

The Education Gap: Urban Indians in British Columbia

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One of the principal promises held out by the dominant society to members of minorities is that, if they acquire the level of education and training comparable to members of the dominant society, then their upward mobility is assured. This paper will examine the level of educational achievement of B.C. Indians living off reserves. Comparisons will be made to B.C. non-status Indians, to Indians living on five reservations in the U.S. Southwest, to Indians living in three Minnesota cities and to the total B.C. and Canadian population. In addition a summary of a number of earlier studies of Indian educational achievement will be presented. Historically, research on Canada's native Indian population has been concerned with those living on reserves. The most recent major study, the "Hawthorn Report," is an example of this tradition.² However, an increasing proportion of Canadian Indians no longer live on reserves — this is particularly true in British Columbia,³ where between 1962 and 1972 the proportion of "legal or status"⁴ Indians living off reserves increased

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² H. B. Hawthorn (ed.), *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, vol. I, 1966, vol. II, 1968. The second volume dealt extensively with the education of Indian children. We might also point out that in the 1961 Census, data on "Indians" relates only to those living on reserves. This is because reserves were defined to be sub-units for the purpose of the Census.

³ The basic reference work on B.C. Indians is H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw and S. M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1958.

A more recent study is D. B. Fields and W. T. Stanbury "The Impact of the Public Sector Upon the Indians of British Columbia: An Examination of the Incidence of the Revenues and Expenditures of Three Levels of Government", A Report Submitted to the Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, September 1968 (pp. 422, mimeo). See also the *Vancouver Province*, April 1, 1972, p. 5 for a summary of four chapters of this study.

⁴ By a "legal or status" Indian we mean persons defined to be Indians under the *Indian Act*, and recorded on a band list by Indian Affairs. The B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians defines a non-status Indian as follows:

"A non-status Indian is a person who, although genetically and culturally an Indian, is not registered as such by the Department of Indian Affairs of the

from 14.2% to 33.5% of the total population. During the same period the total Indian population grew at an average annual rate of 2.5%, while that of the off-reserve population grew at an annual average of almost 12%.

*Methodology — Obtaining the Sample*⁵

Very little is known about the life circumstances of B.C. Indians who do not live on reserves. In its annual population census officials of Indian Affairs review the Band Lists and determine as of January each year, for each person listed, whether or not his place of residence is on or off reserve. The Band Lists also contain the following information: year of birth, sex, marital status, religion and "apparent family size."⁶ In order to obtain information on a number of the parameters of the "population" from which we were to sample we obtained copies of the Band Lists as of January 1, 1970.

For each person on the list who was born before 1956 (age 16 or greater in the summer of 1971)⁷ and who was indicated to be living off

Federal Government. The Canadian government, through the Indian Act, has laid down certain definite rules for defining who is, and who is not, an Indian. This 'race by legislation' act has given rise to many strange cases whereby a person with no Indian blood, whatever, may legally be classed as an Indian; whereas a full-blooded Indian may legally be classed as white. . . .

"Membership in the (Association) is open to any person of one-quarter or more Indian blood, who is not a registered member of an Indian Band."

The Association estimates there are 60,000 non-status Indians in B.C. as compared to 50,000 status Indians.

⁵ This section on methodology is drawn almost entirely from W. T. Stanbury, D. B. Fields and D. Stevenson "Unemployment and Labour Force Participation Rates of B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves" *Manpower Review, Pacific Region*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1972.

⁶ Children are listed by surname below their fathers' (and mothers') name if they are minors and have not married. When minors marry they receive a separate listing. Females who marry non-Indians lose their status i.e. they cease to be Indians under the definition of the *Indian Act*.

We wish to acknowledge the extensive assistance of the staff of the B.C. Region, Indian Affairs Branch, Vancouver for the provision and "amendment" of the Band Lists.

⁷ The age "cut-off" was used because we were interested in the "economically-active" population. It should be pointed out that 49.2% of the B.C. Indian population is age 15 or under and only 4.1% is age 65 or older. In comparison 28.5% of the total B.C. population in 1970 was age 14 and under and 9.0% was age 65 and older. The central age group (20-64) accounted for 53.5% of the B.C. population. The proportion of B.C. Indians in the age group 21-64 was 36.3%. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Estimated Population by Sex and Age Group, for Canada and Provinces, June 1, 1970*, #91202, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1971, p. 2. *Indian Affairs Facts and Figures*, Ottawa, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970, p. 3.

reserve we asked the thirteen Agency Superintendents to supply the following additional information: location off-reserve, occupation, industry and length of time living off reserve.

This data (on almost 8000 persons) was put on the computer and analyzed to obtain estimates of the following population parameters: age distribution, sex, marital status, population by region and town, cultural/linguistic groups, occupation and industry. However, we must point out that except for the first three categories we had "don't know" in one or more categories for at least one-third of the persons living off-reserve. From that point we concentrated on the age/sex distribution and population by region and town variables to ensure a representative sample.

Sampling quotas were drawn up by town, region and age/sex distribution, given our target (and financial resources) of 1000-1200 completed interviews. Because of cost considerations we did not collect interviews north of Ft. St. James, in the Queen Charlotte Islands or on the northwest coast of Vancouver Island. While this work was proceeding we hired and trained 17 interviewers, most of whom were university students who had had previous contact with Indians. Three interviewers were Indians.

While we had obtained estimates of the off reserve population by region, town, age and sex there remained the problem of obtaining individual respondents for we did not have specific street addresses. To accomplish this we designed the "multiple-source, linked respondent" technique. In an individual town the interviewers visited stores, cafes, beer parlours, welfare workers and the chiefs of Indian bands located in the vicinity.⁸

The technique worked very well, particularly the latter part, when each respondent was asked if he knew of other Indians living off reserve in the area or in other towns along the interviewer's route. Thirty-seven percent of the 1095 interviews were obtained from referrals by a previous respondent, 10.7% were obtained by knocking on doors or from neighbours, and 12.7% from clubs, social organizations, (Indian Centres) employers or a government agency. Some 61% of the interviews were actually carried out in the respondent's home or that of a friend and 22% were carried out in a public place (cafe, beer parlour, etc.). Interviewers were instructed to interview either the husband or wife (but not both) in a household and only one other adult in the same household provided they

⁸ Before we began the field work we obtained a substantial list of contacts in various communities from a number of Indian organizations. Particularly helpful was a letter of introduction from the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs who supported the project.

were not a member of the nuclear family. Only persons whose place of residence had been off reserve for at least one month were interviewed.

The Questionnaire

The major objective of our study was to provide a comprehensive socio-economic profile of B.C. Indians who live off-reserve. Our emphasis was on the collection of "hard" data on a growing group of people about whom we know very little. The data sought may be grouped under the following headings: demographic, composition of household/family, employment status, job and geographic mobility, education/training, income/welfare dependency, ties to the reserve, adjustment to life off-reserve, knowledge of government programs, and open-ended questions on a number of topics. Consequently, the results reported in this paper represent only a small proportion of the information gathered.

The Population and the Sample

Table 1 compares the age distribution of the sample and that of all persons age 16 and over living off-reserve in early 1971. With the exception of the age cohorts 22-26 and 52 and over, the proportions of the sample lie within one percentage point of those of the population. The cohort 22-26 accounts for 22.6% of our sample but only 16.6% of the population. The sample is slightly underrepresented in the 52 and over age group. This is primarily due to the fact we instructed our interviewers to confine their respondents to the age range 16 to 65. Of the total sample 54.9% of respondents were male and 45.1% were female. However if we exclude the 61 interviews (53M and 8F) of persons in prisons then the sample is better balanced with 53% males and 47% females.

In Table 2 we compare the sample and population proportion in terms of linguistic cultural groupings. Wakashan/Bella Coola respondents are slightly over-represented, and the Carrier group are over-represented. Coast Salish and the Far Northern groups are under-represented. The latter group is under-represented because of limitations in resources to collect interviews in northern B.C.

Comparisons of the age and sex distributions as well as that of the linguistic cultural groupings appear to indicate that while a true random sampling of the off-reserve population could not be obtained, we have at least obtained a representative sample. Our 1095 respondents were drawn from a total of 62 towns in B.C. In five towns (Vancouver, 266; Prince Rupert, 108; Port Alberni, 47; Prince George, 62; and Victoria, 41) we

TABLE 1
 Age Distribution of All B.C. Indians Living Off Reserve
 As Compared to the Sample

<i>Age Summer 1971</i>	<i>Year of Birth</i>	<i>All B.C. Indians Living Off Reserve, Jan. 1971</i>					<i>Sample, B.C. Indians Living Off Reserve, Summer, 1971</i>				
		<i>Number</i>		<i>Percentage</i>		<i>Total</i>	<i>Number</i>		<i>Percentage</i>		<i>Total</i>
		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>			<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	
16-21	1950-55	863	863	22.1%	21.8%	21.9%	119	110	19.8%	22.3%	20.9%
22-26	1945-49	622	685	15.9	17.3	16.6	139	109	23.1	22.1	22.6
27-31	1940-44	588	620	15.1	15.6	15.4	116	67	19.3	13.6	16.7
32-41	1930-39	820	817	21.0	20.6	20.8	120	101	20.0	20.4	20.2
42-51	1920-29	464	511	11.9	12.9	12.4	60	65	10.0	13.2	11.4
52-66	1905-19	411	357	10.5	9.0	9.8	44	39	7.3	7.9	7.6
67 & over	1904 & before	135	113	3.5	2.8	3.2	3	3	0.5	0.6	0.5
		3,903	3,966	100.0	100.0	100.0	601	494	100.0	100.0	100.0

obtained more than forty respondents. At the other end of the spectrum we obtained from one to four respondents in 20 towns.

TABLE 2
Comparison of Sample and Population of B.C. Indians
Living Off Reserve By Cultural/Linguistic Groups

Cultural/ Linguistic Group	Total Off Reserve Population Jan. 1971		Sample, B.C. Indians Off Reserve, Age 16 & over Summer, 1971				% of Population
	n=	%	Male	Female	Total	%	
Interior Salish	3,736	24.0%	142	141	283	25.8%	7.6%
Coast Salish	2,732	17.5	73	54	127	11.6	4.6
Wakashan/ Bella Coola	3,024	19.4	140	104	244	22.3	8.1
Carrier	1,679	10.8	97	95	192	17.5	11.4
Tsimshian/Haida	3,044	19.5	118	87	205	18.7	6.7
Chilcotin	244	1.6	8	7	15	1.4	6.1
Far Northern	950	6.1	8	2	10	0.9	1.0
Kootenay	163	1.0	14	2	16	1.5	9.8
Don't Know	—	—	1	2	3	0.3	n.a.
	15,572	100.0	601	494	1,095	100.0	7.0

The proportion of respondents by size of town excluding 61 persons in prison and 4 travelling was as follows:

500 - 2499	16.9%
2500 - 9999	19.3
10,000 - 24,999	24.0
25,000 - 99,999	13.9
100,000 & over (Vancouver)	25.9

In order to ascertain how long our respondents had been residing off reserve we asked the following question: "When did you last live on the reserve for more than one month?" Omitting persons who had never lived on reserve we found that 9.3% had resided off the reserve for 1-4 months, 13.9% for 5-12 months, 25.7% for 13-48 months, 28.2% for 29-120 months and 22.9% had not lived on reserve for more than one month for more than ten years.

Some Earlier Studies of Indian Educational Achievement

Jamieson, in his section of *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, reports that for a representative sample of thirty-five bands with a total population of almost 36,000, the proportion of the population educated past Grade IX did not exceed 7.2% for any band. For 16 bands the proportion was less than three percent.⁹ In Volume II of the Hawthorn Report it is pointed out that of 8782 Indian students enrolling in Grade I in 1951 only 4544 enrolled in Grade II. Of the same group only 2090 enrolled in Grade VII and a miniscule 341 enrolled in Grade XII. Of those 141 completed Grade XII in 1962.¹⁰

Fields and Stanbury obtained unpublished 1961 Census data to compare the level of education of B.C. Indians living on reserve with that of

TABLE 3

Educational Attainment of B.C. Indians Living on Reserves and Total B.C. Population By Age Group, 1961

Age Group 1961	Indian Population 1961*	No Schooling %†		Elementary‡ %		Secondary %		Univ. or Univ. Degree %	
		B.C.	Indian	B.C.	Indian	B.C.	Indian	B.C.	Indian
15-19	3958	1.3	1.4	22.2	61.5	75.2	37.1	1.3	0.1
20-24	3141	0.6	3.3	16.0	63.1	76.0	33.1	7.4	0.5
25-34	4667	0.7	7.5	22.4	74.9	66.7	17.3	10.2	0.3
35-44	3143	0.6	12.8	25.9	76.4	63.6	10.3	9.9	0.6
45-64	3981	1.8	30.9	38.6	64.6	51.3	4.2	8.3	0.3
65 & over	1662	4.0	61.2	51.1	37.6	38.6	1.1	6.3	0.2
All age groups 15 & over	20552	1.5	15.4	32.1	65.7	58.0	18.6	8.4	0.4

*on reserve only.

‡includes kindergarten through Grade 8.

†sums horizontally.

Source: D. B. Fields and W. T. Stanbury, *The Economic Impact of the Public Sector Upon the Indians of British Columbia*. A Study for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Sept. 1968, (422 pp. mimeo) pp. 17, 53 Tables 2, A-3.

⁹ S. M. Jamieson "Socio-economic Factors Affecting Economic Development" in H. B. Hawthorn (ed.) *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, Ottawa, Indian Affairs Branch, vol. I, 1966, p. 103.

¹⁰ H. B. Hawthorn (ed.) *op. cit.* vol. II, 1968, p. 130.

the entire B.C. population.¹¹ Table 3 is taken from their study. It indicates that for those age 15 and over in 1961, 15.4% of B.C. Indians living on reserves had no schooling — ten times the rate for the total B.C. population. For Indians 65 and over only three-fifths had no schooling as compared to 4% of the total B.C. population. Two-thirds of B.C. Indians age 15 and over had only an elementary education in 1961. This was twice the proportion of the general population of the province. Even in 1961 the strong inverse correlation between age and education for B.C. Indians was obvious. In the age cohort 20-24 years one-third of B.C. Indians had a secondary school education while only 10% of those in the 35-44 cohort had achieved this level of education. In 1961 only twelve B.C. Indians of over 20,000 living on reserves (age 15 and over) had acquired a university degree. This compared to 3.3% of the total B.C. population in 1961.¹²

(The substantial improvement in the level education achieved by American Indians can be seen in the following data for male Indians living on reservations taken from the 1960 U.S. Census:¹³

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Median years of school completed</i>
20-24	9.2
25-35	8.2
35-44	7.9
45-64	6.6
65 & over	3.5

In a little over four decades the median number of grades completed increased 2.6 times. Data from the 1960 U.S. Census for male reservation Indians age fourteen and over indicated that 9.6% had no schooling, 50.4% had an elementary education, 34.4% had a secondary school education and 5.6% had some university education or a university degree.¹⁴ These data suggest that in 1960 the level of education of U.S. Indians was significantly above that of B.C. Indians living on reserves. In a later section of this paper we will make comparisons of reservation Indians in the U.S. Southwest in 1968 to B.C. Indians living off reserve in 1971.

(Educational achievement by age for sample of 157 Indians and Metis living in Prince Albert, North Battleford and Meadow Lake in 1961-62 is given in Table 4. The author summarizes his results in this way:

¹¹ D. B. Fields and W. T. Stanbury *op. cit.* pp. 17, 53 tables 2, A-3.

¹² D. B. Fields and W. T. Stanbury *op. cit.*, table A-3, p. 53.

¹³ Alan L. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid*, Washington, Brookings, 1971, p. 38.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 17, table 1-10 Sorkin reports that 1.6% had completed a University degree.

TABLE 4

Educational Attainment by Age of Indians and Metis
in Prince Albert, North Battleford and Meadow Lake, 1961-62

Age	Grade Completed			Total
	None	1-4	5-8	
under 30	4%	17%	79%	100%
30-49	20%	26%	54%	100%
50 & over	27%	40%	33%	100%
n	30	45	77	152†

†of the total sample of 157 four persons had completed schooling beyond Grade 8.

Source: Arthur K. Davis, *Edging Into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan* in Davis, French, Knell, Fentner (eds.), *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, vol. II, Calgary, 1965, pp. 399, 400.

This picture of Metis and Indian educational achievement is dismal. While a larger sample would be desirable, our results are consistent with those found by the Knell-Davis study. . . . It is no understatement to say that the Metis or Indian adult who has made it through high school is something of a rarity, at least in Saskatchewan. . . . In the under-30 group, hardly anyone failed to complete some of the primary grades and four-fifths made it into Grades V-VIII. Among the 50-and-over respondents by contrast, nearly one-third had no schooling, and only one-third got into the upper elementary grades. . . .

A study of 156 Metis-Indian residents of Cumberland House in 1960 by J. Kew showed results similar to ours.¹⁵

The level of education of a sample of 104 Indians and 98 Metis living in Winnipeg in 1957 was markedly higher than that reported by Davis' study of three Saskatchewan communities. One quarter of the Winnipeg sample had completed Grade 9 or more. Forty percent had completed Grade 6 or less. The data is summarized in Table 5. Again we note the inverse relationship between age and level of education. The authors of the study state:

Indian women with the most education (the average being over eight grades) were between 15 and 29 years of age. Those 40 through 59 had the least schooling, averaging less than eight grades. There was not much difference in schooling among Indian men, since the average years attained for most age groupings was seven or eight.

¹⁵ Arthur K. Davis, *Edging Into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan* in Davis, French, Knell, Fentner (eds.) *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, vol. II, Calgary, 1965, pp. 398, 401.

Metis women between 20 and 39 had the most schooling with a very slight tendency for those over 49 to have considerably less. Ages 15 through 29 among Metis men were characterized by the most schooling, being over eight grades, and ages 40 through 59 had the least which was six grades or less.¹⁶

A more recent study by Nagler¹⁷ of a sample of 150 Indians living in Toronto during the period 1964-1966 reveals that 22.3% had twelve or more years of schooling and 27.7% had 9-11 years. We have summarized Nagler's data in Table 6. In the age cohort 20-29 some 31.6% of the sample had twelve or more years of schooling — most had thirteen years. Only one-half this proportion achieved this level of education of those age 40 and over. In about one decade the proportion with eight or fewer

TABLE 5
Educational Achievement by Age of Indians and Metis
Living in Winnipeg 1957*

age, 1957		Highest Grade Completed					Total†
		0-4	5-6	7-8	9-11	12+	
15-19	n	1	3	6	2	1	13
	%	7.7	23.1	46.2	15.4	7.7	100.0
20-29	n	7	20	24	22	5	78
	%	9.0	25.6	30.8	28.2	6.4	100.0
30-39	n	6	10	18	9	0	43
	%	14.0	23.3	41.9	20.9	0.0	100.0
40-49	n	10	7	15	8	0	40
	%	25.0	17.5	37.5	20.0	0.0	100.0
50-79	n	11	4	6	2	0	23
	%	47.8	17.4	26.1	8.9	0.0	100.0
Total	n	35	44	69	43	6	197
	%	17.8	22.3	35.0	21.8	3.0	100.0

*32M and 72F Indians, 37M and 51F Metis

†omits 7 "don't know"

Source: W. E. Boek and J. K. Boek, *The People of Indian Ancestry in Greater Winnipeg*, Appendix I of Jean H. Lagasse (ed.), *A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba*, Winnipeg, Queen's Printer, 1959, p. 50.

¹⁶ W. E. Boek and J. K. Boek, *The People of Indian Ancestry in Greater Winnipeg*, Appendix I of Jean H. Lagasse (ed.) *A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba*, Winnipeg, Queen's Printer, 1959, p. 50.

¹⁷ Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City, A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*, Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 1970.

years of schooling dropped from 68.6% in the age cohort 30-39 to 35.1% in the cohort 20-29 years.

We are now ready to examine the comparative level of education of B.C. Indians living off reserves, B.C. non-status Indians, Indians on five reservations in the U.S. Southwest and for B.C. and Canadian non-Indian populations.

Results of a Survey of 1095 B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves

Table 7 records the highest grade completed by region of residence and by sex for the respondents in our sample of 1095 of the almost 8000 Indians (age 16 and over) living off reserves in 1971.

One quarter of our sample have completed the sixth grade or less and only one-sixth have graduated from high school or better. Recall that 22% of Nagler's sample had twelve or more years of schooling. In fact only 2.3% of our sample had completed one or more years of university, and only four persons out of the total sample (1095) had acquired a university degree. Over three-fifths (62.1%) have completed the ninth grade or less.

As is shown in Table 8 the level of education varies considerably by region of residence in 1971. For example no one in our prison sample of 61 has completed high school, where 32.3% of persons resident in Vancouver have done so. Only 5.1% of Okanagan residents have achieved high school graduation or better. Since, as we shall see, the variation in the proportion who have high school graduation is much less among the various linguistic cultural groups than by region there is some reason to believe that the more highly educated Indian people gravitate toward the Vancouver area. While 58.6% of our Vancouver sample had completed Grade 10 or better only 30.0% of the sample of residents of Vancouver Island had achieved this level. In the Northern Interior the proportion was 24.5% and in the Okanagan it was only 19.0%.

In Table 8 we make a comparison of the level of education of B.C. Indians living off reserve age 16 and over and age 25 and over with the B.C. and Canadian population age 14 years and over and 25 years and over. Taking the age 16 and 14 years and over distributions first we find that proportionately twice as many Indians have "some elementary education or less" as compared to all Canadians; 37.5% as compared to 18.6%. In the next two categories "completed elementary education" and "some secondary education" the proportion for all of Canada is about four percentage points above that for our sample of B.C. Indians living

TABLE 7
 Educational Attainment of B.C. Indians Living Off Reserve, 1971
 Region of Residence Summer 1971

<i>Highest Grade Completed</i>	<i>Lower Fraser</i>	<i>Vancouver</i>	<i>North Coast</i>	<i>North Int.</i>	<i>South Int.</i>	<i>Prison</i>	<i>Vanc. Island</i>	<i>Okanagan</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
0-6											
no.	11	34	33	62	38	16	51	31	276	140	136
%	24.4	12.8	25.2	36.3	25.7	26.2	26.8	39.2	25.3	23.3	27.5
7-9											
no.	12	76	48	67	48	35	82	33	401	213	172
%	26.7	28.6	36.6	39.2	32.4	57.4	43.2	41.8	36.8	35.4	34.8
10-11											
no.	10	70	31	25	36	10	36	11	229	128	101
%	22.2	26.3	23.7	14.6	24.3	16.4	18.9	13.9	21.0	21.3	20.4
12 & over											
no.	12	86	19	17	26	0	21	4	185	120	65
%	26.7	32.3	14.5	9.9	17.6	0.0	11.1	5.1	17.0	20.0	13.2
Total no.	45	266	131	171	148	61	190	79	1,091*	601	494
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*excludes 4 persons travelling.

off reserves. While 21.0% of all Canadian women age 14 and over have completed secondary school only one-half that proportion of Indian women age 16 and over in our sample had done so. The proportion of Indian men living off reserves who had completed secondary school (17.6%) was *greater* than the proportion of all Canadian men (14.7%). However, proportionately over four times as many Canadians have some university education or a degree as compared to Indians living off reserves.

When persons age 25 and over are compared the non-Indian, Indian differentials in educational achievement are more apparent. One-half of B.C. Indians in this group had only some elementary education or less as compared to 22% of all Canadians. While 27% of Canadians age 25 and over had completed secondary school or gone beyond only 14% of B.C. Indians living off reserve had achieved this level. Additional details can be found in Table 8.

Because the educational attainment of B.C. residents is significantly greater than that of Canada as a whole we prepared Table 9 to compare our sample to both B.C. residents and all Canadians. As we have seen in the earlier studies discussed above the Indian - non-Indian "education gap" depends strongly on the age group being considered. In the age cohort 20-24 we find that the proportion of B.C. Indians living off reserve with a secondary education (67.6%) is slightly *above* that of all B.C. residents (66.0%) and all Canadians (63.0%). However, we find that 29.2% of Indians in this age cohort have only an elementary education as compared to 10.7% for B.C. and 19.6% for Canada. The difference is even greater at the upper end of the distribution. Only 3.2% of Indians (n=8) in our sample have obtained some university education while 23.3% of all B.C. residents have done so.

The "education gap" widens as we move to older age cohorts. For example in the 45-64 group ninety percent of Indians living off reserve had only an elementary education. This compares to 39% of all B.C. residents and just over one-half of all Canadians.

The gap is being closed more rapidly than Table 11 would indicate. Table 10 which gives the median number of grades completed by age cohort shows the astonishing difference in level of education by age for B.C. Indians. The median is 4.1 grades for those age 55-64 in 1961, but this level is more than doubled to 9.9 grades for those in the age cohort 20-24. In this cohort the median for Canada's native-born population is 10.5 for males and 10.8 for females. For the Indian females in our sample the median number of grades completed almost doubled in the decade

TABLE 8

<i>Level of Education</i>	<i>B.C. Indians Off Reserve 1971 Age 16 and over</i>					<i>Canada, Age 14 and over 1967</i>			<i>B.C. Indians Off Reserve 1971 Age 25 and over</i>					<i>Canada, Age 25 and over 1967</i>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>n</i> <i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>%</i> <i>F</i>	<i>M+F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>%</i> <i>F</i>	<i>M+F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>n</i> <i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>%</i> <i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>%</i> <i>F</i>	<i>M+F</i>
Some elementary or less	214	197	35.6	39.9	37.5	20.0	17.3	18.6	180	175	46.0	54.9	23.3	20.5	21.9	
Completed elementary	82	77	13.6	15.6	14.5	18.7	17.9	18.3	54	47	13.8	14.7	22.5	21.5	22.0	
Some secondary educ.	185	154	30.8	31.2	31.0	35.2	36.4	35.8	86	68	22.0	21.3	27.4	29.8	28.6	
Completed secondary educ.	106	55	17.6	11.1	14.7	14.7	21.0	17.9	60	23	15.3	7.2	15.2	21.1	18.2	
Some university educ.	11	10	1.8	2.0	1.9	6.1	4.8	5.4	8	5	2.0	1.6	4.7	4.1	4.4	
Completed University	3	1	0.5	0.2	0.4	5.3	2.6	4.0	3	1	0.8	0.3	6.9	3.0	4.9	
	601	494	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	391	319	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Sources: The author's survey

Michel D. Lagacé, *Educational Attainment in Canada: Some Regional and Social Aspects*, Special Labour Force Studies No. 7, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968, pp. 42-43.

TABLE 9
Educational Attainment by Age for B.C. Indians
Living Off Reserves 1971, B.C. and Canada, 1966

	B.C. Indians Off Reserve 1971 n	%	B.C. 1966 %	1966 Canada %
Age 20 & over	963	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary†	530	55.0	31.0	42.0
Secondary	408	42.4	55.4	47.5
University	25	2.6	13.6	10.5
Age 20-24	253	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary	74	29.2	10.7	19.6
Secondary	171	67.6	66.0	63.0
University	8	3.2	23.3	17.4
Age 25-44	538	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary	301	55.9	20.2	34.7
Secondary	220	40.9	64.7	54.0
University	17	3.2	15.1	11.3
Age 45-64	164	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary	147	89.6	39.0	50.8
Secondary	17	10.4	49.6	40.6
University	0	0.0	11.4	8.6

†Elementary is Grades 1-8 for all provinces except Quebec where there are 7 years in the primary division — see Source pp. 34-35.

Sources: The author's survey

Michel D. Lagacé, *Educational Attainment in Canada: Some Regional and Social Aspects*, Special Labour Force Studies No. 7, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968, p. 8.

between the age cohorts 55-64 to 45-54. It is interesting, but not statistically significant, that the median for Indian men in the cohort 35-44 is slightly below that of the cohort 45-54.

Given the rapid increase in the level of educational achievement of young B.C. Indians living off reserve it may be possible that in another decade the gap will be closed. However to do this it will be necessary to ensure that more Indians attend university. Of the 875 persons in our sample who answered the question "How much schooling do you want your children to have?", the proportion specifically replying "university" was 13% for those with 0-8 grades completed, 20% for those with 9-11 grades and 33% for those with high school graduation or better. The

proportions replying "high school" by level of education were 56% for those who had completed Grade 8 or less, 45% for those who had, themselves, completed Grades 9-11 and 22% for those who had achieved high school graduation or beyond.

One-fifth of those aged 16 to 44 replied "university" to the question "How much education do you want your children to have?", but only 12% of those 45 and over gave this response. It is evident that the expectations of the younger and better educated Indians are rising. The question now becomes one of the level of sustained motivation of the individuals concerned and the availability of resources to fulfill the rising expectations.

Additional evidence in support of the proposition that both the level of education and expectations about the desired level of education are rising can be gained from examining the responses to the following question: "Do you have any *definite* plans or arrangements for any more schooling, training or special courses *in the next twelve months?*" A total of 198 men and 114 women responded affirmatively — representing 25.8% of the total sample. We found that 21.5% of those who had not taken any special courses replied "Yes," 42.0% of those who had already taken one special course replied "Yes" and 48.5% of those who had already taken two or more special courses indicated that they planned to take another course in the 12 month period following the summer of 1971.

We found that 48.4% of the courses planned could be described as vocational training (trades, apprenticeship, on the job, etc.). One-third of the courses planned consisted of correspondence, adult education, and upgrading courses. One-eighth of the persons definitely planning a course plan to go to university. Seventy-nine percent of those planning a course are in the 15-29 age group — only 54% of our total sample was in this group. Sixty-two percent of those planning additional academic or vocational training already have completed Grade 10 or better. We found that 34.6% of those planning a course were employed at the time of interview and 37.5% were out of the labour force.

Variations in Level of Education by Linguistic/Cultural Group

We divided our sample of B.C. Indians living off reserve into five principal linguistic/cultural groups: Interior Salish, Coast Salish, Waka-shan/Bella Coola, Carrier and Tsimshian/Haida. This division was based upon the band in which the respondent was registered, not the present place of residence. For most the band of registration would be the band

TABLE 10
 Median Number of Grades Completed By Age,
 B.C. Indians and Canada Native-Born Population

age*	B.C. Indians Living Off Reserve				Total median	Canada, Native-Born Population	
	n	Males median	n	Females median		Males median	Females median
55-64	29	4.63	25	3.25	4.10	8.0	8.0
45-54	54	7.14	56	6.33	6.75	8.4	8.2
35-44	93	6.67	90	6.06	6.35	9.2	9.1
25-34	211	9.16	144	8.77	9.02	9.6	9.5
20-24	144	10.06	109	9.71	9.93	10.5	10.8

*Canada 1965, B.C. Indians 1971.

Source: Frank J. Whittingham, *The Educational Attainment of the Canadian Population and Labour Force 1960-65* Special Labour Force Study No. 1, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (71505), Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967, Table 3, p. 9.

into which they were born. However when a status Indian woman marries an Indian of another band she is then registered in her husband's band.

On Table 11 we note some variation in the level of education by linguistic/cultural group. Over one-third (34.5%) of the Carrier people have completed Grade 6 or less while only 20.4% of the Coast Salish, 23.4% of the Interior Salish, 24.1% of the Wakashan/Bella Coola and 22.9% of the Tsimshian/Haida were in this category.

Overall, 45.7% of our sample have completed Grade 9 or beyond. The Tsimshian/Haida and Interior Salish have the highest proportion of persons with Grade 9 or better — 52.2% and 51.9% respectively. The lowest proportion, 39.1% is found in the Carrier group. Proportionately, more than twice as many Interior Salish (19.4%), Tsimshian/Haida (18.0%) and Coast Salish (16.5%) completed Grade 12 than did the Carrier persons (8.3%) in our sample. Overall we note that only 25 persons (2.3%) out of the total sample of 1095 had completed one or more years of education beyond Grade 12. Higgins and O'Connor's study of Indians living on five reserves in the U.S. Southwest found that 2.9% of those age 16 and over had completed one or more years of education beyond the Grade 12 level.¹⁸ A survey of 1309 persons conducted by the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians during the summer of 1971 indi-

¹⁸ Benjamin Higgins and Dennis J. O'Connor, *Indian Manpower Resources in the Southwest: A Pilot Study*, Temple Arizona, Arizona State University Press, 1969.

TABLE 11

Educational Attainment by Linguistic/Cultural Group,
B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves, Age 16 and over, 1971

<i>Linguistic/ Cultural Group</i>		<i>Highest Grade Completed</i>						<i>Total</i>
		<i>0-4</i>	<i>5-6</i>	<i>7-8</i>	<i>9-11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13+</i>	
Interior Salish	n	31	35	70	85	55	7	283
	%	11.0	12.4	24.7	30.0	19.4	2.5	100.0
Coast Salish	n	13	13	38	40	21	2	127
	%	10.2	10.2	29.9	31.5	16.5	1.6	100.0
Wakashan/Bella Coola	n	25	34	78	73	27	7	244
	%	10.2	13.9	32.0	30.0	11.1	2.9	100.0
Carrier	n	36	30	51	53	16	6	192
	%	18.9	15.6	26.6	27.6	8.3	3.1	100.0
Tsimshian/Haida	n	18	29	51	67	37	3	205
	%	8.8	14.1	24.9	32.7	18.0	1.5	100.0
Other†	n	4	8	6	21	5	0	44
	%	9.1	18.2	13.6	47.7	11.4	0.0	100.0
Total	n	127	149	294	339	161	25	1095
	%	11.6	13.6	26.8	31.0	14.7	2.3	100.0

†includes Kootenay (15), Chilcotin (16), Far Northern (10), Blank (3).

cated that only six persons had completed one or more years of education beyond Grade 12.¹⁹

Statistical comparisons of the level of education by linguistic/cultural group of our sample of B.C. Indians living off reserves can be more easily derived from the data in Table 12 which gives the mean, standard deviation, coefficient of variation and sample size by age and sex for the five principal groups. Before getting into the detailed comparisons the following summary statements can be made:

- (i) In all linguistic/cultural groups the mean level of education in the age cohort 20-24 is approximately double that of the cohort 45 and over.²⁰

¹⁹ W. T. Stanbury "Summary of Major Results, B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians Survey, Summer, 1971" Vancouver, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of B.C., 1972 (unpublished paper).

²⁰ Only eight persons fall beyond the range 45-64.

- (ii) Both the *absolute* variance and the relative variance (measured by the coefficient of variation) has declined sharply as we move from older to younger age cohorts in all linguistic/cultural groups.
- (iii) For only two of the five principal linguistic/cultural groups (Interior and Coast Salish) is the mean level of education of males, age 16 and over, significantly greater (.01 level) than that of females. The mean number of grades completed for all males, age 16 and over, in the sample was 8.39 years and for females it was 7.88.
- (iv) For males and females combined (age 16+) both the Tsimshian/Haida and Wakashan/Bella Coola groups mean level of education was significantly greater (.01 level) than that of the Carrier group. No other differences in this age group were statistically significant. In the 25 and over age group (M+F) the Coast Salish, Wakashan/Bella Coola and Tsimshian/Haida groups were all significantly above that of the Carrier group.²¹

In all cases the mean level of education in the 20-24 age cohort is greater than that in the 25-34 age cohort. However in one case is the difference statistically significant — for the Interior Salish group. The mean level of education for the cohort 25-34 is, in every case, significantly above that of the cohort 35-44. While the difference between the mean level of education for the 35-44 cohort and the 45 and over cohort range from .21 years to 2.90 years only in the case of the Coast Salish is the difference statistically significant.²² This is due to two factors; the small absolute size of our sample in these sub cells and the larger variance in the level of education among persons in the older age cohorts. We note that the coefficient of variation increases from .17-.28 in the 20-24 age cohort to .26-.36 in the 25-34 cohort to .39-.65 in the 35-44 cohort and finally to .47-.78 in the age 45 and over cohort.

In absolute terms in the 20-24 years age cohort the mean level of education ranges from 9.28 years (Coast Salish) to 10.11 years (Interior Salish) with a standard deviation of about two years. Contrast this with

²¹ If we use a one-tail test then the Coast Salish is significantly greater than the Carrier also. There was no statistically significant difference between the Coast Salish, Interior Salish, Tsimshian/Haida or Wakashan/Bella Coola groups for M+F age 25 and over.

²² If we use a one-tail test then the Interior Salish and the Tsimshian/Haida groups in the 35-44 age cohort is significantly greater than in the 45+ age cohort.

TABLE 12
 Highest Grade Completed by Age, Sex and Linguistic/Cultural Group,
 B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves, 1971

<i>Linguistic/ Cultural Group</i>		<i>M</i> ≥25	<i>F</i> ≥25	<i>M+F</i> ≥25	<i>M</i> ≥20	<i>F</i> ≥20	<i>M+F</i> ≥20	<i>M</i> ≥16	<i>F</i> ≥16	<i>M+F</i> ≥16	<i>M+F</i> 45+*	<i>M+F</i> 35-44	<i>M+F</i> 25-34	<i>M+F</i> 20-24
Interior Salish	*n	71	88	159	120	124	244	142	141	283	85	74	47	38
	x	7.78	6.74	7.20	8.78	7.66	8.21	8.85	7.87	8.36	10.11	9.19	6.06	4.74
	s	3.54	3.70	3.66	3.25	3.58	3.46	3.05	3.44	3.28	1.98	2.95	3.31	3.24
	s/x	.46	.55	.51	.37	.47	.42	.34	.44	.39	.20	.32	.55	.68
Coast Salish	n	42	34	76	61	44	105	73	54	127	29	37	23	16
	x	8.69	6.35	7.65	8.98	6.86	8.10	9.03	7.50	8.38	9.28	8.89	7.65	4.75
	s	2.76	3.47	3.29	2.61	3.54	3.20	2.51	3.54	3.07	2.63	2.45	3.02	3.70
	s/x	.32	.55	.43	.29	.52	.40	.28	.47	.37	.28	.28	.39	.78
Wakashan/Bella Coola	n	106	79	185	127	94	221	140	104	244	36	105	36	44
	x	7.76	7.58	7.69	8.01	7.86	7.95	8.12	8.09	8.11	9.29	8.77	6.89	5.75
	s	3.01	3.46	3.20	2.90	3.30	3.07	2.84	3.25	3.04	1.77	2.99	3.05	2.73
	s/x	.39	.46	.42	.36	.42	.39	.35	.40	.37	.19	.34	.44	.47
Carrier	n	69	56	125	88	84	172	97	95	192	47	56	33	36
	x	6.68	6.27	6.50	7.22	7.43	7.32	7.32	7.59	7.45	9.51	7.91	5.46	5.25
	s	3.68	2.91	3.35	3.61	3.16	3.39	3.47	3.04	3.26	2.39	2.86	3.53	3.12
	s/x	.55	.46	.52	.50	.43	.46	.47	.40	.44	.25	.36	.65	.59
Tsimshian/Haida	n	84	56	140	111	74	185	118	87	205	45	67	39	34
	x	8.10	7.38	7.81	8.56	7.89	8.29	8.62	8.13	8.41	9.80	9.57	6.80	5.50
	s	3.58	3.02	3.38	3.33	2.96	3.20	3.27	2.83	3.10	1.93	2.45	2.73	3.80
	s/x	.44	.41	.43	.39	.38	.39	.38	.35	.37	.20	.26	.40	.69
Other†	n	19	6	25	28	8	36	31	13	44	11	16	5	4
	x	7.90	5.00	7.20	8.54	6.38	8.06	8.48	7.62	8.23	10.00	8.19	5.80	5.00
	s	3.26	3.58	3.50	3.00	3.96	3.30	2.89	3.48	3.06	1.67	3.54	2.17	3.74
	s/x	.41	.72	.49	.35	.62	.41	.34	.46	.37	.17	.43	.26	.75

*n=sample size, x=mean grade completed, s=standard deviation, s/x=coefficient of variation

†includes Kootenay (15), Chilcotin (16), Far Northern (10), Blank (3)

*only 8 persons are beyond the range 45-64

those age 45 and over who have completed from 4.74 to 5.75 grades (means of the linguistic/cultural groups) with a standard deviation of over three grades.

Comparative Levels of Education: B.C. Indians Living Off Reserves, B.C. Non-Status Indians, Indians on Five U.S. Southwest Reservations and Indians Living in Urban Centres in Minnesota

During the summer of 1971 the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians conducted a survey of 1309 non-status Indians in British Columbia. While methodologically it was not as well prepared as our own study of status Indians living off reserves in B.C. it does provide some comparative data on the level of educational achievement.²³ During 1968 Higgins and O'Connor collected almost 1800 detailed interviews on the Fort Apache, San Carlos, Acoma, Laguna and Papago reserves in the U.S. Southwest.²⁴ A number of studies of Indians living in cities in Minnesota have been done by researchers associated with the Training Center for Community Programs of the University of Minnesota.²⁵ We will make comparisons with the educational attainment of U.S. Indians living in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth and with those living on reserve in the U.S. Southwest.

Table 13 summarizes some of the data from the Non-Status survey and from the study by Higgins and O'Connor. While 4.3% of our respondents had no formal education 7.9% of the B.C. non-status Indians and 3.1% of the U.S. Southwest sample had no formal schooling. Just over seven percent of persons in our survey had completed Grades 1-4, 11.2% of the U.S. Indians and 10.4% of the B.C. non-status Indians were in this category. At the other end of the distribution we found that 17.0% of our

²³ The following towns provided forty or more interviews each and accounted for 985 of the 1309 collected: Prince George (153), Quesnel (48), Williams Lake (43), Burns Lake (46), Prince Rupert (175), Hazelton (50), Terrace (61), Chetwynd (89), Dawson Creek (131), Fort Nelson (44), Ft. St. John (97), and Kelly Lake (48). Unfortunately very few interviews were collected in the Lower Mainland area i.e. Vancouver (31), Surrey (24), Chilliwack (19). Only 10 interviews were collected on Vancouver Island and they were in Victoria. Similarly only 28 interviews were collected in the Okanagan region — see W. T. Stanbury *op. cit.* table 1.

²⁴ Benjamin Higgins and Dennis J. O'Connor, *op. cit.*

²⁵ The two studies from which the data on educational attainment were drawn were Laverne Drilling, Arthur M. Harkins and Richard G. Woods, *The Indian Relief Recipient in Minneapolis: An Exploratory Study*, Training Center for Community Programs, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1969 and Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins, *Indian Employment in Minneapolis*, Training Center for Community Programs, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1968.

TABLE 13
 Highest Grade Completed by Age B.C. Non-Status Indians (1971)
 and Highest Grade Completed for U.S. Indians
 on Five Southwest Reserves (1968)

Age B.C. Non- Status		Highest Grade Completed†						Total
		none	1-4	5-6	7-8	9-11	12+	
15-19	n	2	0	4	27	45	10	88
	%	2.3	0.0	4.5	30.7	51.1	11.4	100.0
20-24	n	2	2	17	93	97	27	238
	%	0.8	0.8	7.1	39.1	40.8	11.3	100.0
25-29	n	2	14	29	75	94	16	230
	%	0.9	6.1	12.6	32.6	40.9	7.0	100.0
30-39	n	19	32	62	109	90	14	326
	%	5.8	9.8	19.0	33.4	27.6	4.3	100.0
40-49	n	26	35	36	72	33	6	208
	%	12.5	16.8	17.3	34.6	15.9	2.9	100.0
50-59	n	17	22	18	40	10	2	109
	%	15.6	20.2	16.5	36.7	9.2	1.8	100.0
60+	n	32	30	10	12	7	0	91
	%	35.2	33.0	11.0	13.2	7.7	0.0	100.0
age not given	n	3	1	3	9	2	1	19
	%	15.8	5.3	15.8	47.4	10.5	5.3	100.0
Total	n	103	136	179	437	378	76	1309
	%	7.9	10.4	13.7	33.4	28.9	5.8	100.0

<i>Five reserves in U.S. Southwest‡ age 16 & over</i>								
Males	n	24	104	77	157	316	158	836
	%	2.9	12.4	9.2	18.8	37.8	18.9	100.0
Females	n	30	90	89	183	326	176	894
	%	3.4	10.0	10.0	20.5	36.5	19.7	100.0
Both	n	54	194	166	340	642	334	1730
	%	3.1	11.2	9.6	19.7	37.1	19.3	100.0

†for 474 persons in the Non-Status Survey the variable was "years of schooling" for 835 persons it was "highest grade completed"

‡Fort Apache, San Carlos, Laguna, Acoma and Papago reserves. Excludes "don't know", $n=52$. The survey was done in 1968.

Sources: W. T. Stanbury, "Summary of Major Results, B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians Survey, Summer 1971," Vancouver, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of B.C. 1972, (unpublished paper).

Benjamin Taylor and Dennis J. O'Connor, *Indian Manpower Resources in the Southwest: A Pilot Study*, Tempe Arizona, Arizona State University Press, 1969, (derived from Tables on pp. 39, 108, 173, 233, 292).

sample of B.C. Indians living off reserves had high school graduation or better. Only 5.3% of the non-status Indians surveyed had achieved this level of education. For the U.S. survey the proportion was 19.3%. Only 35% of the non-status Indians had completed Grade 9 or better while 48% of the sample of status Indians living off reserves had done so and 56% of the U.S. Indians living on reserves in the Southwest had completed Grade 9 or beyond.

The educational achievement of U.S. Indians living in urban centres in Minnesota is substantially greater than that of U.S. Indians living on reserve in the Southwest and that of B.C. Indians living off reserve and of B.C. non-status Indians. This is clear when we refer to the data in Table 14. While 43.6% of Indians in the Southwest sample, 52.0% of B.C. Indians living off reserve and 65.4% of B.C. non-status Indians have completed Grade 8 or less only 24.2% of the Indians living in Minnesota cities have a Grade 8 education or less. Over one-half (50.8%) of the Indians in the three Minnesota cities have completed Grades 9 to 11 while only 28.9% of the B.C. non-status sample, 31.0% of the B.C. off reserve sample and 37.1% of the Indians living on reserve in the U.S. Southwest have achieved this level of education. One-quarter of the sample of 1272 Indians in Minnesota cities have completed high school or additional years of higher education. One-fifth of the Southwest sample achieved this level; one-sixth of B.C. status Indians living off reserve and less than one B.C. non-status Indian in seventeen graduated from high school or beyond.

The median number of grades completed for the non-status samples (M+F) was 7.32, for the U.S. Southwest sample it was 8.49, for the Minnesota sample it was 9.56 and for B.C. Indians living off reserves it was 7.86. The data in Table 15 permits more precise statistical tests of differences between the mean level of education of the three samples. For both sexes combined the mean number of grades completed was 8.37 for the U.S. Indians, 8.15 for the B.C. status Indians living off reserve and 7.17 for B.C. non-status Indians.

The difference between the B.C. non-status sample and the other two groups is statistically significant at the .01 level. The difference between the B.C. off reserve group and the U.S. on reserve group is statistically significant only in a one-tail test at the .05 level.

We note that for males the mean for B.C. Indians off reserve was very slightly above that for the U.S. sample and both were statistically significantly greater than the mean for B.C. non-status males. We also note that the U.S. females were slightly above the U.S. males and significantly

above both B.C. status off reserve and non-status females (.01 level). The mean number of grades completed of B.C. status females living off reserve was also statistically significantly greater than that of the non-status females (.01 level).

As we found for the off reserve sample we observe that the level of education of non-status Indians in B.C. is inversely related to age.²⁶ This

TABLE 15
Mean Level of Education B.C. Indians Living Off Reserve,
B.C. Non-Status Indians and U.S. Indians in Southwest,
age 16 and over

		<i>U.S. Indians on 5 Southwest Reserves 1968</i>	<i>B.C. Non-Status Indians 1971</i>	<i>B.C. Status Indians Living Off Reserve 1971</i>
Females, age 16 & over	x	8.42	7.10	7.86
	s	3.29	3.19	3.23
	n	894	757	494
	s/x	.39	.45	.41
Males, age 16 & over	x	8.32	7.27	8.39
	s	3.37	3.18	3.09
	n	836	532	601
	s/x	.41	.44	.38
Both, age 16 & over	x	8.37	7.17	8.15
	s	3.33	3.18	3.16
	n	1730	1289	1095
	s/x	.40	.44	.39

\bar{x} = mean s = standard deviation n = sample size s/\bar{x} = coefficient of variation

Sources: The author's survey. See Table 13.

is clearly apparent from the data recorded in Table 15. The mean number of grades completed for those in the age cohort 45-64 was 5.36, for those in the cohort 35-44 it was 6.44, for those in cohort 25-34 it was 7.94 and for those in the 20-24 cohort it was 8.70. While a proportion of persons in the age cohort 15-19 will still be in school the mean number of

²⁶ Unfortunately the U.S. studies did not provide a cross tabulation of education by age. In addition it was not possible to compute means and standard deviations from the Minnesota studies due to the form in which the data was presented.

TABLE 16

Level of Education By Age and Sex B.C. Non-Status Indians and
B.C. Status Indians Living Off Reserve, 1971

Age, Sex	B.C. Non-Status Indians					B.C. Status Indians Living Off Reserve		
	Sample size n	Mean x	Standard deviation s	Coefficient of variation s/x	n	x	s	
15-19	M	33	9.15	1.79	.20	66	9.09*	1.72
	F	55	8.91	2.34	.26	66	9.59*	1.50
	M+F	88	9.00	2.14	.24	132	9.34*	1.62
20-24	M	91	8.79	2.36	.27	144	9.81	2.07
	F	147	8.65	1.84	.21	109	9.62	2.15
	M+F	238	8.70	2.05	.24	253	9.72	2.10
25-34	M	164	8.09	2.46	.30	211	9.01	2.83
	F	237	7.83	2.56	.33	144	8.65	2.91
	M+F	401	7.94	2.52	.32	355	8.86	2.87
35-44	M	104	6.70	2.88	.43	93	6.83	3.37
	F	174	6.28	3.32	.53	90	6.09	2.90
	M+F	278	6.44	3.16	.49	183	6.46	3.16
45-64	M	118	5.62	3.73	.66	87	5.70‡	3.30
	F	121	5.11	3.47	.68	85	4.81‡	3.14
	M+F	239	5.36	3.60	.67	172	5.26‡	3.24
15+	M	532	7.27	3.18	.44	601	8.39†	3.09
	F	758	7.09	3.19	.45	494	7.86†	3.23
	M+F	1290	7.16	3.19	.45	1095	8.15†	3.16
20+	M	499	7.14	3.22	.45	535	8.31	3.21
	F	703	6.95	3.21	.46	428	7.59	3.34
	M+F	1202	7.03	3.21	.46	963	7.99	3.29
25+	M	408	6.77	3.27	.48	391	7.75	3.38
	F	556	6.50	3.34	.51	319	6.90	3.39
	M+F	964	6.61	3.31	.50	710	7.37	3.41

*age 16-19, †16+, ‡age 45+ i.e. has 8 persons age 65 and over

Sources: The author's survey. See Table 17.

grades completed was 9.00. In every cohort the mean level of education of males was greater than that of females but the difference was not statistically significant in any age cohort. Both relatively and absolutely the variance in the level of education declined in each younger age cohort

for the non-status sample as with our own sample of status Indians living off reserve. The differences in the mean level of education (M+F) of each age cohort, starting with the one 20-24 years, over the succeeding older cohort is statistically significant at the .05 level.

When we compare the non-status Indians' level of education to that of status Indians living off reserves we find that the education gap has apparently *increased* over time. In the 45-64 age cohort the mean number of grades completed by non-status Indians is slightly *above* that of status Indians living off reserve (5.36 vs. 5.26). In the age cohort 35-44 they are virtually identical (6.44 vs. 6.46). However in the cohort 25-34 the gap in the mean level of education is almost one grade i.e. non-status was equal to 7.94 compared to 8.86 for status Indians off reserve. For the cohort 20-24 the gap is just over one grade as we found that the mean number of grades completed by the status Indians was 9.72 and that for the non-status sample was 8.70. However, when we compare the age cohort 15-19 years for the non-status sample to the age cohort 16-19 years for the sample of status Indians living off reserve we find that the gap is not so great — 9.34 grades completed for the latter as compared to 9.00 for the former group. The difference is *not* statistically significant at the .05 level in a one-tail test. The differences between the mean level of education of the two groups in the age cohorts 20-24 and 25-34 years were significant at the .01 level.

In all age cohorts except that of 16-19 years status Indian males living off reserve had a higher mean level of educational achievement. In the cohort 16-19 years the mean level of education of females was significantly greater than that of males at the .05 level in a one-tail test. In no other age cohort is the difference between male and female levels of education of B.C. Indians living off reserve statistically significant.

In every age cohort the mean number of grades completed by non-status Indian males is greater than that of non-status females. However, in no case is the difference statistically significant. In the age cohorts 20-24 and 25-34 years for both males and females the sample of status Indians living off reserves had higher levels of education than the sample of non-status Indians.

As we pointed out above we found there was considerable variation in educational achievement by region. Table 17 records the mean number of grades completed (M+F) by region for the sample of status Indians living off reserve and Table 18 gives similar data for the sample of non-status Indians. Unfortunately the regions in the two studies are not closely comparable — for example, our own survey of Indians living off reserve

did not cover the Far North region as it is described in the non-status survey.

In the survey of status Indians living off reserve the highest mean level of education was found to be in Vancouver with 9.50 grades completed. The lowest level was found in the Okanagan with 6.80. This was lower than those in prison (mainly males) whose mean was 7.49 grades completed. The mean level of education of the Lower Fraser Valley was

TABLE 17
 B.C. Status Indians Living Off Reserve,
 Age 16 and over, 1971
 Educational Attainment by Region and Sex

<i>Region, Sex</i>		<i>Sample size n</i>	<i>Mean no. of grades completed x</i>	<i>Standard deviation s</i>	<i>Coefficient of variation s/x</i>
Lower Fraser	M	23	10.22	2.68	.26
	F	22	7.18	3.72	.52
	M+F	45	8.73	3.55	.41
Vancouver	M	171	9.46	2.75	.29
	F	95	9.57	2.60	.27
	M+F	266	9.50	2.69	.28
North Coast	M	75	8.05	3.39	.42
	F	56	8.30	2.78	.33
	M+F	131	8.16	3.13	.38
North Interior	M	82	7.33	3.60	.49
	F	89	7.05	3.10	.44
	M+F	171	7.18	3.34	.47
South Interior	M	63	8.67	3.10	.36
	F	85	7.69	3.52	.46
	M+F	148	8.11	3.37	.42
Prison	M	53	7.57	1.73	.23
	F	8	7.00	1.20	.17
	M+F	61	7.49	1.67	.22
Vancouver Island	M	88	8.08	2.55	.32
	F	102	7.46	3.33	.45
	M+F	190	7.75	3.00	.39
Okanagan	M	42	6.67	3.52	.53
	F	37	6.84	3.12	.46
	M+F	79	6.80	3.32	.49

TABLE 18
 Level of Education of B.C. Non-Status Indians
 by Region and Sex, Age 15 and over, 1971

<i>Region, Sex</i>		<i>Sample size</i> <i>n</i>	<i>Mean no. of grades completed</i> <i>x</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i> <i>s</i>	<i>Coefficient of variation</i> <i>s/x</i>
Lower Mainland & Victoria	M	32	8.38	2.86	.34
	F	52	8.58	3.06	.36
	M+F	84	8.50	2.97	.35
Okanagan	M	12	9.08	2.81	.31
	F	16	7.50	2.94	.39
	M+F	28	8.18	2.95	.36
Interior	M	121	7.30	3.12	.43
	F	204	6.92	3.15	.46
	M+F	325	7.06	3.14	.44
Lakes District	M	49	6.33	3.56	.56
	F	57	6.28	3.45	.55
	M+F	106	6.30	3.49	.55
Skeena/Coast	M	132	8.16	2.71	.33
	F	213	7.66	2.98	.39
	M+F	345	7.85	2.89	.37
Far North	M	191	6.56	3.22	.49
	F	222	6.43	3.29	.51
	M+F	413	6.49	3.26	.50

Source: W. T. Stanbury, "Summary of Major Results, B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians Survey, Summer, 1971," Vancouver, Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of B.C., 1972 (unpublished paper).

8.73, for the North Coast it was 8.16, for the North Interior it was 7.18 while for the South Interior it was 8.11 and for Vancouver Island it was 7.75. Statistical tests indicated that the Lower Fraser and Vancouver regions were significantly above the average while the Okanagan, Prison, and North Interior were all significantly below the average for all regions.

For non-status Indians the lowest level of education was found in the Far North with 6.49 and the Lakes District with 6.30 grades completed. The highest mean level of education was found in the Lower Mainland and Victoria and in the Okanagan with 8.50 and 8.18 grades respectively. The latter results contrasts with that for status Indians but we must note the small size of the non-status sample in that region.

If we remove the Far North region from the calculation of the overall mean level of education of non-status Indians the mean is increased from 7.17 to 7.45 grades completed. However this remains significantly below (.01 level) that of the status population living off reserve at 8.15 grades. Combining North and South Interior regions in the off reserve sample the mean is 7.61 as compared to 7.06 for the non-status Indians in the Interior region. This difference is significant in a two-tail test beyond the .05 level. If the Lower Fraser Valley and Vancouver are combined for the sample of Indians living off reserve the mean is 9.39. This compares (roughly) to the Lower Mainland and Victoria region for the non-status survey whose mean was 8.50 grades completed. This difference was statistically significant at the .01 level in a two-tail test. The region we have labelled North Coast is comparable to the region Skeena/Coast in the non-status survey. The mean level of education in the former was 8.16 and in the latter it was 7.85 grades completed (M+F). This difference was not statistically significant.

Summary

- (i) For the population age 15 and over the level of educational achievement of B.C. Indians living off reserve is well below that of the total B.C. and Canadian population. The mean level of education (measured in number of grades completed) of B.C. non-status Indians is significantly below that of status B.C. Indians living off reserve. Both groups were significantly below the level of education of a sample of 1800 U.S. Indians living on reserves in the Southwest and the sample of 1300 Indians living in three Minnesota cities. The latter group had the highest educational attainment of all of the four groups compared.
- (ii) The education gap between B.C. Indians living off reserve and the B.C. and Canadian population progressively narrows as we move from older to younger age cohorts. However, with the exception of the age cohort 15-19 years the reverse is true when we compare the status Indians to the non-status Indians in B.C. For both status and non-status Indians the relative and absolute variance in the mean number of grades completed declines as we move from older to younger age cohorts.
- (iii) Significant differences in Indian (status and non-status) educational attainment was found by region of residence and by linguistic/cultural group for the status Indians living off reserve.