerning aspirations held at different periods in the life of a given individual and comparing this record against the actual.

Considerations for Further Research

With regard to further research concerning the problem of differential participation of ethnic in non-ethnic institutions, it might be useful to examine the assumptions which underlie the concept of 'the search for status'. Three general ones are:

1. All actors strive to maintain a positive self-evaluation.
2. The acquisition and maintenance of positively evaluated statuses elicits a positive self-evaluation.
3. Actors strive to acquire and maintain positively evaluated statuses.
The key concepts are "positive self-evaluation" and "positively evaluated statuses".

If more sophisticated research is to be done it is essential to determine what factors contribute to the "positive" evaluation of a status; for example prestige, authority, etc. It is essential I think because different types of status could conceivably differentially contribute to the degree of "positiveness".

A tighter connection between "positive self-evaluation" and "status" could be postulated if the concept of status were broadened to include membership in informal structures as well as highly organized institutions, or the definition of institution were broadened so as to include informal structures. Thus, a typology of statuses might be devised and more of the complexities of the problem of differential participation could be accommodated. For instance, it is conceivable that different individuals all maintain "positive self-evaluations" while utilizing different patterns of status types.

A final consideration is that the statement of the initial condition, namely a "contact situation", for any theory dealing with the problem of differential ethnic participation in non-ethnic society, will have greater utility in the sense of predictive power if it is more refined; in other words what is needed is an explicit statement of the significant variables characterizing the situation.
Footnotes


2. Actually the song and a dance, costume, and a pattern for face painting.


18. I use the term 'ethnic' rather than Indian in the hope that the analytic distinction made here will be of use in discussions concerning any minority ethnic group.


20. No rationale was developed for this hypothesis.


Bibliography


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