SOUS LA DIRECTION DE
Marc-Adélarde Tremblay (1922 -)
Anthropologue, professeur retraité de Université Laval

(1976)

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne

The Patterns of "Amerindian" Identity

SYMPOSIUM SUR LES AMÉRINDIENS
Montmorency, Qc., octobre 1974.

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professeure de soins infirmiers retraité du Cégep de Chicoutimi
Courriel: mgpaquet@videotron.ca
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Courriel : matrem@microtec.net ou matremgt@globetrotter.net

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Arès, Richard, s.j., président de l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines
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Barber, Lloyd, Indian Claims Commissioner for Canada, Saskatoon

Brant, Charles, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Sir George Williams
University

Delisle, Andrew, president, Indians of Quebec Association

Dorion, Henri, directeur du département de Géographie, Université Laval

Dunning, William, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto

Elias, Doug, Curator, North American Ethnology, Manitoba Museum of Man and
Nature, Winnipeg

Hamelin, Louis-Edmond, département de Géographie, Université Laval

Kurtness, Jacques, adjoint à l'exécutif pour l'éducation, Association des Indiens du
Québec

Larochelle, Gilles, étudiant de 3e cycle en anthropologie, Université Laval

McNickle, D'Arcy, Director, Center for the History of the American Indian

Paul, Léonard, réserve indienne de Bersimis

Picard, Raphael, étudiant, Université Laval

Pothier, Roger, département d'Anthropologie, université Laval

Schaeffer, Otto, M.D., Director, Northern Medical Research Unit, Edmonton

Schmeiser, Doug, Dean of Law, University of Saskatchewan

Stymeist, David, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba

Tremblay, Marc-Adélar, directeur de l'École des gradués, Université Laval

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Ce Symposium sur les Amérindiens était sous la présidence du *Dr Claude Fortier* de la Société royale du Canada.

Nos droits ont trop de valeur pour se soumettre à toute rhétorique, trop de valeur pour être vendus contre de l'or. Les mots changent, la monnaie varie et peut même disparaître ; notre terre ne disparaîtra pas.

Harold Cardinal dans
The Unjust Society.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

REMERCIEMENTS

Marc-Adélarde TREMBLAY

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L'idée d'organiser un colloque sur les Amérindiens et de le mettre sous le patronage de la Société royale du Canada revient à Louis-Edmond Hamelin, professeur à l'université Laval. Il eut l'idée de m'associer très tôt à son projet de telle sorte que lorsqu'il obtint un congé sabbatique en 1973-1974 pour rédiger un ouvrage sur le Nord, je devins, par la force des choses, seul responsable. Il m'avait, toutefois, assuré avant son départ de la collaboration de quelques-uns de ses collègues nordistes, qui ont tenu parole.

Mes remerciements vont donc d'abord à lui et, ensuite, à la Société royale du Canada qui n'a pas craint d'associer son nom et son prestige à une discussion franche et honnête, sur la place publique, de la question amérindienne. Le défi ne manquait pas d'audace.

Le colloque visait avant tout à favoriser des échanges entre universitaires appartenant à diverses disciplines, fonctionnaires des agences gouvernementales et privées, et membres des communautés indigènes. De par leur formation, de par leur engagement dans diverses sphères d'activités (éducation, santé, études juridiques, langue, marché du travail), de par leur vision de l'intérieur des problèmes sentis et vécus, les conférenciers, les panelistes et les autres participants ont apporté des éclairages nouveaux devant servir à l'élaboration d'une problématique d'ensemble sur l'identité amérindienne. Le colloque n'a pas suscité de recommandations (ce n'était pas son but), mais les divers éléments mis en place peuvent

servir à des prises de décision et à des engagements décisifs. Comment alors ne pas signaler la contribution particulièrement riche des conférenciers, des participants à la table ronde et des présidents de séance.

Un colloque de cette envergure nécessite une imposante organisation matérielle et l'appui de dévoués collaborateurs : le major E. H. P. Garneau a assumé tant de responsabilités qu'il serait difficile de les énumérer toutes ; Mme Lorraine Hayward ainsi que Mlle Francine Boucher se sont acquittées des principales tâches du secrétariat avant et pendant le colloque ; mon assistant d'enseignement, l'anthropologue Bernard Lemelin, a rédigé, avec beaucoup de minutie, un résumé pour la plupart des communications et préparé l'esquisse de la conclusion devant être rédigée sur les lieux mêmes pour mieux refléter le climat des discussions ; finalement, le Service de l'audio-visuel de l'université Laval a effectué l'enregistrement des conférences et des débats. Je remercie aussi ma fille Colette, étudiante à Laval, qui a conçu la maquette de la couverture.

Tout colloque suppose une assistance financière : le nôtre ne fait pas exception. La Société royale du Canada, par sa contribution financière dès le printemps 1973, permit un bon départ. Le Conseil des arts du Canada, dans le cadre de son Programme « Conférences », nous a aussi épaulé financièrement. Le Secrétariat d'État nous a octroyé une subvention devant permettre la traduction simultanée du français à l'anglais et de l'anglais au français. Nous exprimons aussi nos remerciements à l'École des gradués de l'université Laval.

Il ne me reste plus qu'un très agréable devoir à remplir. Il s'agit de remercier l'Association des Indiens du Québec et, tout particulièrement, son vice-président, M. Aurélien Gill, d'avoir organisé la table ronde, ce moment historique d'une rare intensité. Comment ne pas les remercier de la confiance manifestée en venant discuter avec nous sur un terrain que nous avons voulu neutre mais chaleureux.

Marc-Adélar Tremblay

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Marc-Adélarde TREMBLAY

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It was Louis-Edmond Hamelin, Professor at Laval University, who first expressed the idea to organize a symposium on "Amerindians" under the sponsorship of the Royal Society of Canada. From the beginning he was thoughtful enough to involve me in the planning phase so that when the University granted him a leave of absence for 1973-1974 to write a book on the North, I became the sole organizer, almost by default! He had assured me, however, before his departure, that some of his northern studies colleagues would be willing to contribute a paper. They did.

So I would first like to thank him and also the Royal Society of Canada which did not hesitate to associate its reputation and prestige to a public and frank but honest discussion on the "Amerindian" situation. It was quite a challenge to meet.

This symposium had as an objective the encouragement of exchanges between university colleagues belonging to various disciplines, civil servants Of governmental agencies, employees of private corporations and members of the indigenous communities. Thus, the speakers, the members of the round table and other participants are trained in various disciplines, and engaged in fields such as education, health, law, language, labour relations. With an inside view of every-day problems, they bring new perspectives to the building of an overall theoretical framework on "Amerindian" identity. The symposium has not led itself to the formulation of concrete recommendations-this was not its objective-but the va-

rious elements which have been set forth will undoubtedly serve as background materials in decision-making and in decisive involvements. The significant contribution of each of the speakers, panelists and session chairmen cannot go unnoticed.

Such a symposium cannot be held without important material resources and the full support of close collaborators : Major E.H.P. Garneau has undertaken so many different tasks that it would be fastidious to enumerate them ; Mrs. Lorraine Hayward and Miss Francine Boucher have undertaken the main secretarial tasks prior to and during the symposium ; my teaching assistant, anthropologist Bernard Lemelin, has written, with great care, an abstract for most of the papers and has prepared the highlights of the conclusion that had to be finalized during the symposium to reflect better the tone of the discussions ; finally the Audio-visual Service at Laval has been responsible for recording conferences and discussions. I also express my indebtedness to my daughter Colette, a student at Laval, who designed the cover.

Each symposium requires financial support : ours is no exception to that general rule. The Royal Society of Canada early financial contribution gave us a sense of direction. Through its programme on "Conferences, " the Canada Council has provided us with a most useful financial grant. The Secretariat of State through a regular grant has provided us with the facilities for simultaneous translation from French to English and English to French. I express also my debt of gratitude to Laval's Graduate School.

I now have a very pleasant duty to perform, that is to thank the Quebec Indian Association, in particular, its vice-president, Mr. Aurélien Gill, who has organized the round table, a historic moment of a unique intensity. Let us thank, too, our cocitizens the Amerindians, who had confidence in us and came to discuss with us on neutral, but hopefully warm grounds.

Marc-Adélarde Tremblay

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NOTE DE L'ÉDITEUR

Marc-Adélarde TREMBLAY

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Il faut expliquer, je crois, le titre donné à ce compte rendu : les Facettes de l'identité amérindienne. Le thème de l'identité est le seul qui semblait pouvoir regrouper l'éventail complet des éléments qui ressortent tant des exposés que des discussions. Ce facteur est si central et si dynamique dans la configuration culturelle de tout groupe qu'il permet à la fois les références au passé et les visions de l'avenir. Au surplus, le concept d'identité établit un pont entre l'individuel et le collectif tout comme il permet une liaison entre différentes collectivités appartenant à la même souche « raciale », même s'il existe entre elles des différences culturelles importantes liées à des traditions ethniques dissemblables.

La notion d'Amérindien diffusée par le regretté Jacques Rousseau est de plus en plus acceptée dans les milieux scientifiques. Présente dans tous ces textes est la recherche des composantes de cette identité qui s'exprime dans tous les secteurs de la vie socio-culturelle, ce que manifeste d'ailleurs la richesse des conférences et des débats.

On peut dire que le groupe amérindien a pris conscience de son identité spécifique non seulement parce qu'il a une image de soi en tant que groupe minoritaire et peuple opprimé mais aussi parce qu'il est en mesure d'exprimer ouvertement ses

besoins collectifs sentis et ses aspirations, qu'il est capable de bâtir et de projeter ses visions du futur. En plus de représentations mentales et de sentiments convergents sur l'ensemble de ces éléments culturels qui constituent l'identité, les Amérindiens ont développé, durant la dernière décennie tout particulièrement, une conscience collective très vive de leur situation de dépendance. Cette conscience n'est plus passive mais agissante : elle développe un schéma d'action et d'intervention communes destinées à poursuivre des objectifs réalistes de mieux en mieux définis.

À mon point de vue, et je simplifie à l'extrême, cette conscience acquiert toute son amplitude par ces trois composantes fondamentales que sont les notions de territoires indigènes, de liberté de décision et d'action dans des structures politiques autonomes, de ressources pour le développement. C'est à partir des définitions autochtones de ces trois éléments qu'on en vient à saisir d'une part les nouvelles facettes de l'identité amérindienne, ses essais de formalisation à l'échelle du pays tout entier, et son incarnation dans la quotidienneté. C'est la patiente recherche à laquelle je vous invite.

Marc-Adéland Tremblay

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Marc-Adélarde TREMBLAY

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I have to mention, I think, the reasons for choosing The Patterns of "Amerindian" Identity as the title for the Proceedings of the symposium. It seems to me that it is the only general theme that covers the whole range of elements which stem from the papers and discussion. Identity is a fundamental and dynamic factor in the culture configuration of any group that it allows for historical reconstructions as well for future projections. Conceptually, identity establishes a link between the individual and the collective level. It allows for close links between different ethnic communities belonging to the same "racial" stock even though dissimilar ethnic traditions have led to important cultural differences.

The "Amerindian" concept that the late Jacques Rousseau diffused on a wide scale is increasingly used in scientific circles. I shall attempt here to sketch the main features of this identity that are being translated in all sectors of the socio-cultural activities. The reader will be able to appreciate its multiplex significance in the broad content of the papers and commentaries.

One could say that the "Amerindian" group has become aware of its specific identity not only because it has a self-image of a minority group and of an oppressed people but also because it has acquired the capacity to spell out its collective felt needs and aspirations and plan for their eventual realization. In addition to

sharing the symbols and sentiments of these overall cultural elements that constitute the identity, "Amerindians" have acquired, especially during the last decade, a strong collective consciousness of their dependency. This emerging consciousness is active in the sense that it has developed a common action--oriented scheme aimed at realistic and well-defined objectives.

From my own viewpoint, and I simplify a very complex situation, this consciousness acquires its All depth of meaning through three fundamental components : indigenous lands, freedom of decision and action in indigenous political structures and resources for development. In the indigenous definitions of each of these the emergence of an "Amerindian" identity can be found and its application to everyday situations can be observed. It is the patient search to which you are now invited.

Marc-Adélar Tremblay

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Première séance

Sous la présidence
de Marc-Adélaré Tremblay

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PREMIÈRE SÉANCE

Les nouvelles prises de conscience

*Richard Arès, s.r.c. **

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Peut-être y en a-t-il parmi vous qui entendent parler, pour la première fois, de la Société royale du Canada ou qui, s'ils en ont déjà entendu parler, l'ont jusqu'ici considérée comme une assemblée de littérateurs et de poètes, de rêveurs et de savants, plus ou moins perdus dans leurs spéculations abstraites et se voulant étrangers aux problèmes concrets que doit affronter chaque jour l'homme ordinaire. Et ils doivent certainement se demander : qu'est-ce qui lui prend, à cette société, de descendre de son piédestal et de se mêler d'aborder publiquement un sujet aussi d'actualité et aussi controversé que celui du sort des Amérindiens dans notre pays ?

Tout en vous souhaitant la plus cordiale bienvenue, à titre de président de la section 1 de la Société royale, l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines, je voudrais d'abord répondre à cette question. Il est vrai que la Société royale s'est donné pour objectif « de contribuer au développement du savoir et de la recherche dans les arts et dans les sciences » ; mais, nulle part, il n'est dit que ce savoir et cette recherche doivent demeurer inappliqués, en d'autres termes, qu'ils ne doivent

* Le président de l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines de la Société royale du Canada et président de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques (Montréal) pour l'année 1974-1975.

pas contribuer à l'amélioration de la vie humaine, plus particulièrement de la vie en société. C'est pourquoi la Société royale mentionne maintenant, parmi ses moyens d'action : « La tenue de colloques internationaux, nationaux et régionaux sur des sujets d'actualité importants, ordinairement de caractère interdisciplinaire ». Je dirais même plus : les problèmes auxquels se heurte l'homme d'aujourd'hui, l'homme canadien et l'homme québécois en particulier, sont tellement graves et angoissants pour l'avenir que les membres d'une société aussi riche de compétences dans à peu près tous les domaines manqueraient à leur devoir d'homme et de citoyen s'ils refusaient de contribuer par leur savoir et leurs recherches à la solution des problèmes humains qui se posent chez nous, à la solution, par exemple, des problèmes concrets de justice, de dignité et d'amitié qui troublent la paix.

Or, s'il est un problème qui, aujourd'hui, hante et inquiète la conscience canadienne, c'est bien celui du sort que nous avons, comme collectivité, réservé aux premiers habitants du pays, à ceux que l'on désigne maintenant sous le nom d'Amérindiens. Ce sort, ils l'ont enduré longtemps sans trop se plaindre, mais voici que maintenant leurs plaintes et leurs revendications retentissent par tout le pays, voici qu'ils parlent, eux aussi, de droits : de leurs droits, de dignité : de leur dignité, de liberté : de leur liberté et, pour employer le mot même inscrit au deuxième paragraphe du texte en tête de votre programme, d'« autodétermination » : de leur autodétermination, de leur « self-government ». Je pourrais insister là-dessus longuement ; qu'il me suffise de mentionner, pour le Québec, les revendications récentes à propos du territoire de la baie" de James et, pour l'Ouest canadien, la marche encore plus récente des Indiens sur le parlement fédéral pour l'ouverture de la session, le 30 septembre 1974.

Commentant l'affrontement alors survenu entre un groupe d'Indiens et la police fédérale, affrontement au cours duquel furent échangés des coups, un reporter de la *Gazette* de Montréal, après avoir rappelé certains faits qui justifient amplement les revendications indiennes, qualifiait la situation faite à nos indigènes de « national disgrace » et concluait son article par ces mots : - That's what leads so many Indians to a terrible sense of frustration. Frustration, especially among the young and impatient, breeds violence ; violence captures attention, and the attention makes violence seem expedient. That's a vicious circle that isn't going to break until and unless we find ways of restoring justice and dignity to Canada's first citizens without waiting for barricades to be raised and rocks to be thrown. -

(George Radwanski, - Justified Frustration of Indians breeds violence », *The Gazette*, 12 octobre 1974.)

Je suis pleinement d'accord avec cette conclusion et c'est, je pense, dans le même esprit et avec la même conviction que la Société royale du Canada, par l'intermédiaire de son Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines, a appuyé financièrement la tenue du présent colloque. Son but est clairement exprimé dans le programme : non pas tant régler tous les problèmes en jeu que favoriser les échanges de points de vue entre universitaires, fonctionnaires et membres des communautés indigènes, afin de se connaître, de se comprendre et de préparer ensemble des éléments de solution aux problèmes qu'affrontent les communautés amérindiennes dans leur volonté de vivre autant que possible par elles-mêmes.

Puis-je souligner, au passage, que le présent colloque en est vraiment un de qualité, tant par la compétence des conférenciers que par la représentativité des participants et des interlocuteurs. Ils viennent surtout du Québec, mais pas uniquement. Au Québec aussi, le problème se pose et nous aurons une table ronde entièrement consacrée au sort des Amérindiens du Québec ; dans l'intervalle, cependant, vous aurez eu l'occasion d'entendre les points de vue des spécialistes venus tout exprès des autres provinces, en particulier de l'Ontario, du Manitoba et de la Saskatchewan. La tenue d'un colloque de cette importance exige, vous devez le soupçonner, beaucoup de dévouement et... d'argent ; aussi me fais-je un devoir en même temps qu'un plaisir de remercier tous ceux qui, de près ou de loin, l'ont rendu possible.

Et pour finir, les organisateurs de ce colloque n'ont rien ménagé pour vous procurer les meilleures conditions de travail, c'est à vous maintenant qu'il appartient d'en faire un succès.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

PREMIÈRE SÉANCE

The Surfacing of Native Leadership

D'Arcy McNICKLE. *

Résumé

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Lorsque John Collier prit la direction du bureau des Affaires indiennes aux États-Unis, il y a 40 ans, il voulut réorienter les politiques du gouvernement dans le but de redonner aux Indiens leur fierté et de leur permettre de gérer plus directement leurs propres affaires. L'histoire de cette expérience est racontée par un homme qui contribua à son déroulement, dans le but d'identifier certains éléments pouvant aider à la compréhension des relations d'aujourd'hui entre les Indiens et les Blancs.

C'est l'époque de la crise économique et des sécheresses répétées dans les États céréaliers. Aussi voit-on apparaître des réformes sociales et des tentatives pour restaurer l'équilibre écologique, pour réparer les dommages causés par une exploitation irrationnelle des ressources. On veut que les réserves indiennes profitent de ces nouvelles orientations. Collier avait personnellement une connaissance de leur pauvreté et de leur dénuement. Dès sa nomination, il fit adopter, en 1934, l'Indian Reorganization Act qui représentait une dénonciation des politiques assimilatrices pratiquées par le gouvernement central depuis plus de 50 ans.

* Director, Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A.

Aux États-Unis, les tribus indiennes possédaient, par tradition, la souveraineté sur leurs territoires. Mais l'autorité centrale avait grugé avec les années ce pouvoir exclusif des Indiens dans le domaine de l'action judiciaire et du contrôle policier d'abord, puis après, dans d'autres domaines. La législation de 1934 visait à redonner au pouvoir tribal sa définition originale en plus de le prémunir contre les infractions possibles du Secrétariat d'État dans le domaine de la disposition des terres et des biens de la tribu. Malgré le caractère favorable de cette législation les tribus ont été incapables de s'autodéterminer dans le sens de leurs aspirations propres. Pourquoi ?

La société en général et même quelques employés du Bureau s'opposèrent aux nouvelles dispositions légales et aux ordres du commissaire Collier visant à renverser les coutumes administratives du Bureau. De plus, Collier avait la conviction que les Indiens pourraient s'adapter aux nouvelles conditions socio-politiques tout comme ils avaient pu le faire au moment des premiers contacts avec les Blancs en autant qu'on leur fournirait les instruments nécessaires. Cette philosophie guida son mandat et le poussa à se considérer comme le porte-parole des Indiens. Les Indiens, par ailleurs, surtout les aînés - peu habitués qu'ils étaient à la participation, virent dans cette législation une nouvelle tentative des Blancs pour les tromper et mieux les asservir. Une crise majeure vint renforcer cette image lorsque l'administration Collier décida de réduire les troupeaux de moutons des Navahos dans le but de mieux contrôler l'érosion des pâturages semi-désertiques. Le Congrès refusa aussi l'embauche d'anthropologues pour mettre en marche des programmes de restauration socio-économique. Par surcroît, des critères d'efficacité administrative furent à l'origine de révisions constitutionnelles des tribus, d'où l'adoption prématurée de lois qui accrurent la désorganisation sociale dans les réserves.

Aujourd'hui, on observe chez les nouveaux leaders indiens l'absence d'une conscience de la défaite et la conviction que les Blancs ne sont plus invincibles. Si à Wounded Knee en 1890 le général Custer réussit à ramener l'ordre par les armes et la tuerie, c'est par la négociation qu'on arriva aux mêmes fins en 1973. Il n'est plus question désormais d'empêcher les Indiens de participer activement aux processus de décision régissant leurs

propres affaires. Collier ouvrit la voie de l'extérieur. Les Indiens doivent maintenant faire le reste de l'intérieur.

Some 40 years ago in the United States a Commissioner of Indian Affairs came to office to undo the injuries of the past and to restore the Indian people in something approaching the self-governing life they had enjoyed before the advent of the white man in their communities. The man was John Collier, a name doubtless familiar to many of you.

I wish to talk about the Collier administration, and about that period in the history of dealing with native Americans, as a basis for understanding some of the confrontations, some of the turbulence, that characterize government Indian relations today. I can only talk usefully about conditions in the States-you will have to determine in your own minds whether my observations have relevancy for the Canadian experience. I must also add that I was a member of staff during the Collier administration-so if I question the performance of those days, I am, in fact, questioning my insights of the time, and the insights of others. We were enthusiastic about what we were doing, and confident that it would work.

One general set of circumstances prevailed during the period-the middle and late 1930s. It was a time of deep, seemingly inescapable depression -a time of long soup lines in the cities, or rioting farmers in the country-side, of bank closings, of unemployed business men selling apples at street corners. I walked to work one morning in midtown Manhattan just after a victim of the times had leaped from a tall apartment building and was spread all over the sidewalk. Even nature contrived to add to human misery, for that was the period of the dreadful dust storms, when the topsoil of the wheat growing prairie states ascended into the jet stream and swirled out over the Atlantic ocean. It was a time when men began to talk about ecological balance and a documentary film, *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, was viewed by hushed audiences. Men came face to face with themselves in those and questioned the very society they had created, and which had created them.

A time of doom-, but it was also a time of opportunity. Under the lash of the desperate emergency, social reform. made giant strides. Banking methods were overhauled ; the marketing of securities was regulated ; vast holding company

cartels were broken up ; systems of social insurance and unemployment compensation were created. The management of national forests, grazing lands, wild life, water, and minerals was made responsive to the public interest. Vast public works projects were undertaken to repair some of the damage wrought through generations of heedless resource exploitation and abuse.

Some of this concern for the environment, and some of the appropriated funds, managed to trickle down to the Indian community.

As it happened, a study of conditions prevailing in Indian reservations had been published in 1928, just before the famous Black Friday on Wall Street, when the bottom fell out the free enterprise system. The *Meriam Report*, as the study came to be called, in its very opening sentence described the situation with remarkable gentility. It stated : "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization."

By 1933, when Collier assumed office, what had been a bad situation in the 1920s, had deteriorated further. Prior to his appointment, Collier had been a harsh critic of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but of more importance was his personal acquaintance with many individual Indians and the conditions in which they lived. He had not been a passive observer of Indian life. As a former social worker in New York and California he had seen European peasant folk and rural Americans caught up in the depersonalizing anonymity of the city-the atomizing of social bonds. What he found in the Indian communities he visited was a wholeness, a sense of group identity, which against all oppressions and exploitations had maintained inward purpose, even a kind of serenity. He wrote about the people of Taos Pueblo after an early visit in 1924 : "These were unsentimental men who could neither read nor write, poor men who lived by hard work, men who were told every day in all kinds of unsympathetic ways that all they believed and cared for had to die, and who never answered back. For these men were at one with their gods."

It was this insight, what he called "stupendous facts within tiny dimensions," that he tried to transmute into policy and action. The principal instrument through which he worked to accomplish his aim. was the *Indian Reorganization Act*, adopted by a reluctant Congress in 1934. The reluctance arose from the fact that this piece of legislation was by open declaration a denunciation of the policy

which the national government had pursued through the previous half-century. That policy, as you may know, was dedicated to the individualizing of tribal land holdings with the ultimate goal of destroying the tribal community.

I must digress for a moment to discuss the status of the Indian tribes at that juncture. In United States law, as it evolved through the decades since the first Congress, Indian tribes derived their powers by inherent right, not as a gift from a benevolent sovereign. The courts had spelled this out in numerous decisions, beginning with the John Marshall decisions of the 1830s. More precisely, it was held that tribal sovereignty, the right to govern within a tribal territory, was paramount except as it might be limited or reduced by specific acts of the national government. Over the years legislation by Congress had curtailed some tribal initiative, especially in the area of tribal police power and judicial process. More significant were the countless instances in which the executive branch of the national government encroached upon the tribe's right to act, amounting at times to outright usurpation of that right. Unfortunately for the tribes, they had no trained lawyers within their membership and government action was rarely challenged, although it occasioned bitter complaint.

A major aim of the 1934 legislation was to clear away some of the ambiguity that had clustered around the concept of tribal power, resulting from years of administrative practices. The legislation specifically provided that tribes might adopt written constitutions incorporating "all powers vested in an Indian tribe" and certain additional specified powers, including the power to prevent the Secretary of the Interior from arbitrarily disposing of tribal lands or other assets. The constitutions subsequently adopted contained a further safeguard against administrative interference by voiding any rules previously issued if they were incompatible with the tribal constitution, and requiring all employees of the Interior Department in future to abide by the provisions of the constitution.

This was landmark legislation, a clear break with the past. The objective was to set the tribes upon a course of development of their own choosing. The realization of that objective fell short, in some respects it can be said to have failed. An examination of the reasons for so equivocal an outcome should help those involved in Indian affairs in this day to gain perspective for the tasks in hand.

As could be expected, many forces within the general society generated opposition to the changes intended by the law or initiated by the Commissioner. There were those who resented any interference with the processes, legal and otherwise, which had transferred prime agricultural lands, forested areas, minerals, and water rights from Indian to non-Indian ownership. There was a great outcry against an order issuing from the Commissioner requiring employees of the Bureau to respect Indian culture and religious practices. Many voices protested the apparent abandonment of the long effort by government, by educators, and by missionaries to make the Indian over in the image of the white man. Collier was accused of turning the clock back on Indian development. It was said that he wished to keep Indians as museum specimens for the edification of artists, anthropologists, and other exotics.

These forces were vocal and they had strong representatives in Congress and elsewhere. In the President Eisenhower administration, after Collier left the scene, such forces came within a shade of finally destroying what was left of the Indian estate and the vestiges of tribal home rule as well. Several tribes were destroyed. And yet, these were extraneous forces, however dangerous. They had no concern for the human issues involved, scarcely an awareness that basic human rights were under discussion.

The true antagonist of Collier's reform efforts was his own social insight, an inheritance he shared with others of his class, his generation, his cultural conditioning. He was sharply critical of the demonic drives in modern society and he greatly admired the inner strength he found in Indian life, but he was a western man committed to the uses of reason. Man would perfect himself, given the incentive and the opportunity. One of the earliest settlers in Virginia had declared : "It is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which makes them barbarous and uncivil... change the education of men, and you shall see that their nature will be greatly rectified and corrected. "

Collier was not among those who would "rectify" Indian nature, but he was persuaded that Indians would avail themselves of modern political devices as, at an earlier period in contact history, they had adopted steel tools, the gun, and the horse. His mission as a man of reason was to create the opportunity-and as a man of his class and generation he saw no reason why he should not speak for the In-

dian people, no reason why they should not be satisfied to have him speak. His efforts to fulfill this mission is the story of his administration.

Because of the long history of promises that never materialized, of betterment schemes that failed in practice, Indians were understandably skeptical when the 1934 legislation in draft form. was discussed with them in regional meetings across the country. To some it suggested a disguised encroachment on their diminished land holdings. Others thought they detected a plan by which the government would tighten its grip on their lives. Mostly it was fear of any change that might make a bad situation worse. One old member of a Montana tribe explained that in the beginning his people had the buffalo and the buffalo provided everything they needed-food, clothing, shelter, freedom. Then the white man came and destroyed the buffalo, but he gave the Indians the government. Now the government was the buffalo, the supplier of things the Indians needed, and they weren't going to let go off this new buffalo.

Fears such as these were symptomatic of more basic trouble. Since the United States in 1871 renounced the policy of negotiating treaties with the tribes, a practice that had endured from colonial times, the Indians had not been consulted in any of the major decisions affecting their property, their family life, or the training of their children. All such matters came within the discretion of a structure, which developed attitudes and formalities impervious to Indian participation. And as the bureaucracy hardened, the Indian community withdrew deeper into itself and set up its own barriers to communication.

But Collier's problem came not entirely from the fact that for those sixty-odd years the government had excluded Indians from assuming responsibility for their own lives. The unseen, and indeed the larger problem, had to do with the ethic of social intervention which, in the 1930s, still functioned as a tradition out of the 19th Century-a heritage of colonial administration.

A basic feature of the *Indian Reorganization Act* had been eliminated as the legislation went through the congressional process of public hearings and partisan debate. The eliminated feature would have given Indian tribes a voice in the selection and tenure of federal employees appointed to their reservations and would have established procedures by which a tribe might assume full management of its

affairs. The suppression of that feature by an alarmed Congress allowed bureaucratic control at the community level to continue unabated.

In a major crisis that developed early in his administration the reluctance or the inability of the bureaucracy to respond to human conditions had disastrous consequences. The occasion was the decision to reduce Navajo sheep herds, the principal subsistence base of the tribe, in order to bring the animal population into balance with the badly deteriorated range lands. Studies carried out by competent agronomists demonstrated that topsoil was blowing away, perennial grasses were being replaced by annual weeds of low nutrient value, summer rains were eroding deep gullies and carrying mountains of earth into newly constructed irrigation reservoirs, threatening to fill them with silt. In designing a control program, Collier directed that Navajo families with 100 heads or less of sheep be allowed to keep their herds for home consumption. Reduction was to be required only of the larger herds, some of which numbered in thousands. Evidently such selective controls were difficult to administer and field employees found it more convenient to require all owners, large and small, to reduce their holdings. Since there was no market for the sheep taken off the range-the animals were in poor condition and would not have attracted buyers in the best of circumstances-they were slaughtered, piled in heaps, and burned up. Navajos watching such profane behavior, were profoundly shocked.

The episodes were possible because the bureaucracy was the instrument of an older view of the relationship with the Indian people. In that older view Indians were incompetent to make decisions, especially when questions of a technical nature were involved-and herding sheep was obviously of that nature-and it was morally appropriate to protect them against their incompetence.

Collier's hope of restoring to the Indian community some measure of self-government was diminished by the same impersonal, insensate bureaucracy. You who work in government know that project funding is based on performance. If funds allocated to a field project are not expended within a time limit, usually the fiscal year, it is assumed by those who approve budget requests that the money was not needed and the amount approved for a subsequent operating period is likely to be reduced. This leads to various stratagems to keep ahead of the finance wizards, the commonest of which is to pile on expenditures before the end of the

fiscal period, thus demonstrating the accuracy of the original estimate and the soundness of the project.

The *Indian Reorganization Act* authorized expenditures to assist tribes in formulating and voting on written constitutions and charters of incorporation. The intention was to prepare written documents that would reflect the tribe's traditional ways of handling problems and arriving at decision. To carry out this purpose with a regard for tribal institutions, Collier recruited a staff of cultural anthropologists, who were to work in cooperation with the field employees engaged in the organization program. This would appear to be one of the first attempts, if not the first, to use anthropologists as technical assistants by a government agency.

The planning came to grief on two counts. When it was discovered in Congress that the Commissioner was spending public money on something called anthropology, the appropriation was disallowed and the unit was abandoned. A more serious difficulty developed out of the fiscal year syndrome. To satisfy the budget watchers and the wardens of the Treasury, it was necessary to show progress in bringing the tribes under written constitutions. This involved sitting down in meeting after meeting and conducting a tribal drafting committee through a maze of *Whereas* clauses and *Therefore*, be it enacted resolutions. Leaders who were often non-English speaking, very few of whom had advanced beyond the primary grades in school, were exposed to the full battery of Anglo-Saxon parliamentary experience-and they had to act before the end of the fiscal year. The result was the hurried adoption of tribal constitutions based on conventional political instruments which made no provision for action by consensus or for the role of ritual leaders. The tribes were given tools for which they had no aptitude, and which became devices for community disruption and for petty demagoguery.

Collier, wisely, refrained from intruding upon the southwestern Pueblo Indians, whose governments, based on custom and ritual and who conduct their business in a native language, have outlived most modern democracies.

What has come to the surface in tribal communities in recent years, notably at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, this past year-and I believe at Ottawa more recently-is the anger that remained unuttered, but unappeased, for generations. Anger growing out of the kinds of experiences suggested here-and my account of these experiences is mild and polite. Older Indians, still conscious of the defeats inflic-

ted on their people in the closing years of last century, withdrew from open challenge and passively learned to get along with the white man's inscrutable ways. That period seems to have come to a crashing end.

The generation of Indian leaders now emerging lacks that consciousness of defeat which inhibited their elders. More than that, as a consequence of international wars, the collapse of colonial empires, rioting and burning in ghettos all across the country, an economy that destroys the environment, the white man seems not as invincible as he did in the time of their fathers.

It was possible at Wounded Knee in 1890 for an army unit-Custer's old 7th Cavalry, indeed-to slaughter a Sioux camp of men, women, and children. At that same site in the winter of 1973, armored vehicles and troop attachments surrounded another Indian camp-but no slaughter occurred.

Two reasons suggest themselves. The surrounded Indians had access to the world beyond their lines and they were able to verbalize their grievances to listeners who were sympathetic even though they might not understand the issues involved. This access to public opinion was enough to discourage hasty action by gun carrying troops. More compelling, I believe, was the changed circumstance behind that surrounding army. Men in power no longer had a mandate to kill Indians to free the frontier. Perhaps that is a measurable gain.

Where, then, have we come? One certainty seems clear. Because Indians have discovered the uses of power in modern society, it is no longer possible to exclude Indians from the decision-making process in matters affecting their property, their families, the training of their children, the nature of the accommodation they choose to make with the dominant society. John Collier helped to make these issues evident, but as a man of good will standing outside the Indian community, he was limited in what he could do. He could not substitute his will and his vision for Indian will and vision. Nor can any man stand in the place of another.

If we can accept these precepts, the way is open for Indian self-determination, and for the beginning of responsible public policy in the field of human relations.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

PREMIÈRE SÉANCE

Contribution à une géopolitique des Amérindiens du Canada

*Henri DORION, s.r.c. **

Abstract

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The purpose of this paper is to identify geopolitical factors which are of some relevance and importance in the study of what we used to call "The Indian Problem." A group of five factors are being considered :

- the unevenness of demographic distribution ;
- the ethnolinguistic fragmentation ;
- demographic dynamisms ;
- the spatial and functional structure of decision-making processes ;
- the variety of geographical integration models and of territorial administrative set ups.

The objective of the paper is not to conduct a detailed and deep analysis of each of these factors. Moreover, it is important to point out that these factors carry a strong meaning inasmuch as one is conscious of the bidimensional nature of the Indian question : the cultural and the territorial dimensions.

* Directeur du département de Géographie, Université Laval et président de la Commission d'étude sur l'intégrité du territoire du Québec.

The political geographer who conducts an analysis of the "Amerindian" situation from his disciplinary theoretical frame of reference but who is, at the same time, seeking pragmatic solutions, can arrive at formulating a number of propositions which could be of some help in finding the most fruitful paths :

- I) what we used to call "The Indian Problem" is first of all a moral problem for the non-Indians ;
- 2) it is a "problem" which has its foundations in the mind and consciousness of the Whites. (Solutions might be found in some remote corners of the mind of the non-Indians more than in any institutional procedure that could be proposed or implemented by government) ;
- 3) in its nature and, as a consequence, in the solutions which have to be put forward, this "problem" is essentially cultural ;
- 4) it is natural that this "Amerindian" culture expresses itself on a territorial basis or inside a territorial structure ;
- 5) territory is not an absolute given fact, nor a negotiable matter. Territory is a natural framework for community and government activities, the latter having to reflect and stemming from the former ;
- 6) existing spatial and decisional structures implying "Amerindian" communities will have to be deeply modified in order to erase all traces of an anachronic and unacceptable situation which has characterized white-Indian relations since we, the invaders, are here on this North American land ; and
- 7) the re-organization of the "Amerindian" geopolitics in Canada rests upon the disappearance of prejudices and negative conditionings (paternalism, discrimination, racism, so on and so forth) which have developed towards "Amerindians."

J'ai cru opportun de modifier le ton de mon intervention, que j'avais d'abord située sur un plan épistémologique et en un certain sens technique, en dégageant quelle contribution à la géopolitique représentaient les études auxquelles j'ai été

associé dans les cadres d'une commission gouvernementale dont un des mandats avait été d'analyser le problème du « domaine indien » au Québec.

Mes propos se logeront à une enseigne moins analytique, plus globaliste, plus engagée, plus subjective, plus spontanée à dire vrai, avec les dangers et inconvénients qu'une telle attitude recèle. Je prévois dès l'abord les reproches qu'on formulera ; habitués, dans des cadres comme celui-ci, à un langage froid, pondéré et objectif, on me tiendra sans doute rigueur de ce qu'on qualifiera, non sans quelque raison, de profession de foi amérindianisme. Mes propos constituent à cet égard un risque calculé ; mais j'espère qu'ils seront pris pour ce qu'ils veulent être, c'est-à-dire un vibrant appel non seulement à la prise de conscience de l'existence du problème amérindien au Canada et de son ampleur, mais aussi à l'acceptation du fait que ce problème, moralement, nous implique tous.

Tel est en tout cas l'esprit de cet examen de conscience qui a inspiré les thèmes que je me permets de livrer ici à la docte analyse de spécialistes plus compétents que moi et à l'appréciation d'amérindianistes, par leur démarche scientifique ou par leur fonction administrative, bien plus expérimentés que moi.

Une certaine naïveté peut donc caractériser les propos que je livrerai, basés au demeurant sur les enseignements d'un contact, bref à la vérité, avec un problème concret et vécu, celui des droits territoriaux des Amérindiens du Québec, que les circonstances m'ont permis d'analyser dans les cadres de la Commission d'étude sur l'intégrité du territoire du Québec. C'est cependant dans un contexte plus large et en me dégageant de la contingence immédiate qui, dans les cadres mentionnés, était celle d'un litige, que je tenterai un rapide examen de ce que l'on pourrait appeler une géopolitique du problème amérindien au Canada.

Depuis une dizaine d'années le Canada connaît une évolution sociopolitique qui lui fait progressivement perdre son état de grâce séculaire. Habitué depuis longtemps à un bon-ententisme dont le symbole serait l'autruche plutôt que la colombe, le citoyen canadien, et partant les gouvernements qui en reflètent plus ou moins parfaitement les sentiments, eut jusqu'à récemment peu d'occasions de vérifier les limites de sa tolérance. Mais, par le jeu de ce qui rappelle le phénomène physique de la résonance, plusieurs frustrations - de nature et d'ampleur différentes mais qui n'étaient pas sans relations - arrivèrent à terme à peu près en même temps. Une sérieuse remise en question de l'unité d'un pays qui se manifeste

mieux sur les cartes géographiques que dans tous les esprits ; une action populaire contestataire qui n'aurait pas eu son caractère explosif sans ce romantisme révolutionnaire qu'attise un système qui, sans institutionnaliser toutes les injustices, en protège néanmoins souvent la survie ; des actions, terroristes même, qui brillèrent d'un triste éclat parce qu'aussi individuelles que démentielles et qui déclenchèrent une réaction qui ne l'était pas beaucoup moins ; puis, plus récemment et plus près de notre propos, la voix de l'homme indien, d'abord solitaire comme le cri, qui, s'ajoutant à celle de ses frères de sang, est devenue une clameur qui porta à des oreilles mieux ouvertes qu'auparavant l'écho des problèmes qui dataient à vrai dire de l'arrivée de l'homme européen en terre d'Amérique. Voilà des manifestations de cette conscientisation progressive qui s'est emparée des esprits depuis un lustre ou une décennie, qui - c'est ce qui était nouveau - a progressivement pris une dimension territoriale et qui pour nos frères amérindiens a gravi un à un les échelons de la revendication, c'est-à-dire l'individu, la bande, la communauté, la province, le pays. À tout le pays en effet, et à sa population et à ses gouvernements, est maintenant posée la question : Comment modifier le déséquilibre des forces entre une communauté amérindienne que l'histoire a rendue impuissante en la dépossédant de certains de ses droits les plus fondamentaux et une communauté euro-canadienne qui l'écrase sous son poids démographique et sous le pouvoir qui en émane ?

Cette question est essentiellement géopolitique en ce sens que sont en jeu autant le territoire que le pouvoir politique qui en dispose. En effet, les relations réciproques entre la politique des États et leur géographie demeurent, au delà de toutes les définitions, plus sophistiquées les unes que les autres, proposées par les géographes politiques des nouvelles écoles, l'objet essentiel de l'analyse géopolitique. Dans le contexte canadien et au niveau de ce que l'on appelle, de façon équivoque d'ailleurs, le « problème amérindien » (des Amérindiens disent qu'il existe plutôt un problème blanc), l'objet essentiel de l'analyse géopolitique, ce sont les relations réciproques entre les politiques amérindianistes des gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux (québécois pour les fins de notre exposé) d'une part et, d'autre part, les données qui composent une géographie humaine des communautés amérindiennes du Canada, une géographie humaine globale, c'est-à-dire qui retient comme des facteurs déterminants les aspects autant démographiques que sociologiques, psychologiques, bref « culturels » au sens le plus large. C'est

donc dans le sens de son élargissement à ses véritables dimensions que le géopolitologue doit envisager la question amérindienne afin de la dégager de cette ornière, de cette voie pratiquement sans issue où certains semblent actuellement souhaiter la voir s'engager, c'est-à-dire celle d'un simple différend territorial à résoudre. Cette façon étriquée de concevoir la problématique géopolitique amérindienne, si elle a l'avantage apparent d'en circonscrire les contours, n'en facilite pas pour autant la solution puisqu'elle l'enferme dans l'une ou l'autre de deux avenues également engorgées : la voie judiciaire ; la voie de la négociation politique.

En effet, qu'est-ce que les Amérindiens du Canada peuvent attendre du canal, pour ne pas dire du « tunnel » judiciaire, dont l'implacable logique ne permet pas de déborder ou d'élargir les mesquins privilèges jadis concédés par le roi ou ses gouvernements et consignés dans des lois et statuts dont l'imprécision est à la mesure de la parcimonie et qui constituent pourtant pour les magistrats d'aujourd'hui d'impératifs et limitatifs postulats ? Reste évidemment la négociation politique dont on vante les vertus, autant cependant qu'on connaît le combat très inégal dont elle est l'euphémisme paravent.

La question amérindienne n'est pas que territoriale. Reconnaissons cependant qu'elle est d'abord territoriale, du moins chronologiquement. Installés sur ce continent un ou deux millénaires avant les Eurogènes, les Amérindiens se sont fait découvrir, envahir, investir, vaincus à la fois par la couronne, le fusil et la croix et, par la complicité de ces trois pouvoirs, se sont fait ravir leur territoire, leur richesse et leurs valeurs morales. Cinq siècles de fraude des terres et des âmes n'ont pourtant pas eu raison d'un groupe humain dont la passive résistance force l'admiration, plus encore peut-être que la survie des Franco-Canadiens si largement célébrée. Que reste-t-il des territoires jadis occupés en totalité par les indigènes du Canada précolombien ? Des lambeaux : ceux que l'avidité de l'occupant a négligés ou a reconnus, dans une magnanimité toute calculée, comme pouvant demeurer dans cet espace résiduel que l'on a appelé le « domaine amérindien » ; et ce qui a marqué les étapes de cette dépossession systématique ce sont des traités dont la folklorique phraséologie, enjolivée de cocardes et de drapeaux, ne masque pas le drame de ce dépouillement progressif. Que le Québec n'ait pas ajouté à l'anachronique galerie de traités qu'ont conclus d'autres provinces du Canada celui que la loi d'extension des frontières de 1912 lui imposait de conclure, l'absout sans doute d'une complicité qui n'aurait au bout du compte servi ni le Québec ni les Amérin-

diens si cet obligatoire traité avait été ce qu'ont été les autres. Mais cette carence n'en a pas moins laissé au Québec l'odieux d'une obligation non respectée, et n'en constitue pas moins à la vérité une donnée majeure de la problématique amérindienne au Canada. Est-ce à dire que la solution au « problème indien » réside exclusivement, pour emprunter la terminologie juridique, dans l'extinction de l'hypothèque qui grève, au bénéfice des Amérindiens, une bonne partie du territoire québécois, au moins celle, en tout cas, qui fut l'objet de l'extension territoriale de 1912 ? Non ; le problème n'est pas si simple. À moins que les Amérindiens ne cèdent à la dangereuse tentation d'accepter que l'aspect territorial n'inhibe l'ensemble de la problématique qui touche non seulement les possessions mais l'existence même d'une communauté noyée dans une société qui - pour parler comme le philosophe Henri Lefèbvre - n'a pas encore accepté le « manifeste différentialiste », c'est-à-dire une société qui a pris l'habitude de resservir à ses minorités l'intolérance dont elle a le sentiment plus ou moins conscient d'avoir été l'objet.

Le problème territorial, bien sûr, existe. Il est même à l'origine de ce mouvement de contestation qui prend aujourd'hui figure de renaissance. Ce serait cependant le tronquer gravement que de le définir exclusivement par référence aux parcelles de territoire qui pourront ou pourraient, à titre de « réserve » ou à titre équivalent, être reconnues ou concédées aux communautés indiennes dans le cadre d'une véritable politique d'« apartheid ». Cette politique, on le sait bien, a été consignée dans des lois (la loi fédérale sur les Indiens, en particulier) qui en gèrent l'application grâce à de subtils détails (sur la définition de l'Indien par exemple) qui sont l'expression à peine voilée d'un racisme aussi vivace qu'anachronique. Ce racisme en effet n'est pas loin de correspondre à la viscérale xénophobie caractéristique de notre peuple qui ne se prive pas de considérer les Amérindiens comme des étrangers domestiques, comme une présence gênante dont il faudrait pouvoir acheter le départ ou du moins l'effacement.

Le problème territorial ne consiste assurément pas à établir simplement le prix à payer pour libérer de toute hypothèque les territoires que la sagesse blanche considère ne pas devoir abandonner aux populations amérindiennes qui s'obstinent à s'inscrire hors du progrès symbolisé par la conquête des terres vierges dont l'écologie fut pourtant jusqu'ici conservée grâce à elles. Le problème amérindien dépasse largement les limites du contentieux territorial, pourtant déjà fort lourd. Il est territorial dans la mesure où, aujourd'hui, les problèmes culturels du monde

moderne - dans le sens le plus large - se posent et s'expriment d'une manière territoriale. On parle de l'extinction d'une dette, ne devrait-il pas plutôt s'agir de la recherche d'une situation d'équilibre et de justice qui permette, dans les meilleures conditions, aux Amérindiens du Canada, et du Québec en particulier, de bénéficier, dans une mesure qui correspond aux droits que l'Histoire, plus que les gouvernements, leur reconnaît, non pas de parcelles mais de l'ensemble du territoire qui fut un jour leur domaine exclusif ? Cette proposition, en apparence utopique, exige éclaircissement, sur le plan théorique comme sur le plan pratique. La question amérindienne, en termes spatiaux, consiste à identifier le lien qui unit un groupe humain à un territoire. Or, il est évident que ce lien ne peut avoir la simplicité et pour ainsi dire l'immédiateté de celui qui, au niveau du droit privé, unit l'individu à sa propriété.

Dans une société organisée, en effet, un groupe humain ne peut s'identifier à un territoire qu'à travers un système de pouvoir, en l'occurrence l'État. Aussi, si l'organe étatique régit le territoire, c'est au fond pour exercer la seule compétence essentielle qui en justifie l'existence, la compétence personnelle. « Les lois et toutes les normes juridiques, écrit le philosophe du droit Eisenmann, régissent uniquement des hommes, valent uniquement pour des hommes, s'appliquent exclusivement à des hommes... Actes ou biens - on peut ajouter : territoire - peuvent être la condition ou l'occasion qui rendent les hommes sujets de certaines normes juridiques ; mais ne deviennent jamais, parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas l'être, ce à quoi les lois s'appliquent. » D'un point de vue théorique, c'est donc à l'ensemble du territoire qui fut un jour le sien que doit s'identifier un groupe humain qui a toutes les raisons d'y avoir droit, dans une mesure au moins aussi grande que les descendants d'envahisseurs que nous sommes. C'est ce que j'appellerais la « conscience territoriale de base » de la communauté amérindienne, à laquelle se greffe une « conscience territoriale plus spécifique », plus circonscrite dans l'espace quant au type de relations qui lient la communauté à son espace culturel. En effet, la conception monolithique de base du rapport groupe-territoire n'interdit pas, dans la pratique, que des droits additionnels soient reconnus sur des portions de territoire pour des fins d'activités particulières ou, plus largement, sur la base de droits usufruituaires. Cette vue des choses est bien lointaine de celle qui a engendré le système des réserves telles qu'entendues dans une loi qui en a fait à l'origine un cadre de confinement plutôt que de protection. Il n'y a évidemment pas lieu d'ana-

lyser ici le système des réserves, d'ailleurs inutilement complexe : qu'il soit seulement permis de dire que la réserve indienne risque d'être une institution anachronique et infamante si elle ne devient pas un lieu privilégié propre à assurer l'épanouissement d'une communauté menacée. Si de tels lieux d'exception doivent continuer d'exister, sous forme de « municipalités amérindiennes » ou autrement, ils devront être consolidés et pour ainsi dire érigés en places fortes d'une culture amérindienne revalorisée.

Parce qu'au bout du compte, c'est bien de culture dont il s'agit, de culture en tant que bien collectif. L'homme amérindien, comme individu, a déjà, en effet, toute latitude pour s'insérer, à l'instar de tout autre citoyen, dans le tissu complexe de notre civilisation industrialisée, automatisée, enrégimentée. Mais c'est en abandonnant le milieu qui est le sien, c'est en forçant le rythme auquel il est naturellement soumis, c'est en rejetant partiellement ce qui le caractérise que l'Indien peut parvenir à être un citoyen d'aujourd'hui. Autrement dit, selon une expression des Amérindiens eux-mêmes, en devenant une pomme (rouge à l'extérieur, blanc à l'intérieur). Encore que les attitudes ségrégationnistes dont nos voisins du sud n'ont pas le monopole pourraient bien exiger de l'Indien « qui arrive en ville » qu'il se débride les yeux et qu'il pâlisse son teint, dans les cas où le métissage n'aurait pas encore opéré cette assimilation physionomique. Soyons francs et reconnaissons qu'un épais cahier de doléances pourrait malheureusement être constitué, qui traduirait les attitudes indianophobes de notre population.

Pour dégager l'homme amérindien de cet injuste dilemme, s'assimiler ou croupir, dilemme à vrai dire intimement lié à toute condition minoritaire, il est indispensable qu'il collectivise, en un sens, ses droits, qu'il fasse porter sa revendication sur ce qui pourra assurer la survie de la communauté amérindienne en tant que telle, en tant que dépositaire de valeurs que ne partagent pas d'autres communautés. La géopolitique de la question amérindienne a d'abord cette dimension culturelle. Au delà de la revendication territoriale qui n'est somme toute que la traduction en termes concrets (c'est-à-dire compréhensibles pour les hommes politiques) de préoccupations beaucoup plus fondamentales, quels sont en effet les mots clés qui qualifient en toutes circonstances le « problème amérindien » ? Valeurs traditionnelles, protection de l'écologie, acculturation ou alors des mots accusateurs comme paternalisme, xénophobie, « apartheid ». Ce vocabulaire quotidien traduit bien que le problème amérindien est d'abord et avant tout dans l'esprit

des Eurogènes qui soumettent à une implacable mathématique la reconnaissance et la consignation des droits des groupes minoritaires.

On pourra trouver ces propos bien loin de la démarche géopolitique, c'est-à-dire de l'analyse des relations réciproques entre les politiques amérindianistes des gouvernements et les données factuelles qui composent la problématique actuelle de la question amérindienne. Sans doute ; mais il était nécessaire de replacer dans un cadre de référence essentiellement subjectif les données factuelles de la problématique amérindienne. Cette préoccupation procède d'une démarche peu orthodoxe puisqu'elle est le fruit d'un effort de subjectivité, à l'opposé de ce souci d'objectivité qu'habituellement on veut ou on dit cultiver dans toute analyse géopolitique ou politique. Mais je crois que cette subjectivisation du débat sur la question amérindienne constitue une impérieuse nécessité si l'on veut que les réponses apportées soient inspirées par les aspirations profondes du peuple amérindien plutôt que par l'officiel désir d'acheter la paix des Blancs et de leurs gouvernements. Les différents facteurs géopolitiques de la question ne prennent en effet véritablement leur sens que s'ils sont soumis à une analyse et une interprétation orientées vers des solutions qui ne seront satisfaisantes que si elles sont audacieuses et courageuses. Une autre attitude relèguerait la géopolitique au rang des disciplines contemplatives.

Examinons quelques-uns de ces facteurs, en essayant d'établir dans quelle mesure ils constituent des indicateurs de ce que pourrait être une politique amérindianiste harmonieuse, qui respecte les données de la géographie.

La *discontinuité du peuplement* est sans doute une donnée de base impérieusement limitative dans la territorialisation des politiques amérindiennes. La preuve en est que, tant du côté des gouvernements, des commissions d'étude que des Amérindiens eux-mêmes, le territoire d'exception (qu'il s'agisse de réserve, d'établissement, de municipalité amérindienne ou de quelque autre cadre équivalent) a été reconnu comme une quasi-nécessité, comme un rempart à l'assimilation, comme un abri contre ce vent qui souffle en permanence des aires culturelles fortes vers des aires culturelles fragiles. Reflet d'une politique ségrégationniste et discriminatoire s'ils ont un caractère de confinement et de limitation des droits, ces mêmes territoires peuvent au contraire constituer des cadres privilégiés recevant une garantie matérielle d'identification dont tout peuple, toute communauté a finalement besoin. Rien d'étonnant à ce que les mouvements de réveil culturel

s'accompagnent pratiquement toujours de conscientisation territoriale. Il faut en déduire qu'à une condamnation inconditionnelle du système des réserves il serait plus opportun de substituer une attitude plus positive, à la recherche de formules de remplacement qui tiennent compte de l'impératif territorial que l'on vient d'identifier.

La discontinuité du peuplement se double d'un autre facteur géopolitique moins bien étudié, celui de la *fragmentation ethno-linguistique* de la famille amérindienne. Esquimaux et Indiens ; Iroquois et Montagnais ; Cris de la baie de James et Innovat d'Ekwantcho ou de Natashquan ; voilà des paires qui entretiennent des dissimilitudes qu'il est quelquefois important de ne pas sous-estimer, surtout dans l'élaboration d'une politique de promotion culturelle. Prenons l'exemple de la fragmentation linguistique de la famille algonquienne, ou même du groupe montagnais en particulier. Cette fragmentation a, à la fois, l'avantage et l'inconvénient de constituer un continuum dialectal qui rend difficile l'identification d'un langage commun (surtout écrit). Quelle attitude choisir entre le respect intégral et à vrai dire un peu folklorique des dialectes qui constituent ce continuum ou la difficile et peut-être dangereuse entreprise d'artificialiser une langue pour qu'elle puisse valoriser son rôle de communication ? Question bien politique, puisqu'elle suppose une décision qui, pour devenir réalité, impliquera des moyens importants dont ne dispose pas actuellement la communauté amérindienne.

Le *dynamisme démographique* qui a caractérisé les Amérindiens du Canada depuis quelques décennies constitue de son côté un facteur géopolitique qui en conditionne bien d'autres : la taille des établissements, le niveau socioéconomique de ceux qui sont en position marginale, le bilan migratoire des régions de contact, et même le degré d'acculturation qu'impliquent les manages mixtes... Au niveau des politiques, peut-on, à cet égard, s'empêcher de se référer à des constatations aussi élémentaires qu'impératives, comme la fragilité du seuil démographique de viabilité des groupes minoritaires soumis à tout un faisceau de forces centrifuges (linguistiques, sociologiques, économiques, locationnelles), et de considérer comme une nécessité géopolitique l'élaboration d'une politique généreusement nataliste pour les Amérindiens ?

Les choix qu'implique le jeu de ces facteurs géopolitiques nous amènent à identifier un autre élément de prime importance, puisqu'il les prolonge en un sens

vers la matérialisation d'une géographie volontaire : la *structure spatiale et fonctionnelle (organisationnelle) des processus décisionnels*.

Il n'y a pas au Canada de gouvernement amérindien ; il n'y a pas de territoire amérindien au sens géo-administratif du terme (constitutionnellement, les Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest ne sont pas un territoire amérindien) ; il n'y a ni parlementarisme amérindien ni participation amérindienne institutionnalisée au parlementarisme eurogène (ou blanc) ; il n'y a pas entre gouvernements et Amérindiens d'institution de consultation, encore moins de participation, qui soit soumise à un contrôle administratif quelconque. Le leadership amérindien, malgré ses manifestations sporadiques, reste diffus et pas toujours identifiable. Comment dans ces conditions peut-il y avoir une circulation libre et consciente entre la problématique et la décision ?

Sans qu'il soit nécessaire de simplifier à l'extrême la problématique amérindienne au Canada, il est quand même possible de dégager des bases communes et larges qui permettent d'élaborer des politiques globales, à l'antipode de ces politiques fragmentaires, fractionnées, à la pièce, qui ont caractérisé l'activité gouvernementale depuis toujours. Les Amérindiens ne sont pas responsables de *l'hétérogénéité des modèles d'intégration* géographique auxquels ils sont soumis. Les Amérindiens ne sont pas responsables de *l'inutile complexité des cadres administratifs territoriaux* qui ont sectionné leurs territoires. Ils ne sont pas responsables du fait qu'on les a « organisés » (dans le sens de localisés et encadrés) dans la moitié sud du Québec mais non dans la partie septentrionale. L'explication partielle du décalage entre cette situation géopolitique institutionnalisée et la réalité humaine première qui la supporte réside sans doute dans la tragique absence des groupes amérindiens dans les décisions gouvernementales qui les concernaient pourtant fondamentalement.

Cette constatation nous mène bien près de nous puisque l'ouverture récente des grands travaux du Nord-Ouest québécois a encore une fois fourni le décourageant exemple de décisions s'abattant de tout le poids des milliards qu'elles impliquent sur des populations démunies à qui en somme on ne concède que la consolation de la négociation après coup.

Les facteurs géopolitiques du « problème amérindien », on le voit, sont multifaces : la dispersion du peuplement, la fragmentation ethno-linguistique, la dyna-

mique démographique, la variété des modèles d'intégration géographique et des cadres administratifs territoriaux, voilà des éléments que l'on peut isoler pour les fins de l'analyse mais qui tendent tous vers des constatations convergentes et fondamentales que je me permets de rappeler en guise de conclusion :

- 1) ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le « problème amérindien » est avant tout un problème moral pour les Eurogènes ;
- 2) c'est un problème qui se situe d'abord et avant tout dans la conscience et l'esprit des Blancs ;
- 3) ce problème, dans son essence comme au chapitre de ses solutions, est essentiellement culturel ;
- 4) cette culture amérindienne doit naturellement s'exprimer sur une base territoriale ;
- 5) le territoire par ailleurs ne constitue pas une donnée absolue, ni un bien à négocier : il s'agit d'un cadre d'activités communautaires mais aussi d'activités étatiques, celles-ci devant être le reflet et l'appui de celles-là ;
- 6) pour y parvenir, les structures spatiales (l'organisation des territoires) et décisionnelles (participation au processus) qui impliquent les communautés amérindiennes doivent être profondément modifiées ;
- 7) l'assainissement en ce sens de la géopolitique amérindienne au Canada suppose que tombent - et on revient ici à nos premières conclusions - les préjugés et les conditionnements négatifs qui se sont développés et accumulés à l'égard des Amérindiens (paternalisme, discrimination, racisme même).

Il ne faut surtout pas croire que cela est chose faite. La conscientisation progressive n'a touché que certains éléments de la population et pas toujours ceux qui évoluent le plus près des gouvernements qui jusqu'ici ont surtout cherché, il faut le reconnaître, à acheter la paix. Sinon, pourquoi aurait-il fallu noircir tant de milliers et de milliers de pages de rapports, de mémoires, d'études, pour enfin que soient éveillées les consciences qui étaient prêtes à payer cher pour ne pas l'être ?

Est-il nécessaire d'enrégimenter tant de scientifiques, de créer tant de commissions, de nommer tant de négociateurs, de procéder à tant d'enquêtes pour se convaincre que la voix revendicatrice de l'homme amérindien n'est pas qu'un cri sans message ? Il suffit pourtant d'une nuit passée en compagnie de chasseurs de Mistassini pour comprendre ce que la forêt représente pour eux ; il suffit de contempler quelques moments une oeuvre de Norval Morisseau, peintre cri du Nord-Ouest de l'Ontario, pour comprendre que ce peuple est dépositaire d'un message que l'automatisme de notre civilisation relègue au rang du folklore ; il suffit d'écouter quelque temps le silence du Nord pour imaginer le traumatisme que provoque l'envahissement brutal et soudain des machines à progrès?

Pour comprendre, en effet, il suffit d'écouter. Écouter l'Indien plutôt que l'étudier ; le respecter plutôt que l'analyser, se convertir à lui, d'une certaine manière, plutôt que vouloir seulement le convertir.

Les valeurs indiennes ont été assez vivaces pour ne pas mourir en dépit d'un jeu de facteurs géopolitiques que l'indifférence de l'homme blanc a laissé jouer contre elles. Il ne faut pas que prolifère cette décourageante indifférence pas plus qu'il faille souhaiter que les peuples du Canada se retournent dos à dos.

On a parlé de deux solitudes au Canada. On en a oublié la troisième, plus grande, plus tragique, celle où s'est réfugié, de gré ou de force, le peuple indien, qui y a puisé sans doute pendant un temps la force de la conservation, mais qui cherche aujourd'hui à en sortir sans rien renier de ce qui le fait.

Et si l'on parle de traité entre Indiens et Blancs, qu'il s'agisse donc d'autre chose qu'un troc de parcelles de terrain, d'autre chose qu'un rachat d'agaçantes hypothèques, d'autre chose qu'une dette à éteindre. Solidaires dans la construction de ce pays, Blancs et Indiens devraient aussi l'être dans la réparation de vices d'architecture.

Solitude d'abord, solidarité ensuite. Espérons avec Robert Charlebois que vienne la SOLIDARITUDE.

Discussion

Dr Claude Fortier : Je suis fasciné par votre remarquable présentation, par votre allusion, entre autres, à cette xénophobie viscérale qui tend à caractériser les francophones du Québec. Je me demande si, parmi les solutions que vous envisagez pour remédier à cette absence de conscience du « problème indien » et pour susciter notre responsabilité collective, il ne faut pas d'abord identifier les facteurs responsables de cette situation. Je me demande si l'un des principaux coupables ou facteurs impliqués n'est pas l'éducation au niveau primaire. L'histoire, les particularités propres, la culture remarquable de certains groupes ethniques dans notre milieu sont à peu près totalement ignorés, n'est-ce pas, à un âge où l'enfant est particulièrement sensible à de telles considérations. Les manuels d'histoire que j'ai connus il y a trop longtemps, ceux qu'ont entre leurs mains les enfants d'aujourd'hui, témoignent à peu près des mêmes carences. À l'âge adulte, je crois qu'il est beaucoup trop tard pour prendre conscience de notions qui auraient dû être inculquées beaucoup plus tôt. Est-ce que ce ne serait pas là un des moyens les plus efficaces d'éducation et de prise de conscience de cette responsabilité collective que d'introduire, dès ce stade, cette notion de l'existence de civilisations antérieures à la nôtre sur ce continent et cette notion, selon l'expression que vous avez employée, que nous sommes effectivement les descendants de conquérants - l'équivalent des Conquistadores en Amérique latine par rapport aux Amérindiens de ces latitudes - et que ce qui est présenté comme des prouesses, comme des victoires de la part de l'envahisseur, pourrait être vu sous un tout autre jour ?

Henri Dorion : Je remercie M. Fortier de souligner cet aspect qui effectivement, je crois, est très important. Cette humiliante xénophobie qui nous caractérise souvent - le terme peut-être prête à confusion parce que la racine *Xenos* veut dire étranger - souligne précisément le fait que malheureusement beaucoup de Blancs considèrent les Amérindiens comme des étrangers. Or, y a-t-il quelque chose de plus aberrant que de considérer les personnes qui étaient dans la maison avant le visiteur comme des étrangers ? C'est ce qu'on appelle la dépossession. Bien sûr, il est vrai qu'il y a un tas de choses qui entretiennent cette xénophobie. Vous avez raison de souligner que cela se produit très tôt. En fait, on sait que c'est le quotidien

qui construit l'homme et que l'école est pour les jeunes le quotidien. Malheureusement on constate aussi que c'est très souvent une question de vocabulaire que l'on contrôle assez mal et qui perpétue toute une série de concepts. Justement, dans les manuels d'histoire et dans les manuels d'éducation civique qui commencent maintenant à exister, l'absence assez extraordinaire des différents groupes ethniques qui composent la mosaïque canadienne, y compris les Amérindiens, est surprenante. Lorsqu'il n'y a pas absence totale d'un groupe, on confond malheureusement trop souvent minorité et exception. Cela traduit, je pense, une conception très ethnocentrique de la culture et de l'histoire qui malheureusement caractérise encore beaucoup de documents et de livres scolaires chez nous. Les livres scolaires, cependant, ne sont pas tout puisque le quotidien dépasse l'école. Sans doute, doit-on souhaiter qu'il y ait un contact avec les communautés amérindiennes à travers le livre, mais également autrement. Ce peut être le dialogue direct, des programmes d'échange et des études sur le terrain. On amène nos enfants un peu partout, on les amène rarement dans les territoires indiens. Le paysage peut être très instructif. Voici un exemple pratique. Il est étonnant de constater que nulle part au Québec - à moins qu'il y ait eu des changements récemment - on ne voit d'inscriptions qui annoncent aux voyageurs, par exemple, qu'ils arrivent à Ekwantcho lorsqu'ils arrivent à Mingan - étant donné qu'il n'y a que des Indiens à Mingan et que ces derniers n'appellent pas Mingan Mingan mais Ekwantcho. Quand on arrive à Sept-Îles il n'y a pas d'inscription pour signaler qu'on arrive à Washat et ainsi de suite... Rien ne serait plus normal puisque c'est la langue de 90% et quelquefois de 100% des gens qui y vivent. Jamais le cerveau d'un dirigeant des ministères concernés n'a pensé à un affichage qui respecte au moins la langue des personnes qui y vivent. On ne demande pas, bien sûr, de mettre des noms de rue indiens à Montréal, mais on pourrait le faire, au moins, dans les régions où il y a des Amérindiens. C'est un exemple de cette présence quotidienne que l'on pourrait essayer d'assurer. Je pense que l'on pourrait ainsi, peut-être à force de patience, faire disparaître la xénophobie qui est une maladie très grave, un cancer difficile à extirper. Il est temps de le faire.

Louis-Edmond Hamelin : Je pense que nous avons entendu une conférence exceptionnelle. Cette conférence-là devrait être traduite le plus tôt possible pour le bénéfice de nos collègues ici présents, en anglais et peut-être même en langues

indigènes. Je voudrais demander conseil à M. Dorion au sujet des moyens à prendre pour corriger la situation. Il me semble que le moyen le plus efficace serait de modifier, j'ose le dire, le principe fondamental de notre démocratie qui est un principe basé sur la majorité. Si on ne change pas ce principe-là, je ne vois pas comment les 265 députés à Ottawa, avec un seul député des Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest qui est métis, peuvent faire quelque chose. Est-ce que le Canada est prêt à accepter une modification de ce principe qui a l'air très démocratique et très fondamental ? On pourrait peut-être le diviser en deux principes. Conserver le principe pour la très grande majorité des situations que tout le monde connaît, comme, par exemple, l'inflation, mais ne pas le faire fonctionner pour les questions que la majorité ignore. Si on faisait actuellement un référendum à l'échelle du Canada sur l'opportunité d'un mouvement favorable à l'égard des Indiens, il est probable que la très grande majorité dirait non. Donc, si on utilise le principe de la majorité, je ne crois pas que l'on puisse atteindre ce très bel objectif humain de culture dont on vient de parler. Je sais que le principe de la majorité est un principe sacrosaint. Mais c'est un principe qui me semble impraticable pour toutes les questions que la majorité ignore. Or, la majorité ignore profondément les sentiments amérindiens.

Henri Dorion : Je ne peux qu'abonder dans ce sens. Effectivement, le défaut fondamental est que la démocratie est définie, non pas dans les dictionnaires mais dans les faits, comme l'implacable mathématique du nombre. Malheureusement, la mathématique c'est quelque chose qui ne se pense pas. C'est une chose qui se compte et c'est évidemment là le draine. Si les droits devaient être établis sur une base mathématique seulement, au bout du compte il ne resterait sur la terre qu'une seule société. Il est peut-être utopique d'essayer d'imposer à une majorité de considérer une minorité. C'est une question de morale. À vrai dire, il est assez difficile de formuler une solution qui passerait par-dessus ce poids du nombre qui joue très souvent, il faut le reconnaître, dans bien des régions du monde, contre des cultures qui ne cherchent pas au fond à imposer à une majorité le poids de la minorité mais qui cherchent uniquement la reconnaissance de leur existence.

George Sioui : I am a Huron Indian. I have a suggestion to make and I would like to know what Mr. Dorion thinks about it. My suggestion is at once very simple and very idealistic, but it's the only one I see and I think feasible. Why doesn't the government give away rich portions of land to Indians ? This would imply expropriation of white people on a large scale. Game could be re-introduced and together with fanning would provide for food and handicrafts production. For the northern people, there could be raising of cattle, like cariboo and any appropriate cattle.

Henri Dorion : Si j'ai bien compris la question, M. Sioui a une recommandation à formuler qui, dit-il, si utopique soit-elle, pourrait peut-être aider à résoudre le problème. Pourquoi de larges portions de territoire ne seraient-elles pas remises aux communautés amérindiennes, même au prix d'expropriations de propriétés appartenant aux Blancs, afin que ces territoires puissent être utilisés pour leurs fins propres, c'est-à-dire, entre autres, la chasse et la pêche, qui sont leur vocation première.

George Sioui : Ensuite couper tous les fonds, couper la dépendance du gouvernement.

Henri Dorion : May I try to answer firstly on the basis of principle and secondly on the basis of the feasibility of such a solution. As a principle, I think that I would go even farther than you go in the sense that "Amerindians," in Canada, do not have rights on portions of territories. They have rights on the whole of the territory, I think, they were here before anybody else and they had the exclusiveness of the whole territory. So I think that it should be recognized in the law, in every statute, that the Indians do have exactly the same rights as everybody else in every part of the Canadian territory. But I think that, for many reasons, and perhaps on the basis that they have been deprived of many things, there is a debt that the white population has now to pay to the Indian population which is not directly in terms of territory. This debt may be explained in terms of specific rights closer to the natural activities of Indians. And that is why even the Study Commission I was working on has suggested to the government that some parts of the territory

should be given primarily to some Indian activities such as game, that we have called "usufructuary" activities. Concerning the feasibility of seizing some parts of land pertaining to Whites, I would say that this is a very brutal way of trying to find a very specific and a very small scale solution to a problem which is much wider. Anyhow, I think the territory which should be of interest to the Indian communities for the purposes you were referring to is usually not in the hands of private white population. I don't know to what extent I am answering your question.

Léonard Paul : J'ai écouté très attentivement l'exposé de M. Dorion. Ça remue quelque chose chez moi, c'est sûr, quelque chose de très réaliste en ce qui concerne les Indiens. J'ai toujours vu aussi qu'il y avait deux niveaux de compréhension des choses. Quand on a parlé de solitude à un moment donné, c'était des choses. Quand on parle de niveau de compréhension, c'est des choses parallèles. Je pourrais, peut-être, donner des exemples simplistes. Moi j'ai appris l'histoire du Canada de cette façon-ci. Probablement qu'on pourrait, à un moment donné, ne pas parler en termes de majorité ou de minorité, mais en terme de compréhension. Pour revenir à mon exemple de l'histoire du Canada. Dans l'histoire du Canada on disait que les Indiens durant l'été étaient des gens qui prenaient leur temps alors que les Français ou les Canadiens français travaillaient à bûcher sur leur terrain. Mais si on regarde un peu la situation, c'est que les Indiens étaient en pleine période d'activité durant l'hiver. Alors il y a beaucoup de choses comme ça. C'est un petit détail bien simple que je donne mais moi je vois le problème dans ce sens-là. Quand j'étais, par exemple, chef de bande à Bersimis, je voyais le problème de cette façon-ci. J'essayais, le plus souvent, de quêter à la majorité bien des choses qui m'étaient typiquement culturelles alors que normalement je devais prendre les moyens chez moi au lieu d'aller les quêter en allant vers la majorité. Alors on a fait, une fois, une grosse campagne d'information au niveau de l'Association (des Indiens du Québec), afin d'essayer de réveiller des gens dans le sens des paroles de M. Dorion, essayer de conscientiser ces gens-là. J'ai rencontré beaucoup de gens. Je faisais le territoire du Bas-du-Fleuve pour essayer de participer ensemble justement à la construction d'un pays. Si on demande à un vieil Indien, est-ce que le Canada tel qu'on le voit abstraitement est ton pays ? Il dira tout simplement non. Mon pays, c'est le lac, c'est la Manicouagan, c'est Bersimis. Alors, ce sont

toutes ces choses-là, je pense. C'est la même chose pour la justice aussi. On a fait un grand tapage avec l'affaire de la baie James. La justice a été faite encore par la majorité. Pour l'Indien, la parcelle de terre c'est la liberté, alors que pour la société ou la majorité c'était des choses assez définies par des textes juridiques. Alors je pense que je ne sais pas qu'est-ce qu'on pourrait faire pour prendre action commune. On a essayé, à l'Association, d'informer des gens, de les conscientiser. C'est sûr que faire bouger des gens qui sont humains, c'est assez long comme processus. C'est le témoignage que je voulais apporter. C'est sûr que ce que disait M. Dorion tout à l'heure, ça a sûrement remué quelque chose chez un Indien comme moi.

Gilles Pépin : Professeur Dorion, vous avez mentionné qu'il y a deux éléments à la question indienne, à savoir, le territorial et le culturel. Il faut avouer que la question territoriale est assez importante et qu'elle doit être vue d'une façon particulière. Vous sembliez rejeter la voie judiciaire et la voie des négociations. Alors j'aimerais que vous développiez un peu la voie que vous proposez vous-même. Il arrivera des moments où on aura à traiter de questions très particulières. Si la voie judiciaire ou celle des négociations n'est pas la bonne, pourriez-vous nous éclairer sur une autre voie qui pourrait être utilisée ?

Henri Dorion : À vrai dire, la voie judiciaire et la voie de la négociation politique d'une part et les autres voies possibles ne sont pas des voies exclusives. Lorsque j'ai souligné que la voie judiciaire, j'allais même dire le tunnel judiciaire, risquait d'aboutir à des impasses et lorsque je disais, en me référant à l'autre alternative, que la négociation politique était, dans les circonstances actuelles, un paravent pour un déséquilibre de forces où vraiment il n'y a pas de négociations honnêtes, c'est uniquement pour rappeler le fait que, compte tenu du manque d'information et surtout de la viscérale intolérance qui caractérise justement les négociateurs ou ceux qui établissent la justice - ce n'est pas la justice ni les juges que je vise en disant cela - les magistrats d'aujourd'hui n'ont pas le choix. Ils ne peuvent que se référer à ce qui a été fait de façon parcimonieuse - et combien parcimonieuse -, à ces textes qui ont reconnu à des Indiens certains droits. Autrement dit, on demande que justice soit faite à partir d'une répartition injuste. C'est là que je me dis qu'il y a illogisme de se référer uniquement au canal judiciaire. Bien sûr, si

le canal judiciaire ne convient pas, que reste-t-il d'autre que la négociation politique ? Mais pour que l'une ou l'autre des deux voies, ou les deux préférablement, soient valables, il faut qu'il y ait quelque chose de fondamentalement changé. Je crois que ce qui demande d'être changé, ce n'est pas tellement une structure administrative de partage de territoire, mais c'est une question de mentalité de la part des Blancs. Dans son intervention M. Paul parlait de deux niveaux de compréhension. Il laissait supposer, peut-être par délicatesse n'a-t-il pas voulu le dire, qu'il n'y a qu'un seul niveau de compréhension dans la tête des Blancs. Lorsqu'il se référait aux questions de rythme, je pense qu'il y a un très bel exemple à apporter. C'est la question, par exemple, du rythme saisonnier de la scolarité imposée aux Indiens. Le rythme scolaire qui est celui des Blancs du Sud est absolument à l'inverse de celui qui devrait être proposé aux Indiens du Nord. Or, on n'a jamais pensé de faire le changement. Il y a un seul niveau de compréhension. Ce n'est pas en fait, comme disait M. Paul tout à l'heure, l'Indien qui va quêter la solution à la majorité, c'est la majorité qui l'impose sans même essayer de penser qu'il y a un autre niveau de compréhension. C'est ce genre de choses-là qui demandent à être changées aujourd'hui. Bien sûr, ça ne met pas de côté le canal judiciaire éventuellement et la négociation politique. Mais pour que ces voies fonctionnent sur une base juste, il est important de procéder à ce qu'on pourrait appeler un ré-armement moral.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

PREMIÈRE SÉANCE

Indian Politics in the Canadian political System

*Doug ELIAS **

Résumé

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L'évolution récente de la situation politique chez les Indiens peut se résumer en quatre constatations majeures :

- 1) croissance du pouvoir de revendication des Indiens et organisation de ce pouvoir pour lui donner un caractère représentatif ;
- 2) consolidation des associations provinciales ;
- 3) déclarations documentées adressées par les Indiens aux non-Indiens donnant de la nation indienne une définition politique ; et
- 4) prise de conscience par les Indiens de leurs principaux problèmes.

La Fraternité des Indiens a isolé et identifié ses principaux problèmes

- le logement : exemple tiré du document Wahbung préparé par la Manitoba Indian Brotherhood ;

* Curator of Anthropology, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

- l'héritage culturel menacé : une démonstration bien documentée est l'exposé de la Yukon Native Brotherhood, *Together Today for our Children Tomorrow* ;
- un système d'éducation mal adapté : l'intensité de cette prise de conscience indigène est la plus fortement révélée dans le document de l'Association indienne de l'Alberta, *Citizens Plus*, où des commentaires sont énoncés concernant l'amélioration des programmes d'éducation des Indiens : « Qu'ils tiennent davantage compte des valeurs indiennes, des moeurs indigènes et des coutumes autochtones. » ;
- une formation professionnelle déficiente : la majeure partie des programmes de formation professionnelle offerts aux autochtones les prépare à tenir des emplois peu sécuritaires, à bas revenus et difficiles à obtenir. Un groupe de Métis de la Saskatchewan en a fait la remarque.

L'analyse comparée de nombreux tableaux statistiques permet de conclure que les programmes actuels de formation contribuent à maintenir les autochtones dans les rangs de la *classe défavorisée*.

Quelles sont les possibilités pour les Indiens de résoudre leurs problèmes ? Les constatations invitent au pessimisme. En isolant leurs problèmes comme s'ils étaient uniques, les Indiens se dissocient de ceux qui luttent pour la promotion d'intérêts semblables. Aucune collaboration avec les agences gouvernementales ne pourra renverser la situation et redonner aux Indiens leur autonomie. L'approche , culturaliste », trop exclusivement centrée sur la survie des traditions indigènes anciennes, détourne les forces vives de la renaissance culturelle de leur vocation primordiale et empêche les collectivités indigènes de s'attaquer au système et aux structures qui perpétuent leur sous-développement.

In recent years, Indian political expression has moved away from the humble mutterings of complaint put forward at Treaty Day for the consideration of an inattentive and unheeding Indian agent to formal and often dramatic statements of concern and demand. The occupations of Indian Affairs offices in Ottawa, Kenora

and Saskatoon, well-researched and powerfully written briefs and publications, application through the courts to have justice done for the Natives whose environments are being trespassed, the formation of national, provincial, and local native organizations are all clear indications of a political sophistication that is slowly winning for native people the ability to influence the form of public policy in Canada. The extent of this ability to influence and the depth of political sophistication is difficult to assess, first, because of their newness and, secondly, because the native people wisely play their political cards close to the chest, choosing not to allow outsiders to observe anything but that which they wish observed : in the course of their politicization, they have learned the value of secrecy and confidentiality.

Still, it is possible to detect a general trend in the process of politicization and to suggest the present and future effects of the political approach being taken by the Indians, especially by their official regional representative groups. There is now formed in each province and territory of Canada, a group that claims to be the unified representative of the desires and aspirations of Indians within their political boundaries. This claim can be convincingly made in that each of these groups counts as voluntary members most, if not all, the duly elected chiefs of their respective province or territory. Equally convincing the federal government views these groups as the official representatives of Indian people in Canada, and, in keeping with this view, provides the groups, through pooled band funds, with most of their operating and capital money and, when requested, support and consultation services. Especially since 1969 when the Honourable Jean Chrétien produced his government's historic *White Paper* on Indian affairs, these groups have been attempting to formulate clear, well conceived and rigourously documented statements of what they believe should be the future of Indians in Canada. Some of these stand as the most powerful statements ever to have been addressed to non-Natives by Canada's Indians. In one stroke, these documents destroy the myths of dullness of wit and intellect and of perpetual factionalism among Indians, even though they are the synthesis of hugely diverse thought. Instead, they firmly establish Indians as political people, no matter how "modem" a definition is applied to the concept "political. "

The Documents

The documents to be examined here are those recently prepared by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the Yukon Native Brotherhood and the Indian Association of Alberta. Even though they represent the thinking of Indian people who have lived through diverse cultural and historic experiences, a base of common thought shared by the members of the three groups has given rise to similar approaches for analyzing problems of contemporary Indians, determining the causes of the problems and prescribing solutions for them.

The Indian brotherhoods develop their analysis by first isolating, in general terms, the most severe of difficulties. An example is taken from *Wahbung*, prepared by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

Housing

"Most homes on Manitoba reserves, and most housing Indian people are able to occupy in urban areas, are graphic examples of the conditions of abject poverty in which far too many of us must live." ¹

This general assertion is first supported with concrete data, much of which is the result of basic research conducted by the Brotherhood.

"In 1969, only 2% of our houses on these reserves or Crown lands has sewer or septic tank facilities ; only 2% had running water ; only 3% had indoor bath and toilet." ²

"half of our homes on reserve or Crown land have less than 500 square feet of floor spaces." ³

¹ Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *Wahbung*, 1972, p. 87.

² Idem, p. 88.

³ Ibidem.

« ...over 81% of the homes occupied by Indian people are overcrowded." ⁴

These conditions are then compared to those that prevail in Canada, or to those recommended by various government standard-setting agencies.

"In Indian communities today, housing standards in both quality and quantity do not meet the minimum requirements of the National Building Code." ⁵

"...according to the specifications for new houses permitted under the federal government's public housing scheme, 600 square feet is the minimum allowed for gross floor area. Thus an unusually large portion of the dwelling stock on the reserves in Manitoba is composed of very small homes." ⁶

"According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, a dwelling unit is said to be overcrowded when the number of persons living in that dwelling exceeds the number of habitable rooms. The average family size for Manitoba Treaty Indians in December, 1969, was 4.3 and there were 4,943 family units, and 4,030 houses on reserve or Crown land at that time." ⁷

The conditions are compared to those that prevailed in times past.

"From the teepee of the plains to the wi'kwaam of the central woodlands and the winter askiikan, our houses were indicative of the adaptability of our tribes, and of our independence and ability to survive in varieties of areas and boundaries.

"The housing differed amongst our tribal societies. It had to be versatile, directed by many factors such as climate, the expected occupancy in a certain area, the use of the dwelling (dance houses, smoke houses). Much of our housing depended upon the sturdy buffalo hide.

⁴ Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *Wahbung*, 1972, p. 90.

⁵ Idem, p. 87.

⁶ Idem, p. 88.

⁷ Idem, p. 90.

"But the buffalo was not to survive and when in addition, the movements of our bands were restricted to reserves, we found we had to build permanent structures for our homes. Thus, we built our log houses..." ⁸

A cause of the problem is identified,

"The new off-reserve housing program allows registered urban Indians to purchase modestly priced houses with loans guaranteed by the federal government. This program has had some successes for those able to raise the down payment, as only too few of us are able to do." ⁹

"The Subsidy Housing Program (previously known as the Welfare Housing Program) provides housing accommodations with small down payments for those of us unable to finance our own homes. Maximum grant is \$8,500.00 per house... 89% of Indian families whose breadwinners work exist on or below a poverty level income. It is therefore rare that a house worth much more than \$8,500.00 can be built. The problem of overcrowding persists. Much of the \$8,500.00 is eaten up in transportation costs, and labour, especially emphasized in the northern areas." ¹⁰

"These houses are designed by non-Indian specialists in air conditioned, neon-lit city offices. Visits to reserves, especially in the role of government officials, do not lead to in-depth understanding of the conditions, physical and social, in our communities." ¹¹

and a solution is recommended :

"if a meaningful housing program is to apply realistically to actual situations, the issues, standards and values of each community must be understood and also, obviously, the physical conditions. Only thus can there be developed viable directions for housing prototypes and improvement." ¹²

⁸ Idem, p. 97.

⁹ Idem, p. 92.

¹⁰ Idem, pp. 92-93.

¹¹ Idem, p. 93.

¹² Idem, p. 94.

This model for identifying the problem, substantiating it as a problem, attributing cause and putting forward a solution is repeated for each of the concerns detailed in *Wahbung*, and the essence of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood's thought on these matters can be clearly seen. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood has adopted a "culturalist" analysis of problems, and analysis that incorporates the concept that problems are the result of deterioration of traditional modes of life, followed by attempts on the part of Euro-Canadians to force the adoption of life-styles irrelevant and meaningless to that being destroyed. Solutions, then, are to be found in developmental approaches that combine a respect for cultural traditions with the most favourable and compatible aspects of non-Indian technology and social organization. This conclusion is supported by other statements in *Wahbung*.

"We, the Indian people of Manitoba, are of the opinion that we achieve a place of honour and responsibility in Canada society by enhancement and understanding of our culture.

"We achieve our place by combining basic and relevant aspects of our traditional way of life, with those aspects of a different culture in a way that permits us to establish a meaningful Indian identity in a changing world. It is our responsibility to determine that relevancy. ¹³

"Our identity must be clear : our culture is creative. We are developing a twenty and twenty-first century culture. It is and will be, an Indian culture." ¹⁴

"The Indian people of Manitoba invite the governments to become partners with them to preserve, protect, promote and stimulate the Indian cultural heritage. Without closing doors to Indian people desirous of competing in the white-man's world, we ask the Canadian people to help us perpetuate what has been for milleniums, the expression of our own culture. The quality of the Canadian mosaic will benefit." ¹⁵

¹³ *Idem*, p. 51.

¹⁴ Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *Wahbung*, 1972, p. 51.

¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 52.

"...we are determined to remain a strong and proud and identifiable group of people." ¹⁶

This approach is repeated in the Yukon Native Brotherhood's paper, *Together Today for our Children Tomorrow*.

(On social programs) "in nearly all our villages, all services are provided by Whites-teachers, nurses, doctors, lawyers, postmasters, probation officers, policemen, welfare workers, etc. They come from the South, with a few exceptions, and do not attempt to understand the people they are supposed to serve.

"In many cases, the programs are the problem-not the people administering them. If the idea behind a program is wrong, then no amount of money or people can make it work. Solutions to Indian problems must be found within the framework of our culture. You cannot know someone else's culture-you can only know your own. This is why *control* and *responsibility* over social programs for Yukon Indians must be placed in the hands of the Yukon Indian people." ¹⁷

"If we are successful, the day will come when *all* Yukoners will be proud of our Heritage and Culture, and will respect our Indian identity." ¹⁸

"There are many Government programs today that do not work. In fact, most of them don't work. We know why they don't work, but up till now, nobody asked us or listened to us. They don't work because they are White solutions for Indian problems.

"Only an Indian can understand, appreciate and feel what it means to be an Indian. If solutions are to be found which will work, it is we the Indian people who must find them. You can only help." ¹⁹

¹⁶ *Idem*, p. VII.

¹⁷ Yukon Native Brotherhood, *Together Today for our Children Tomorrow*, 1973, p. 23.

¹⁸ *Idem*, p. 27.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 30.

Education

The strength of these statements of Indian culture awareness is most strongly revealed in the Indian Association of Alberta's paper, *Citizens Plus*, where comment is made upon improving the quality of Indian education programs.

"...the educational system for Indian people should be more relevant to Indian values, mores, modes, customs and historical perspectives than is presently the case." ²⁰

"...there must be a unique or special type of educational system geared to meet the demands of Indian people in order to prepare them to fit into the mainstream of Canadian life ; the necessity to be identified as Indian first and Canadian second." ²¹

Education, especially the fields of adult and vocational training, is, in fact, one of the few areas where it would appear that steps have been taken to bring policy in line with the thinking of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the Yukon Native Brotherhood, the Indian Association of Alberta, and other native organizations. Education programs have moved away from the patently ludicrous, such as attempts to teach prairie agriculture to Indians living on Precambrian bedrock, towards programs that carry at least some relevancy to native cultures. This "new" approach is outlined in several government statements.

"Indian guides, packers and canoemen played a big part in building Canada. Many Indians still want to do tough, challenging, physical work.

"Mohawks have made a name for themselves as builders of bridges and skyscrapers. Pacific Coast Indians excel at the tricky work of manoeuvring logs in the water.

"Indians tend to have better-than-average dexterity, muscular co-ordination and patience-for dangerous outdoor jobs and for delicate handicrafts.

²⁰ Indian Association Alberta, *Citizens Plus*, 1970, p. 85.

²¹ Idem, p.41.

"Large numbers of Indians are ready to move. They can provide a mobile labour force for seasonal work in agriculture, forestry and heavy construction.

"Because so many Indians have been held back from the mainstream of the Canadian economy, there is a store of untapped brainpower among them. Many highly intelligent Indians, handicapped by lack of formal training and by limited access to jobs, will give good service when they are hired.

"Numbers of Indian bands have reserve lands in or near cities in choice resort areas. Some of these tracts are available for development." ²²

"The basic aim is the teaching of the "three Rs," followed by a continuation programme for those who need additional education in order to enter trade, technical, or similar courses. There is also a practical vocational training programme to help men earn a better livelihood and women to improve home conditions. Courses have been given in carpentry, agriculture, motor mechanics, handicrafts and home-making. Courses in prospecting and ore identification have proved particularly popular. The primary objective is to provide the Indian with a remunerative skill, particularly useful to a hunter or trapper. They also qualify him for guiding with survey parties." ²³

These statements, which are at once racist, sexist and patronizing, come from the incredible series, *The Indian in Transition*, prepared a decade ago, but still being distributed through Information Canada outlets. The Department of Indian Affairs statements have become much tempered in recent years.

"In the field of education it is the aim of the Department to have Indians develop the social and cultural skills and the economic competence required to participate in the life of the country on an equitable basis with other citizens. In realizing and in giving direction to its aim, the Department recognizes certain basic tenets which underlie in a general way the needs of the Indian people in relation to the education program.

²² Canada, *The Indian in Transition*, 1964, p. 6. (An official publication of the Indian Affairs Department.)

²³ Canada, *The Indian in Transition*, 1964, p. 17.

- a) To engender Indian self-confidence, self-government and consensus as to educational goals, the Indian people must be allowed to express and realize their own wishes and aspirations by way of adequate consultation and communication, and an increasing role in education decision-making.
- b) The education program must support interest in the Indian heritage and culture and assist in reaffirming Indian identity." ²⁴

There appears, then, to be some similarity, at least at the level of the written word, between the approaches to education advocated by the Indian organizations and the Department of Indian Affairs, in that all insist education programs should be more compatible with Indian culture and life-style. It is possible to test the effectiveness of education and training programs currently being applied to northern Natives. Presumably, these programs represent what the Department of Indian Affairs feels such programs should be.

Native Training and Vocational Programs : an Appraisal

Primary attention will be given here to programs that provide Natives with vocational rather than academic skills. This includes programs that are "taught" in a classroom sense and those that combine formal teaching with on-the-job training. Both kinds of programs are intended to provide a trainee with specific skills that can be sold on the labour market. It is intended here to look into the saleability of the skills currently being provided to native learners.

Times have changed since the only vocational training available to Natives was offered in southern residential schools and took the form of agriculture heavily laced with religion. Now programs are being set up in the North itself and native students are being encouraged to enter a broadened range of occupations, either by taking training in these new schools or by entering the regular school sys-

²⁴ Department of Indian Affairs, 1970, p. 60.

tem. Also, funds are becoming available for the improvement of the native entrepreneur's skills and material resources. Four such programs are examined here : those conducted by the education systems of the Northwest and Yukon Territories ; occupational activities encouraged by the Department of Indian Affairs by making money available to qualified and interested Natives ; those activities encouraged at a provincial level in Manitoba through the Federal-Provincial Administration of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion's special ARDA program and programs being offered through the Department of Northern Saskatchewan in that province. Collectively, these programs offer training in a large number of skills.

The benefit of training a person in any of these skills will be made real only if the skills have a viable future, that is, if a person with a certain training actually gets a chance to use it and make a living through it. If an education program is producing people with obsolete or limited demand skills, it is not particularly effective and is little use to people who are already undereducated.

The following is a set of four conditions which, if they occur, indicate that a training program for a certain skill is of little long-range and, possibly, immediate value. Each of the training programs for which there is sufficient statistical information is tested in terms of these conditions.

National census figures are used for the years 1951 and 1961 and projections made by the Department of Manpower and Immigration for the year 1975.²⁵ Data pertaining specifically to the province of Manitoba are also used because Manitoba's education programs are amongst those being examined here, and because I had access to the 1971 census results for that province. The national figures for 1971 were not yet available at the time this paper was written. Data on the education programs of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory are from Canada 1972, while those for Manitoba and Saskatchewan are from unpublished sources.

A number of occupations for which Natives were taking training were not included in this appraisal, primarily because it was not possible to locate them within the skill categories used by the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

²⁵ Ahamad, 1969. (For a complete reference, see bibliography at the end of the paper.)

These skills are business and commercial training, industrial, exploratory, business practice, communications, cooperative management, fork lift operator, graphic arts, forest fire fighters, handicrafts, hostess and teacher assistants. These titles are the ones used by the education authorities themselves.

General trends

1) A training program is of little value if the history of numbers of persons employed at the occupation for which training is being received indicates that the absolute number of job positions in that field is diminishing. It is of limited value to train a person for an occupation that may be extinct in a short while.

Of all those occupations for which Natives are being trained (See Table 1), six showed an absolute decrease at the national level between 1951 and 1961 in the number of workers employed in those fields. As well, these six are expected to have diminished in size even more by 1975. These occupations include agriculture, logging, mining, prospecting, trapping, and water transport.

In Manitoba, 18 categories decreased in absolute size between 1951 and 1961. Between 1961 and 1971, 16 showed a decrease, including some of those that had increased or been stable in the previous decade. Included here are agriculture, aircraft mechanics, business machine operating, carpentry, electronic assembly, fishing, fish processing, furrier, heavy equipment operating, janitorial services, land transport, logging, masonry, medical/dental technician, prospecting, sheet metal working, trapping and water transport.

These, then, are occupations that will require fewer workers in the future, either nationally or in the economically underdeveloped regions of Canada. Training of Natives in these skills will not assure them jobs.

2) A training program is of little value if the employment history for a certain occupation indicates that the number of job positions is diminishing relative to the increase in total population size. Absolute numbers of jobs that require a specified skill may be increasing but, if the positions as a worker at that occupation are be-

coming fewer relative to the number of people who may, potentially, take training for those positions, competition might become intense, leaving unemployed a large number of people who have completed the requisite training. Further, where competition is intense, it is predictable that native people, the subjects of various forms of discrimination in most economic affairs, will be the last hired. To be a viable venture, the rate of increase in job numbers for any occupation should match the rate of increase in population.

In the period from 1931 to 1971, the population of Canada grew at a rate of 2.70% per year, and from 1961 to 1971, by about 1.80% per year.²⁶ From 1961 to 1975, then, the population should increase by about 20-21%. Nationally, however, 12 of the occupations being considered here are expected to increase at a rate less than the increase in population between 1961 and 1975. These include all of those listed in 1), above, and, as well, carpentry, electronic assembly, drafting, guiding, hairdressing/barbering and woodworking. In Manitoba, 19 fell behind the provincial population increase of 7.2% between 1961 and 1971. These included all of those listed for the province in 1), above, and, in addition, mining. (See Table 2.)

3) A training program is of little value if the employment history for an occupation at which training is being received indicates that its rate of growth is less than that of the labour force in general. An occupation that is opening less positions than is the average for all occupations is probably losing its importance to the overall national or regional economy.

²⁶ Canada, 1972, p. 7.

Table 1

Size of work force occupied at each skill for which Natives are being trained :
Manitoba and Canada (Figures / 1,000.)

	1951		1961		1971 ^b	1975 ^c
	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.
1) ^a	73.81	830.00	59.92	649.00	46.51	431.0
2)	.65	3.96	.81	6.80	.79	15.6
3)	.10	1.10	.16	2.70	.72	7.8
4)	5.33	88.34	8.56	105.78	9.59	
5)	1.34	1.70	2.25	270.00	1.32	128.4
6)	6.95	129.00	5.74	121.80	4.34	96.0
7)	1.71	35.20	2.55	49.60	3.60	33.3
8)	.37		.80	20.60	1.19	21.1
9)		17.40	.27	18.80	.12	
10)	.99		.74		.24	
11)	.86		.15		.17	
12)	.79		.41		.21	
13)	3.25	14.50	3.67	16.20	4.61	
14)	.03	2.11	.13	3.00	.17	5.0
15)	1.27	24.40	1.98	42.10	2.36	47.1
16)		21.60	1.64	45.50	1.06	
17)	2.27	34.47	6.11	100.13	4.99	181.7
18)	7.43	183.20	11.93	252.90	11.76	391.1
19)	1.29	101.40	.87	79.70	.41	47.4
20)	.39	18.80	.82	27.00	.61	40.4
21)	.65	5.60	.94	13.70	.91	52.5
22)	.14	8.10	.17	9.80		16.6
23)	2.15	65.30	2.80	64.60	2.97	59.5
24)	4.11	64.30	4.53	89.00	4.79	136.4
25)	1.46	25.50	3.30	62.40	5.69	210.6
26)	1.11	29.50	1.55	37.50	1.92	53.2
27)	.54	.90	.04	.80		.7
28)		138.50	3.26	216.40	8.00	404.5

^b For key to occupations, see list below.

^c Figures for Canada, 1971, unavailable at time of preparation.

^a Figures represent projections from Ahamad, 1969. Not available for Manitoba.

	1951		1961		1971 ^b	1975 ^c
	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.
29)	1.05	13.80	1.10	17.10	1.07	23.4
30)	.55	53.80	.51	37.80	.31	21.3
31)	3.95	61.10	4.89	80.00	7.45	137.2
32)		48.90	1.42	56.20	2.04	76.1
33)		17.20	.15	17.40	.13	17.3
34)	.99	23.70	1.55	38.70	2.36	89.7
35)	.33	6.99	.52	8.20	.59	17.7

List of occupations for which Natives are being trained

1) Agriculture	13) Garment worker	25) Nursing aide
2) Aircraft mechanics	14) Guiding	26) Plumbing
3) Aircraft pilot	15) Hairdresser/barber	27) Prospecting
4) Bookkeeping	16) Heavy equipment operator	28) Secretary
5) Business machine operator	17) Janitor	29) Sheet metal work
6) Carpentry	18) Land transport	30) Trapping
7) Cook	19) Logging	31) Waiter/waitressing
8) Drafting	20) Masonry	32) Warehousing
9) Electronic assembly	21) Medical/dental technician	33) Water transport
10) Fishing	22) Millwright	34) Welding
11) Fish processing	23) Mining	35) Woodworking
12) Furrier	24) Motor mechanics	

Between 1931 and 1971, the national labour force grew at an average rate of 2.9% and by 2.8% between 1961 and 1971. The increase between 1961 and 1975 should be about 30%. Nationally, ten occupations showed growth of less than this rate. They include agriculture, carpentry, electronic assembly, guiding, hairdressing/barbering, logging, mining, prospecting, water transport and woodworking. In Manitoba, the labour force increased by about 21.4% between 1961 and 1971,

and 18 occupations showed a growth of less than this rate, including agriculture, aircraft mechanics, bookkeeping, electronic assembly, fishing, fish processing, hairdressing/barbering, heavy equipment operating, janitor, land transport, logging, masonry, medical technician, mining, motor mechanics, sheet metal work, water transport, woodworking. (See Table 2.) As Table 3 indicates, these occupations are forming an ever decreasing proportion of the national and Manitoba labour forces. Persons taking training in these occupations will find it ever more difficult to actually secure work.

4) A training program is of little value if the average income earned at an occupation for which one is trained is less than that considered to be a povertyline income. There is no point in training people to be poor.

The poverty-line income for the years 1961 and 1971 has been calculated at \$2,600 and \$5, 100 respectively, for a family of four.²⁷ In 1961, the last year for which sufficient detailed data are available at the national level, 12 occupations had an average income below this line. These include trapping, fishing, guiding, logging, agriculture, fish processing, motor mechanics, hairdressing/barbering, medical/dental technicians, secretarial workers, waiters/waitresses and janitors. In 1961, the average income for all workers in Canada was \$4,062.²⁸ All occupations except two for which Natives are being trained had incomes of less than the national average. These two exceptions were aircraft mechanics and pilots.

²⁷ I. Adams et al., 1971, p.14.

²⁸ Canada, Canada Year Book 1961, 1962, p. 725.

Table 2

Change in size of work force occupied at each skill.
(Expressed as $\pm$ % of change over previous decade.)

	1961		1971	1975 *
	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.
1)	18.8	- 21.8	- 22.4	- 33
2)	+ 24.6	+ 74.4	- 2.5	+ 129
3)	+ 60.0	+ 19.7	+ 350.0	+ 193
4)	- 60.6	+ 58.8	+ 11.6	
5)	- 67.9	- 58.8	- 41.3	
6)	- 17.4	- 5.6	- 24.4	+ 6
7)	+ 49.1	+ 40.9	+ 41.2	+ 93
8)	+ 116.2	+ 8.0	+ 48.8	+ 65
9)		+ 11.7	+ 55.6	+ 13
10)	- 25.3		- 67.7	
11)	- 82.6		+ 13.3	
12)	- 48.1		- 48.8	
13)	+ 12.9	+ 8.0	+ 25.6	+ 68
14)	+ 333.3	+ 11.7	+ 30.8	+ 17
15)	+ 55.9	+ 72.5	+ 19.2	+ 12
16)		+ 110.6	- 35.4	
17)	+ 160.8	+ 190.5	- 18.3	+ 82
18)	+ 60.6	- 38.0	- 1.4	+ 54
19)	- 32.6	- 21.4	- 52.9	- 39
20)	+110.3	+ 43.6	- 25.6	+ 49
21)	+ 44.6	+ 59.1	- 3.2	+282
22)	+ 21.4	+ 20.9		+ 69
23)	+ 30.2	- 1.1	+ 6.1	- 13
24)	+ 10.2	+ 38.4	+ 5.1	+ 53
25)	+126.0	+144.7	+ 72.4	+236
26)	+ 39.6	+ 27.1	+ 24.5	+ 41
27)	- 92.6	- 11.1		- 18
28)		+ 56.2	+145.4	+ 87
29)	+ 4.8	+ 23.9	- 2.7	+ 34
30)	+ 7.3	- 30.2	- 39.2	- 42
31)	+ 23.8	+ 44.0	+ 52.4	+ 55
32)		+ 14.9	+ 43.7	+ 35

* The source from which the original data were taken is not sufficiently detailed to allow the development of finer figures than whole numbers.

	1961		1971	1975 *
	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.
33)		+ 1.2	- 17.2	- 1
34)	+ 56.6	+ 63.3	+ 52.3	+132
35)	+ 57.6	+ 17.3	+ 13.5	+ 12

Table 3
**Persons employed at skill, expressed as percent of Manitoban
and Canadian labour forces**

	1951		1961		1971	1975
	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.	Man.	Can.
1)	24.73	15.73	17.90	9.63	11.24	4.84
2)	.22	.07	.24	.10	.19	.17
3)	.03	.02	.05	.04	.17	.09
4)	1.78	1.67	2.50	1.57	2.31	
5)	.45	.03	.66	.04	.32	
6)	2.33	2.45	1.68	1.80	1.05	1.44
7)	.57	.67	.74	.74	.87	1.01
8)	.12		.23	.31	.29	.37
9)		.33	.08	.28	.03	.24
10)	.33		.22		.04	
11)	.29		.04		.04	
12)	.26		.12		.05	
13)	1.09	.27	1.07	.24	1.11	
14)	.00	.04	.04	.04	.04	.06
15)	.43	.46	.58	.62	.57	.53
16)		.41	.48	.67	.26	
17)	.77	.65	1.78	1.49	1.21	2.04
18)	2.49	3.47	3.48	3.75	2.84	4.39
19)	.43	1.92	.25	1.18	.10	.28
20)	.13	.36	.24	.40	.15	.45
21)	.22	.11	.27	.20	.22	.59
22)	.05	.15	.05	.15		.19
23)	.72	1.24	.82	.96	.72	.63
24)	1.38	1.22	1.32	1.32	1.16	1.53
25)	.49	.48	.96	.93	1.37	2.36
26)	.37	.56	.45	.56	.46	.60
27)	.18	.02	.01	.01		.00
28)		2.63	.95	3.21	1.93	4.54
29)	.35	.26	.32	.25	.26	.25
30)	.18	1.00	.15	.55	.07	.18
31)	1.32	1.16	1.43	1.31	1.80	1.54
32)		.93	.41	.83	.49	.85
33)		.33	.04	.26	.03	.19
34)	.33	.45	.45	.57	.57	1.01
35)	.11	.13	.15	.12	.14	.20

In Manitoba for the year 1971, 17 occupations for which Natives are being trained had average incomes of less than the poverty-line. These are agriculture, bookkeeping, business machine operating, cooks, electronics assemblers, fishermen, fish processors, furriers, garment workers, guides, hairdressers/barbers, janitors, loggers, nurses aides, secretaries, trappers and waiters/waitresses. As well, 23 earned below the provincial average income of \$6,415. Included are the 17 listed above and land transport, medical/dental technicians, motor mechanics, warehousing, water transporters and welders. (See Table 4.)

In brief, the vast majority of training programs being offered Natives will place them in high risk, low gain occupations where employment will be difficult if not impossible to obtain, and incomes for those who do work will be very low. These training programs offer almost nothing to the native trainee. This has already been noted by one group of Metis from Saskatchewan.

"Nearly 70% of those who took vocational training stated that they did not get jobs as a result of this training, and they do not see other natives getting jobs. Yet the majority stated that they were taking vocational training so as to get a job. But, in reality, they know they will not get any of the jobs they are training for." ²⁹

« The obvious failure of vocational training has been the failure of employment after training. To the Metis and Indians, it has been nothing more than a type of welfare. No one was fooling anyone. The new training must be related to employment opportunities. » ³⁰

"Metis and Indians are very skeptical of vocational training, for their experience has left them with dead-end training. From their point of view, it is useless to turn out a surplus of skilled workers when there are no jobs available. » ³¹

Finally, one last observation of the training programs being offered Natives can be made. As Table 5 shows, a vast majority of the occupations for which Na-

²⁹ H. Adams, 1972, p. 1

³⁰ Idem, p. 4.

³¹ Ibidem.

tives would be qualified if they completed a training program, are those that rank very low in terms of social status, or job prestige. Table 5 also compares the distribution of these occupations and a national sample of occupations within the Blishen index.³² For the national sample, 4% of workers are employed at jobs that rank above 70.00 on the scale, and 63% at jobs that rank below 39.99. For the year 1971, none of the Natives were being trained for jobs that ranked at above 70.00 and 74.4% for those that ranked below 39.99. The sum effect of "culturally relevant" training programs is not to alleviate native economic problems, but merely to perpetuate the structural position of Natives as members of Canada's underclass.

³² Blishen, 1968, pp. 741-753.

Table 4

Incomes earned at occupations for which Natives are being trained.
(Also expressed as percent of poverty-line and provincial
and national average incomes.)

	Manitoba 1971			Canada 1961		
	Income %	% Pover- ty-line	% Ave- rage In- come	Income	% Pover- ty-line	% Ave- rage In- come
1	2,735	53.6	42.6	1,695	65.2	41.7
2)	7,447	146.0	116.1	4,430	170.4	109.1
3)	15,247	298.9	237.7	8,370	321.9	206.1
4)	4,952	97.1	77.2	2,816	108.3	69.3
5)	4,428	86.8	69.6	2,805	107.9	69.1
6)	6,515	127.7	101.6	2,863	110.1	70.5
7)	4,162	81.6	64.9	2,659	102.2	65.5
8)	8,106	158.9	126.4			
9)	3,883	76.1	60.6			
10)	3,173	62.2	49.5	1,904	73.2	46.9
11)	4,161	81.6	64.9	1,606	61.8	39.5
12)	4,135	81.1	64.5			
13)	3,382	66.3	52.7	2,867	110.3	70.6
14)	3,680	72.2	57.4	1,586	61.0	39.0
15)	4,129	80.9	64.4	2,015	77.5	49.6
16)						
17)	4,404	86.4	68.7	1,770	68.1	43.6
18)	5,718	112.1	89.1	3,843	148.0	94.6
19)	4,425	86.8	68.9	2,083	80.1	51.3
20)	7,459	148.0	117.7	2,990	115.0	73.6
21)	5,925	116.2	92.4	2,053	78.9	50.5
22)				2,715	104.4	66.8
23)	6,504	127.5	101.4	3,970	152.7	97.7
24)	5,872	115.1	91.5	2,107	81.0	51.9
25)	3,925	76.9	61.2	2,821	108.5	69.4
26)	7,504	147.1	116.9	3,761	114.7	92.6
27)				2,973	114.3	73.2
28)	4,627	90.7	72.1	2,570	98.8	63.3
29)	6,451	126.5	100.6	3,573	137.4	87.9
30)	2,513	47.3	37.6	963	37.0	23.7

	Manitoba 1971			Canada 1961		
	Income %	% Pover- ty-line	% Ave- rage In- come	Income	% Pover- ty-line	% Ave- rage In- come
31)	3,258	63.9	50.8	1,361	52.3	33.5
32)	5,504	107.9	85.8	2,675	102.9	65.9
33)	5,257	103.1	81.9			
34)	6,653	130.5	103.7	3,776	145.2	92.9
35)	5,692	11.6	88.7	3,012	115.8	74.2

Table 5

Rank of occupations on socio-economic status scale. Number and
% of students enrolled in each training program for the year 1970

	<i>Occupation Rank</i>	<i>Number Enrolled</i>	<i>Percent Enrolled</i>
1)	27.77		
2)	42.76	3	1.1
3)	66.04	2	.7
4)	49.55	12	4.2
5)	47.12		
6)	29.71	30	10.5
7)	29.43	13	4.6
8)	57.82	13	4.6
9)	33.57		
10)	27.17		
11)	26.09		
12)	33.03		
13)	28.44		
14)	27.97	30	10.5
15)	30.94	11	3.9
16)	28.22	34	11.9
17)	30.03	16	3.5
18)	29.31		
19)	27.01		
20)	29.93		
21)	48.56	16	5.6
22)	39.83		
23)	29.96	16	5.6
24)	31.30	10	3.5
25)	32.14	32	11.2
26)	34.38		
27)	37.33	16	5.6
28)	51.96	11	3.9
29)	33.49		
30)	25.36		
31)	30.47		
32)	29.18	1	.4
33)	30.56		
34)	32.97	26	9.1
35)	28.56		
		Totals : 286	100.4

Table 6
 Percentage distribution of Canadian labour force
 and native trainees by socio-economic index

	<i>Native Trainees</i>	<i>National Labour Force</i>
70.00 + (High Status)	.0%	4%
60.00-69.99	.7%	4%
50.00-59.99	8.2%	9%
40.00-49.99	10.5%	20%
30.00-39.99	35.7%	32%
Less than 30	38.7%	31%

Discussion

Clearly, such education programs as these do not even approach satisfying the goals of economic independence Indians hope to attain through education. I believe Mr. W. Sinclair, Cree citizen of Cross Lake, Manitoba, has detected the heart of the problem, and wrote about it in a letter to *Annoosch*, the Norway House newspaper :

"What does the future hold for us Indians? Where are we going? We live from day to day without any real goal. We are so confused by the obligations we have to render the nonIndian. Ours was once a happy and free race, free to come and go. We were contented for we knew that we had vast lands that were full of richness. We didn't have to worry about our children's future for we knew that the land we own would be theirs.

"But all this has been destroyed by the invasion of the non-Indian. Today it looks like they are doing a lot for our people. They provide us with education, medical care, welfare, etc. But all they're doing is educating our people enough so that we will be able to do certain jobs for them, and to work under their supervision all our lives."

As a senior administrator of education programs in Northern Saskatchewan explained, the "objective of our programs is to allow a continuity between the Indians' history and culture and industrial discipline." And, certainly, it is working. Skills such as heavy equipment operating, prospecting, mining, carpentry, logging, fishing, fish processing, guiding, water and land transport, etc., allow the Indian to work outdoors, and often at his own rate of production. This would be in keeping with what administrators, at least, perceive to be a tradition of outdoor work that is oriented to the season. See once again the passage from *The Indian in Transition*. A recent study by Smith in 1974 indicates that the perception administrators have of "cultural relevancy" may be completely spurious. These skills, and most of the others listed above, force the Indian worker to continue another tradition, that being one of poverty ridden oppression as a permanent underclass group. This is the position Indians have "traditionally" occupied in Canada for centuries.

The short-range and immediate effect of adopting such a liberal, culturalist position on Indian problems and maintaining that position as explanation of *the* ultimate problem cause is obvious : the superficiality of analysis yields superficial solutions, solutions that do nothing to alleviate the problem against which they are being applied.

Just as the cultural approach to problem solving in education tends to perpetuate the very problem, a political expression based upon a culturalist philosophy will not lead to the solution of problems that require the political power necessary to compel an alteration of the fundamental structural position Indians occupy in contemporary Canadian society. By setting themselves and their problems off as being unique, Indians separate themselves from the many Canadians who, in fact, share their problems. Standard studies into Canadian social structure reveal low incomes, high unemployment, poor housing, labour exploitation, sub-standard nutrition, inadequate education, and lack of access to « public » services to be widespread. The people who share this suffering are Maritimers, and Quebecois,

and fringe farmers, and women, and immigrants, and Blacks who share not a cultural commonality, but a structural commonality. However, each of these sub-groups within Canada's underclass are encouraged by various means to view their problems as unique and, by so doing, separate themselves from the allies they might find throughout Canada. Programs established by the Department of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of State's office, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, and provincial Departments of the North all serve to make real the tactic of divide and conquer. This tactic is realized not because Indians, Blacks, women, immigrants and the rest of Canada's oppressed are too thick-headed to perceive what is happening, but because even these thin straws offered down by governments are often seen as the last chance to secure even trace concessions towards a solution for problems that are perceived to be painfully personal. But, governments in Canada today are dedicated to the status quo, and no amount of cooperating with these governments will result in the abolition of poverty, racism and sexism. Groups who accept the framework of to-day's provincial and federal governments, a position that defines complex problems in the simplistic terms of unique etiologies, must find themselves working within that same framework, a position Peter Carstens contends. ³³

« ...is essentially oriented to the central authority. The views of Indian spokesmen in nearly every case, no matter how violent are their attacks on the Indian Affairs Branch, are always expressed within the framework and context of the federal political system within which they are encapsulated. Their ideological standpoint is in a very real sense a function of their predicament. In other words, the straight-jacket of law inevitably determines their actions to a large extent. Under the existing system there can be no other action because their stream of wills has been so conditioned. Moreover, as long as the system continues, the expression of Indian opinion in this manner will have a stultifying effect on the rate of change apart from coercive change, which is beyond their control. »

There is no doubt in my mind that important and significant cultural differences do exist between Indians and non-Indians. My own studies with Cree and Ojibwa environmental experts, for example, have convinced me that these people,

³³ See Bibliography.

at least, experience environmental phenomena and make use on environmental information in manners quite different than non-Indian, professional biologists, even though the empirical data possessed by each is quite similar.³⁴ The approach of Indians towards environmental matters has been relegated to almost total obscurity, while that of non-Indians has become the pre-eminent mode of thought. This, however, has occurred not because of the cultural disintegration of the one group and cultural fluorescence of the other, but because of the relative structural positions of the two. The dominant group, by definition, dominates and uses its control of political and economic structures to impose its culture as *the* culture, to be lived by all that who participate in the structure.

The difficulty in relying upon the established governments to "protect" and "promote" a cultural renaissance is that it leaves control of that renaissance in the hands of the government, that is, in the hands of the dominators, and it is they, not the Indians, who will determine its character. For sure, governments will not encourage, and in fact, will repress, any cultural development that would be counter to their notions of acceptability-i.e. re-establishing traditional, hereditary modes of leadership, or experimenting with militant, egalitarian leadership. The former was violently rejected by the federal government when attempted by the Iroquois, and when the latter was attempted by the Metis Society of Saskatchewan, all federal and provincial funds were withdrawn. Indians will find their culture being re-established selectively and in ways that do not threaten the contemporary order and structure of Canadian society, and the position of Indians within it.

Conclusion

To conclude, then, it would appear to me, on the basis of the few written documents examined here, that Indian groups in Canada are developing a political position rooted in a culturalist view of problem cause, and that this view is supported by the federal and provincial governments of the day. On the one hand, this position allows Indians to focus clearly upon the problems that afflict Indians, and encourages them to apply their energy and resources to the solution of those spe-

³⁴ D. Elias, 1973.

cific problems. On the other hand, however, this position compels them to ignore the structural source of the problem, and thereby disassociates Indians from the many other Canadians who share their problems. This, of course, is encouraged by the federal and provincial governments.

In my opinion, this culturalist approach may result in perpetuating or re-establishing much-cherished Indian traditions-and the awakening of interest among the young in their elders' religion and respect being paid to tribal wisdom reflect this-but the structural position of Indians as underclass in Canada will not change unless the structure itself is attacked. A direct descendant of Louis Riel's patriots and a member of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan, living in a small northern town, expressed it this way : "Our culture is glorious. But we fight for our share of political and economic control in Canada. And when we have those, and are no longer someone else's subjects, we will have our culture grown on our own terms, free of our oppressors will. But this will not happen until we are economically and politically free."

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DISCUSSION

Lita Boudreau : Near the beginning of your paper you quoted from *Wahbung* and discussed housing. You talked about different cultures, different lifestyles and, I think, different types of housing. But then you go on to quote *CMHC* standards and National housing standards. To me these figures have no significance. I cannot see why you can compare these statistics and standards to Indian housing and use such terms as overcrowded, lack of indoor facilities when you are discussing a completely different culture, completely different type of life-style, therefore a different type of housing.

Doug Elias : All of that material that was quoted was from *Wahbung*. They themselves made use of that information from the National Housing and Mortgage Corporation, whatever it is called, and they themselves then find it significant that their housing does not reach the standards established by these government agencies and they then use that as their standard of crowding. These aren't my figures, they were taken from *Wahbung* and other figures used and data used by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood itself. So, whether or not you are correct on what you say, you should argue that with the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood who used the data.

John Warner : Your thesis with regard to native peoples does argue persuasively that apparently the government is encouraging a certain type of Indian cultural awareness which is political in nature, harmless to the established power structure and indeed perhaps functional to the continuing underclass existence of the native peoples. The other half of your thesis would also seem to argue that unless native peoples challenge this structure of power and perhaps even gather together with other oppressed underclasses in hinterland society to challenge this structure of power, that such a problem will continue. Perhaps I'm a more conservative sociologist or may be pessimistic in your terms, but I would say that fundamentally I don't see any levers of change in terms of the power structure of Canadian socie-

ty. I do not see, for example, corporations giving up their demands on the North. I think that there are a great deal of mineral resources and so on up there or dams to be built or whatever they are. I see the power structure of Canadian society as a fairly ongoing and continuous phenomenon. I don't think that it is going to be revised or upset in the near future. My question to you is if one were to assume that, what, given your projections, is the immediate future of Canada's Indian peoples in terms of their class position in Canadian society, assuming, as would be from my point of view, the ongoing continuity of the given power structure in the society?

Doug Elias : I don't think that there is any doubt that unless Indian people are able to persuade the people who now control the economic milieu in Canada, that they are a significant force and should be considered in very meaningful ways when it comes to allocation of the wealth of our country, they will stay in an underclass position, regardless of how great a seeming cultural renaissance or rebirth there is. The possibility of less than 3% of our population, for example, significantly influencing the wealthy of our country seems really remote, very remote. The real possibility, for example, of land claims materializing in a significant way, I wouldn't hold my breath! These corporations in the North are not going to voluntarily give up what they think is their entrepreneurial right to build pipelines wherever they damn well like or to put dams in wherever they damn well like! You know and I know and many people in Quebec know that any kind of culturalistic whinings are utterly irrelevant and unless you've got the kind of economic and political clout that come from mass base organization, I can't see much of a hope for it.

Richard Salisbury : I don't want to get into an argument, but I'd like to try and recall some of the points that Professor Dorion was making because I think they are very relevant and I'd recall his theme. Perhaps the number one factor is that the major opposition to the Indian position over James Bay has not been large, private corporations ; it's been in part a national government of which the corporation that's developing the area is a pure organism, in the second place, the voters in Quebec, the large majority who were voting for extra jobs at the time when the

election came out. So that in fact, I think that one of the things that you're calling for, a coalition of support for Indians, is something which is unlikely to happen until the whole population of Canada has its views of who Indians are completely altered. On the other hand, what are the powers that the Indians have to get support behind their position? And I think this was Mr. Dorion's central point that if a) they have land, a base, they have the base for the cultural unity that is tremendously important for doing something. What I think Mr. Dorion was leaving out was exactly what I think the question he was asking. Are there not things that can be done with those land resources, with the resources of knowledge and training that exist within the Indian population? And I think it's what can be done in the future once the territorial situation is settled. I think this was what Mr. Dorion was calling for. What can be done with all the other resources and who are the friends that the Indians have who do provide some support for them? And I think this meeting, the fact that there is a joint committee of Parliament that works solely on these problems, that in fact there is an Indian Act, there is -a judiciary which does make access to be courts possible, the moral judgement, I think, is a landmark and in fact it says that the whole of the Northwest Territories probably, a caveat judgement, is Indian aboriginal territory. Therefore nobody has the right to do anything about it without at least inserting the caveat in any title deed that they get. I think one should look at who the allies of the possible sources of support for the Indians are, and I would ask you whether you would think maybe some of these other sources are not worth considering along with workers in every province and a mass movement of the poor.

Doug Elias : I would never suggest that the process of significant politicization would be an easy thing for any group of people. Much of what you say I wouldn't agree with primarily because I think that we have departed from the realm "objective analysis" and have entered moral or political suasion. I myself don't see a significant difference between large corporations and government. You can list some differences but really in the structural and functional sense they aren't all that important. The interests of the wealthy have been and in the foreseeable future will be protected by existing governments. Even in our own province where we have got "a socialist provincial legislation," nobody mistakes exactly what's going on there. I think it would be possible to drag up comparable anecdotes until

we ran out of them. You talk of land mark judgement being made-, the landmark judgement in Manitoba was made with the signing of the Treaty in 1873. But the Manitoba government is going right ahead and is going to flood part of Nelson House out which is clear unmistakable, undeniable, purely defined Indian territory. And Premier Schryer's comment when asked if he was going to stop this because he was clearly going to be breaking some law, not yet defined, he shrugged, "it's out of my hands. " Well if it's out of his hands, exactly whose hands is it in? Somebody wants electricity and if Ed Schryer does not have his hands on the switch that turns it off, somebody else has, and who the hell is it? It isn't the Indians, that's for sure! We could go on like this forever, I would say that you have got an overly sanguine view of what has happened to this point and what you see will happen in the future. And mine is much grimmer. I think that's where we hit points of moral suasion more than anything, otherwise I would agree with you.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

Second Session

Under the chairmanship
of Richard Salisbury

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Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

SECOND SESSION

Indian Land Claims and Rights

Lloyd I. Barber *

Résumé

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L'auteur occupe le poste de commissaire aux revendications des Indiens depuis 1969. Sa mission principale est de mettre au point les mécanismes devant permettre le règlement des griefs et des réclamations. Les griefs indiens remontent à 300 ans. Ils peuvent et doivent être négociés par le gouvernement canadien avec l'intention ferme de produire des ententes justes et honorables, qui permettront aux Indigènes d'exercer une influence déterminante dans le développement de leurs propres territoires.

Les colonisateurs anglais se sont préoccupés de l'acquisition de droits sur les territoires par la signature de traités tandis que les colonisateurs français négligèrent de rédiger des ententes formelles. Des traités furent signés par le fédéral et les provinces, d'abord en Ontario et ensuite dans les autres provinces anglophones. Ces traités définissaient les droits sur le territoire en retour de compensations souvent symboliques. Les litiges ont d'abord porté sur l'insuffisance de ces compensations et sur le défaut de les respecter par la suite. Le militantisme affiché par les Indiens dans les années récentes est un indice de la frustration indigène montante. Des solutions urgentes doivent être inventées.

* Dr Lloyd Barber is the Indian Claims Commissioner, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Toute une série de griefs découlant de l'application des traités sont examinés. À travers ces divers griefs et la manière canadienne de les résoudre on en vient à la conclusion que les solutions novatrices ne seront pas faciles à trouver. Le problème se complique lorsqu'il faut remonter deux ou trois cents ans dans l'histoire pour redresser les injustices. La question de la rétroactivité est perçue comme délicate par les autorités gouvernementales.

Les Indiens, pour leur part, ont adopté une nouvelle philosophie concernant le règlement de leurs réclamations territoriales, qui se dissocie complètement des notions indigènes traditionnelles. Ils rejettent le principe qui veut qu'un règlement des revendications territoriales se traduise par une extinction de leurs droits. Le gouvernement fédéral, de son côté, énonça sa politique en août 1973. Dans tous les cas où la question des droits territoriaux n'a pas été appréciée à sa juste valeur, le gouvernement est disposé à l'examiner à fond et accepte le principe que l'abandon de ce droit nécessite une compensation.

Chacune des 550 bandes indiennes aura des réclamations particulières à soumettre dans les années à venir. Les gouvernements doivent mettre sur pied des mécanismes adéquats pour les régler avec sérieux et équité car les griefs indigènes sont maintenant formulés de façon rigoureuse, et portés à la connaissance du public.

Les Indiens se préoccupent de plus en plus de leur avenir en tant qu'Indiens dans une société globale puissante. Ils exigent d'une manière ferme et cohérente que les transgressions passées contre leur statut spécial et leurs droits ancestraux soient définitivement corrigées. C'est une condition à leur autodétermination, et à leur éventuelle prise de position en tant que peuple libre et fier à côté des Blancs dans la construction d'un avenir commun.

Indian grievances have been with us in this country since the early stages of European penetration of the North American continent. Until very recently, they have received minimal public attention. During the 1960's the federal government made attempts to form an Indian Claims Commission which would act as an ad-

judicatory body and would have the authority to settle claims brought before it. As I understand it, the legislation, which was never passed, would have created a Claims Commission in Canada not unlike the Indian Claims Commission in the United States. In the late 1960's, the government apparently decided that not enough was known about the nature and extent of Indian claims to launch into an adjudicatory process. Accordingly, the government found it preferable to arrange for extensive preliminary study and consultation before establishing special processes for claims settlement.

Special funds were provided to Indian organizations so that they could carry out research on grievances and rights and subsequently articulate their claims. At the same time, the government undertook to appoint someone outside the Indian community and outside government, to enquire into the issues, in consultation with Indians, and provide an independent "outside" source of advice. As a result, I was appointed Indian Claims Commissioner in December of 1969. Essentially, my job is to make recommendations on machinery or processes for settlement. I have no authority to settle claims though I can and do attempt to evaluate specific claims which come to my attention for the purpose of making recommendations on how to go about settling the issues involved.

The colonial policy of Great Britain with respect to Indians in Canada was set out in a Royal Proclamation in 1763 shortly after the Treaty of Paris. The history of native lands prior to that time is very interesting and is relevant to current issues in the St. Lawrence Valley and in the Maritimes. In the early 1600's, with the establishment of Champlain's colonies in the St. Lawrence Valley, the settlers were involved with the Indian people of the area in the fur trade, the economic life blood of the colony. Thus the Indians were essential partners with the colonists from the very early days.

Efforts to convert the Indian people to Christianity and to European ways were undertaken by missionary societies. Some Indian colonies were established under the auspices of the missionaries but the favored method was for missionaries to go out among the tribes in their homelands and work with them. While the fur trade grew and expanded, the population of New France during the French regime was not large, being fewer than 100,000, and such agriculture as we carried on around settlements did not seriously encroach upon Indian lands. France, as a colonizing nation, did not form an explicit theory of aboriginal title and did

not treat with the indigenous people for sui-render of their rights in the land. This, as we shall see later, poses special problems for Indian claims in those areas of the country originally colonized by France.

After the transfer of New France to Britain, various British precedents and practices with respect to Indian lands began, to be applied. These were confirmed by the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which followed immediately upon the cessation. The Proclamation provided for the protection of Indian lands from settlers and others until such time as the Indian rights to the land had been surrendered to the Crown. In effect, it precluded anyone other than the Crown from dealing with Indians for land and laid the basis for the treaty-making process in Canada. This process, which in certain respects is still underway, resulted in the surrender of Indian rights over vast territories, the creation of Indian reserve lands, and the establishment of a variety of promises in exchange for native land rights.

The first of these treaties in Canada was carried out in Southern Ontario and was very simple in format. The Indians involved simply surrendered their rights for cash payments, some reserve land, and the right to hunt and fish on unoccupied Crown land. However, as settlement moved westward, there evolved a somewhat better deal in the light of adjustment faced by Indian people as settlement came upon them. The treaties gradually evolved to a format where the government agreed to additional provisions for health, education and economic development.

The major treaties cover Indian people in Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, the Northwest Territories and parts of British Columbia. For Indians in most of British Columbia, in the Yukon, in Quebec and the Maritimes, and for the Inuit, there have been no treaties or minor treaties only. Under the *B.N.A. Act*, responsibility for Indians and Indian lands was vested in the federal government (by contrast Australian responsibility for Aborigines was vested in the states). In 1867, the Inuit were not thought of and no mention was made of them. However, a Supreme Court decision of 1939 defined Eskimos as Indians for purposes of the *B.N.A. Act*. As a result of this history and other details which I have not sufficient time to explore here, about half of Canada's registered Indian people and the Inuit have not had treaty settlements with the Canadian government. The position of Canada's non-status native peoples is an entire story in itself.

From these circumstances flow two broad classes of Indian claims and grievances in Canada. The Indians covered by treaty claim in general that treaty provisions have not been fulfilled ; that promises made at treaty time were not recorded in the treaties and have not been lived up to ; and that lands set aside for Indians were surrendered under dubious circumstances, thus depriving many Indian people the opportunity for economic self sufficiency in a new way of life ; and that, in general, the spirit of the treaties has not been lived up to by the various governments in Canada. While there are a variety of specific claims falling into this category of misfeasance, malfeasance and nonfeasance, one concrete example will serve to elucidate some of the issues and some of the complications in dealing with even the simplest of these claims.

Treaty seven, which covers Southern Alberta, has a provision which requires the payment to the five bands of Indians involved of \$2,000 worth of ammunition each year unless ammunition becomes comparatively unnecessary, at which time, the \$2,000 will be spent otherwise for the benefit of the Indians with their consent. The Indians claimed that they received ammunition intermittently if at all and that their consent was never received for other expenditures. On this basis, they asked for 90 years back payments with interest-a sum of some \$650,000. Following the production of inconclusive records by the federal government, negotiations began with the Indians sticking by their \$650,000 figure and the government countering with \$160,000, or 80 years of ammunition payment without interest. An agreement was reached for \$250,000 plus \$25,000 expenses.

I would like to say that this matter has been settled. Unfortunately, not all of the stipulations have been agreed upon. One of these was that the Indian bands would decide how the money was to be split amongst them. This they have not decided. Two of the bands are large in size and understandably interested in a per capita distribution. Three of the bands are small in number and understandably desire a five-way split of the \$250,000. This by way of example of the great complexity involved in settling this kind of claim.

The other broad category of claim stems from the lack of any original settlement of the native right in the land. While the circumstances vary somewhat from area to area in Canada, the basis for the aboriginal claim in British Columbia, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Quebec and the Maritimes has its roots in the Royal Proclamation as outlined previously.

When the present boundaries of Quebec were established in 1912, the *Quebec Boundaries Extension Act* obliged Quebec to recognize the native interest in the added territory and to compensate for it. As the act states :

"...the Province of Quebec will recognize the rights of the Indian inhabitants in the territory above described to the same extent, and will obtain surrenders of such rights in the same manner, as the Government of Canada has heretofore recognized such rights and has obtained surrender thereof, and the said province shall bear and satisfy all charges and expenditure in connection with or arising out of such surrenders."

You are all aware, from the press coverage of the events, of the efforts of the Natives affected to stop work on the James Bay hydro project pending the settlement of the Indian rights in the land in Northern Quebec. Negotiations between the government of Quebec and the native peoples of the North are in an advanced state of progress. We can expect to hear more in the near future on this important extension of the historic process of recognizing rights in the land possessed by pre-European inhabitants.

In the Yukon, negotiations are underway between the federal government, territorial government and the status and non-status Indians of the Territory. These negotiations arose following the presentation of the paper *Together Today for our Children Tomorrow* by the Yukon Native Brotherhood to the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues. While negotiations are slow and difficult, progress is being made in working toward a concrete recognition of the rights of the native population land neither surrendered by treaty nor seized in combat.

The Northwest Territories is a case different from all others. In the first place, the vast bulk of the Territories, a million square miles or so, is Eskimo country. The Inuit, you will recall, have no treaty. They are now engaged in putting together their position on land claims and in conjunction with this effort are undertaking, with the support of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, a land use study to determine the traditional patterns of movement over and use of that vast country. Preliminary discussions to outline the issues are now underway and progress is being made.

The Mackenzie River area, including Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes, has traditionally been Indian country. This area, some 450,000 square miles, is cove-

red by two treaties. Treaty 8 was done in 1899 and covers the region south of Great Slave Lake and includes most of the north half of Alberta, part of northeastern British Columbia, and some of northwestern Saskatchewan. Treaty 11, done in 1921, covers the remainder of the Mackenzie River area.

Both treaties 8 and 11 provide for reserve lands of 640 acres per family of five. These reserves were never established in the Northwest Territories and so the treaty provisions remain unfulfilled. From time to time, there have been attempts to settle these treaties. In 1959, a Commission under Mr. Justice Nelson of Prince Albert examined this situation and made recommendations. No action was taken.

The Indians of the Northwest Territories claim that treaties 8 and 11 did not have the effect of removing their native title in the land but were merely treaties of peace and friendship. Mr. Justice William Morrow in his judgment in the celebrated caveat case added weight to this view by indicating that he thought the Indians had a sufficient interest in the land to be allowed to file a caveat against the land. Since the judgment came down in the fall of 1973, the Indians of the Northwest Territories have further developed their thinking in relation to their interest in the land. In a recent speech in Saskatoon, Mr. James Wah-shee, President of the Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, summed up the thinking of territorial status and non-status Indians this way :

"The Indian and Metis people of the Northwest Territories at a historic, week long meeting at Fort Good Hope in June, 1974, declared their continuing ownership of 450,000 square miles of traditional land and rejected land surrender in return for compensation as a land settlement model. in so doing, they embraced an approach to settlement of native claims which is a radical departure from the tradition of dealing with the land rights of Indian people. They have rejected the notion that land settlement necessarily means the extinguishment rather than the preservation of rights."

For its part, the government is reluctant to become involved in any process which might appear to be a renegotiation of a treaty. However, there is recognition of the fact that the treaties in the North which were virtually carbon copies of treaties made much earlier in the South and are based upon assumptions that agriculture would substitute for buffalo hunting, are not satisfactory for northern

conditions. In many areas of the North, 640 acres won't keep one moose alive let alone a family of five. Because the land provisions of treaties 8 and 11 are unfulfilled, the government is prepared to engage in discussions leading to a comprehensive settlement in the Northwest Territories. Very preliminary discussions have been undertaken with the main topic of interest being the form and structure for further discussion and negotiation.

In the Maritimes, the Indians claim that title to their land was not extinguished by the few treaties done in the area. As one proof of this they point to the lack of any compensation as is inherent in other treaties, both pre- and post-Confederation.

While the Maritime region was under French control, the resident Micmac and Malecite Indians were allies of the French. When Acadia was ceded to the British in 1713, the British claimed that the resident Indians thereby became their subjects and that title to their lands fell to the British Crown. Both the French and the Indians denied these assertions. The French maintained that the Indians had been allies, not subjects, of the King of France. The French could not, according to that reasoning, have transferred to Britain a sovereignty and land title which they did not hold themselves.

To date, the issue of aboriginal claim in the Maritimes has neither been fully acknowledged nor repudiated. The Union of Nova Scotia Indians has advanced a strong position asserting their right to, be included within the aboriginal rights negotiation process. The federal government policy on these issues, enunciated in August, 1973, is :

"in all these cases where the traditional interest in land has not been formally dealt with, the Government affirms its willingness to do so and accepts in principle that the loss and relinquishment of that interest ought to be compensated.

"There are other areas of the country where no treaties of surrender were entered into, such as Southern Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. The Government's view is that land claims in these areas are of a different character from those referred to earlier in this statement."

The situation in British Columbia is moving along, but slowly. A couple of years ago the Union of British Columbia Chiefs submitted its claims for redress

based on the loss of traditional use and occupancy of land in British Columbia. Since that presentation, the claim of the Nishga Indians which related to their traditional homeland in the Nass Valley was fought to a draw in the Supreme Court of Canada. However, the government of Canada has entered into negotiations with the Nishga and into discussions concerning the larger issues in British Columbia. Unfortunately, so far, the British Columbia government has not acknowledged any responsibility for the aboriginal rights of its native inhabitants. As in other areas of the country, failure by the provinces to participate fully in the process of redress can render the possibilities for satisfactory resolution of the issues very difficult, if not impossible.

In this brief overview, I have tried to provide a summary of the background and current situation regarding two main categories of Indian claims in Canada. In doing so, I may have concentrated unduly on the comprehensive or aboriginal rights areas to the detriment of the more specific land loss and band fund type claims. However, even a brief run through of a few representative cases would take far more time than is available. Let me simply state that it is quite likely that all 550 or more bands in the country will have one or more of the specific type claims regardless whether they are located in the treaty areas or the non-treaty areas of the country.

All this, of course, points to a need for machinery to deal with the various kinds of grievances that the Indians will bring forward. In this regard, it is useful to look to the experience of the United States where there have been two basic approaches to settlement of Indian claims. The first of these is the Indian Claims Commission, a special tribunal which was established nearly 30 years ago and which has now completed something over half of its work. This body has carried out its work by relying on an adversary process whereby the Indians and the Justice Department argue the issues before the Commission which, after hearing the cases, issues a verdict. This approach has not been satisfactory. It is slow, costly, and does not seem to get at the sense of grievance, giving rise to the claims, but rather relies upon money compensation to settle the issues. Canadian Indians have not favored this kind of an approach.

The second approach, used in Alaska, draws from the experience of the Commission, but relies on negotiation, and attempts to relate settlement to current and future needs of the people. The *Settlement Act*, passed in December, 1971,

calls for a cash payment of roughly half a billion dollars over a period of years, together with royalty payments of roughly half a billion dollars more and a land allotment of approximately 40 millions acres, which is in the order of 15% of the State. These assets are to be administered through native corporations and the general idea is that they will be used for social and economic development.

In contrast to this experience, we in Canada have just begun to recognize the need to settle Indian grievances fairly and honorably. Appropriate mechanisms are slow to evolve because of the complexity of the issues and the reluctance of Indian people to get locked into any process which has the capability of providing solutions which to them would be unsatisfactory. The Indians have been engaged in a period of researching their claims. Many are now coming forward in a well prepared manner. However, the process of research and articulation of claims is far from over. It would be inappropriate, in my view, and counterproductive to lock in to any given settlement mechanism until such time as processes now underway are given much greater opportunity to work through to fruition.

In the meantime, ad hoc negotiation on specific issues is taking place. As I have pointed out, a great deal of negotiation or discussion leading to negotiation is underway at present and while there have been few settlements so far, the process is working in a healthy direction, despite its inherent "messiness." This is not to say that arbitration machinery will not be necessary, but simply to point out that the experience in courts in Canada, and in the Claims Commission in the United States, has caused Indian people in this country to shy away from any process which has finality inherent in it.

I hope that this outline gives you some appreciation of the current state of Indian claims in Canada. I would like to close with some observations on the implications of all of this for Indians and for other Canadians.

In simple terms, we are faced with a backlog of grievances which go back 100 or 200 or even 300 years in history. Normally, our governments do not attempt to go back this far in examining and correcting injustices and it is easy to see why this is so as a general rule. The case for Indian grievances, however, is unique and exceptional. The original people of this country have never been in a position to make their case and insist on their unique rights. Until very recently, their grievances have not been fully brought to light because of serious weaknesses in

communications and the very one-sided nature of the relationship between Indians and others in this country. Indian grievances are not new to Indians nor are they new to the Department of Indian Affairs. The rest of us, however, have not known much about them and the Indians have never been in a position to put their claims forward in a clear and forceful way which would make them fully understandable to us. For this reason alone, it is valid that these very old grievances be dealt with now, in spite of all of the difficulties.

There is an additional and overriding reason why the grievances must be dealt with in a just and equitable manner. Over the years, the relationships between Indians and the government have been such that strong feelings of distrust have developed. This distrust goes far beyond distrust of government to the entire society which has tried, since day one, to assimilate Indian people. Indian people, who once dwelt proud and sovereign in all of Canada, have resisted with stubborn tenacity all efforts to make them just like everybody else. It seems to me that it is from these roots that all of the grievances stem. Indians have constantly insisted, and will continue to insist, that they are a special people who have an inherent right to a special status as a nation within a nation.

Indians are concerned with their future as Indians within a large and powerful society and culture. They are now demanding in an educated, articulate and forceful way, that past transgressions against their special status and special rights be cleared up as a pre-condition to their self-determination about how they will take their position proud and independent, side by side with us in shaping a new future. They have given up much in this country, and they feel that the assistance they receive from government must be seen as a right in recognition of this loss and not merely as a handout because they are destitute. In short, the grievances are real, the claims arising from them are genuine, and redress must be provided if our native peoples are to find their rightful place in this country.

The implications of all of this for Canadians are significant. Extensive settlements in the North and elsewhere will give Natives a strong position, economically and politically. It will no longer be necessary to indulge in token involvement because in many areas they will have the power to plan an increasingly important part in the developments taking place. This presence will, in many ways, make things difficult for white developers and governments who want to hurry on with frontier development but it seems to me that this will be much healthier than the

consequences of development which does not include native people in a direct and influential way.

Recent experiences in Kenora, Cache Creek and Ottawa must have made even the most indifferent Canadian aware that native frustration is building up and that we cannot expect that native people will much longer confine their misery to their own communities as they have in the past.

Finally, it seems to me that we Canadians, rich and successful beyond the fondest dreams of our, ancestors, have an unique opportunity to demonstrate to our native brethren and to the world that we can deal with a difficult internal problem in an enlightened way and to show that people can resolve their differences, complicated and historic though they be, can live harmoniously through democratic processes.

Discussion

Lorraine Létourneau-Parent : J'aimerais, s'il vous plaît, que l'on me traduise parce que j'aurais deux faits à raconter et ça peut être assez long. Je suis née à Oka il y a 38 ans. Donc, il y a très longtemps que j'entends parler des demandes des Indiens concernant les terres de la Couronne d'Oka. À la cessation de la Ligue des Iroquois aux alentours du XVI^e siècle, 300 Mohawks se sont installés sur les dunes, dans les environs d'Oka, Vers 1715, le roi Louis XV a concédé la seigneurie du lac des Deux-Montagnes aux sulpiciens de Montréal qui ont déménagé sur les bords du lac quelques familles indiennes qui étaient auparavant au pied du mont Royal puis ensuite au Sault-aux-Récollets et à l'Île-aux-Tourtes. Donc, il y a eu à Oka, des terres de la Couronne provenant d'une ancienne seigneurie des sulpiciens. J'ai travaillé longtemps sur les documents et j'ai lu, en fait, tout ce qui a trait au procès qui a entraîné les Indiens d'Oka à des revendications face au juge Colas. Le chef d'Oka alors était James Montour. Il est arrivé un autre fait en 1960. La dernière partie de terrain qui restait aux Indiens d'Oka, ce qu'on appelait la Commune, a été concédée, par bill privé, par l'honorable Paul Sauvé à des intérêts privés d'Oka pour l'édification d'un golf de neuf trous. Il y a deux ans, on a entendu parler que ce golf deviendrait un truc à dix-huit trous. Un autre fait, la Coacoachou, dernière rivière à saumon des Montagnais sur la basse côte nord a filé d'une

façon assez spéciale entre les doigts des Montagnais. Eux s'attendaient de recevoir \$250 par année pour louer cette rivière à des pêcheurs américains et ils ont reçu \$250 à vie comme vente de la rivière. J'arrive à un troisième fait. Est-ce qu'on rétrécît volontairement les terres de la Couronne ou les réserves de façon à décourager les jeunes, de façon à ce qu'ils quittent leur réserve et s'installent à la ville où ils seront assimilés à court ou à long terme d'une façon radicale, lente mais sûre. Ceci équivalait dans ma tête à une espèce de génocide dissimulé. Vous avez dit tout à l'heure que le cas des Indiens du Canada était un cas unique et exceptionnel. Il faudrait peut-être le régler aussi d'une façon unique et exceptionnelle, c'est-à-dire, rendre aux Indiens une partie des terres qui leur reviennent parce qu'au point où on en est, on ne réussira jamais à rembourser la terre sur laquelle on marche - de façon à ce qu'ils puissent voir à leur économie de subsistance et retrouver leur épanouissement culturel.

Lloyd Barber : The case of the Oka Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains is one of the most complicated ones that I have seen. My own impression of it, and I haven't looked at as many of the documents as you have, is that the case hinges around the fact that the Sulpicians thought the lands were theirs rather than theirs in trust for the Indian people. But it's an indication of how difficult it is, in practical terms, to provide the proper kind of redress 300 years later. I think it's very simple to say yes, give the land back, but in practical terms, not because I like it but because it's a fact, there are more white voters in Oka than there are Indian voters and ultimately the people involved in the political process are subject to the pressure of vote. As I said in my talk, the closer you get to an area where somebody's toes are going to be trod on, the more difficult it is as a practical matter to give back land. I agree wholeheartedly that money will not compensate, but money will buy land and so may be it has to be enough money so that land can be purchased. But the issues, from a practical point of view, in areas Re Oka, become very, very difficult. Philosophically and psychologically, I can agree wholeheartedly. Practically, to get people, politicians and others to act in that philosophical vein is not an easy matter.

In the case of cultural genocide in terms of not extending the size of the reserve ; let's get back to the comment I made about government reluctance to renegotiate treaties. That reluctance, as I understand it, stems from the tremendous size and complication of the problem as seen by a politician who is not particularly

well-steeped in the problems. I don't mean here the Ministry of Indian Affairs necessarily, but the Cabinet and others who have all sorts of problems to deal with. They look at the whole question of treaties and say, I 'heavens, if we ever open that up, there would be no end." They look upon the things as final settlements and extinguishment of rights and the question of opening it up to provide more land is one that they find very difficult to confront, even though in many areas of the country more land is absolutely required. I was talking to a Chief who is here at this conference about the amount of land he has for 800 or more band members, in terms of what it takes to farm a decent size farm in Saskatchewan. The amount of land he has for 800 people is quite insufficient by any standard of a modern farm in Saskatchewan. One answer may be to buy up more land, either using funds that are generated by farming what is already there or by funds that are provided from the public purse. The Hutterites have been very successful in Saskatchewan in acquiring large blocks of land to the point where legislation is contemplated from time to time preventing an extension of Hutterite colonies. One other concern that Indian people have is that if all the bands in Saskatchewan started buying land with a vengeance, it wouldn't be long before all of Saskatchewan was owned by Indian people. That might not be a bad idea!

Concerning the fishing rights, it's an example of a large number of these kinds of cases. I don't know the specifics of that particular case, but there are a lot of these cases. Where there were misunderstandings, whether the misunderstandings were deliberately perpetrated against the Indian people or whether they were genuine misunderstandings is the nub of the issue. The difficulty, from a practical point of view, is that if you look at the documentation in many of them, and, I'm not making a judgment about this particular case, it probably was executed legally. The question is, was the deal entered into morally by the people who were trying to achieve a certain end? From what little investigation I've done of these types of cases, in most instances I would consider them morally reprehensible. There is a possibility that given the particular trustee status of the government for Indians and Indian lands that there may have been a violation of trust. I'll leave that to the lawyers, but there's one area where the moral reprehensibility may be attacked on legal grounds on the basis of the extent and nature of the trusteeship relation. That hasn't really been tested in the courts ; there is a reluctance to try and test it for a variety of reasons, mainly practical. If it is tested and lost, then a

lot of cases might fail. There's great fear that any kind of action which results in finality, given the possibility of negative finality, is not worth the risk at the present time and that the political route, slow and arduous as it is, is necessary in order to condition thinking in such a way that there will not be a negative and final or a final negative judgment on these issues. There is a pretty high risk in going to some kind of a tribunal, a court or even a special adjudicatory mechanism because in many of these cases, you can judge them to be legal, therefore not subject to redress. This doesn't remove the grievance, and it is the grievance which is the important consideration. As long as the sense of grievance exists, there cannot be the kind of progressive self-determination and self-development which was spoken about last night, and which I spoke about briefly in my paper. It's the sense of grievance that you have to get at. In the case of the United States, they paid out millions from the Indian Claims Commission, these millions have frequently not been successful in alleviating the sense of grievance.

Roger Le Jeune : Je pense que poser le problème indien exclusivement en fonction de territoire et de rachat des péchés du passé, c'est manquer le volet le plus important d'un règlement possible du problème indien. C'est oublier d'engager un peu l'avenir en même temps, et je pense que ça ne nous mène strictement nulle part. Je reprends un mot de M. GrosLouis qui disait dans une entrevue télévisée, je pense, à peu près ceci : « Nous ne voulons pas renvoyer les Euro-Américains chez leurs ancêtres ou les rejeter à la mer, nous voulons négocier. » Ce qu'il oubliait de dire, c'est ce qu'il veut négocier. Je pense qu'il ne le sait pas lui-même en tant que représentant des groupes indiens. Je pense qu'il faut supposer que ce qu'il veut négocier c'est la survie des Indiens en tant que groupe et aussi un peu en tant qu'individus. Alors le vieux problème amérindien a été récemment amené au jour et la recherche de sa solution a été portée au seuil de l'urgence sur une question de mise en valeur des ressources. Ça ne s'applique pas seulement pour le Québec, ça s'applique ailleurs aussi, dans les provinces de l'Ouest en particulier, mais ça s'applique particulièrement au Québec où le problème a eu des résonances peut-être un peu plus fortes qu'ailleurs. L'occasion de cette émergence est à mon sens symptomatique car, si nous essayons de rechercher une solution à ce problème amérindien, elle réside à mon sens, et je rejoins un élément fondamental du brillant exposé de M. Dorion, elle réside, dis-je, dans l'apparition et

dans l'application d'une nouvelle mentalité à la répartition des ressources et à l'agencement de leur utilisation. La question amérindienne se pose d'abord en fonction d'une certaine territorialité. Mais cette territorialité, dans le contexte social, économique et politique qui est le nôtre, ne trouve une réalité qu'en vertu de l'existence des ressources pour lesquelles se posent la question de la propriété des moyens de production et la question de la disposition des profits des opérations, profits dans le sens le plus large. Je soutiens que c'est là que réside le noeud du problème amérindien. Pour poursuivre le développement de ce thème de propriété des moyens de production ou de mise à jour des ressources, je distingue deux types de ressources. Les grandes ressources et les petites. Les grandes comprennent les ressources minérales, le pétrole, l'eau et les mines. Les petites sont celles que l'on qualifie généralement de traditionnelles. Elles sont, il faut bien l'avouer, un peu en déchéance, mais elles pourraient connaître une résurrection valorisante sous certaines conditions. Pour les grandes, je pense qu'on peut envisager - il n'est pas raisonnable ni politiquement accessible d'imaginer autre chose - une propriété collective dont la finalisation cependant pourrait rester ouverte à une négociation qui définirait la participation respective des entités en présence. Pour les petites, la propriété des moyens de production qui s'y rattache doit revenir, à mon sens, en priorité aux Amérindiens, partout où la spoliation et l'aliénation antérieures ne sont pas irréversibles ou sont encore inexistantes. Je prends l'exemple très concret de Schefferville où vous avez une agglomération de 1,000 Indiens environ qui sont tout à fait oisifs parce que démunis justement des moyens de production liés aux ressources qui leur sont accessibles. En même temps, vous trouvez, dans un rayon de moins de 100 milles de Schefferville, 40 pourvoyeurs de chasse et de pêche dont aucun, strictement aucun, n'est Indien.

Alors vous avez là une ressource dont la spoliation est très récente. Ça date de moins de 15 ans. Je pense que dans ce cas-ci et dans des cas semblables, il y a une possibilité relativement facile de retour en arrière. Ce que les Amérindiens recherchent, je crois, sans pouvoir ou sans peut-être vouloir pour des raisons tactiques l'exprimer clairement, c'est un accès raisonnable, en partie négocié et en partie librement consenti, à la propriété des moyens de production liés aux ressources d'un territoire qui leur appartient, par droit d'occupation pacifique au moins. L'accès raisonnable dans ce cas se définit en fonction de la possibilité d'une survie collective et individuelle digne, soit ni plus ni moins ce que notre société recon-

naît comme un droit fondamental à tous ses constituants et ce qu'elle se fait une obligation, au moins théorique, de leur donner.

Lloyd Barber : I don't quite know how to start a comment on that. The question of the large resources and the small resources and the sharing of them and the ownership of them, I think, is quite important and consequential. The interesting thing is that in some western communities, at least, where Indian bands do possess a significant ownership of resources and are using them in their own way to do their own thing, they are not particularly anxious to share them with anybody else. There have been suggestions from Harold Cardinal in Alberta that the resources from oil production from Indian reserves be pooled for the benefit of all Indians of Alberta. Some bands have wells and other bands don't. The bands with oil wells aren't all that anxious to consider pooling their resources on behalf of the whole Indian community of Alberta. The Fort Chip Indians in Northern Alberta have already lodged a claim on their own behalf through a band council resolution for a significant portion of the Athabaska Tar Sands. They have an unfulfilled treaty land entitlement. The case that I referred to earlier of the Stonies in the Kootenay plains area, which the Alberta government has denied, is, in my view at least without having talked with anybody in the Alberta government, very closely related to the fact that there is a claim from the Fort Chip Indians for a significant portion of the Athabaska Tar Sands. I think it is an over simplification and I think it's an example of what I said in my talk about the larger society, wanting to assimilate Indian people, to suggest that their aspirations for land and for resources are not all that different from our own. I think there are similarities but I doubt very much if any of us in this room who are not Indian can appreciate the extent and depth of the feeling that Indian people have for land and what it means intrinsically within their society and within their culture. I don't fully understand it, I don't purport to fully understand it, and I find that I constantly have to remind myself that I am not an Indian and therefore that I have to be very careful in attempting to interpret their feelings. The closest thing I can come to their feeling for land in our society is the feeling of a son of a homesteader who wants to go back to the homestead, grab a piece of soil and let it run through his fingers. But the depth of their feeling in my view goes much, much beyond that. Their desire for land, their desire to maintain a land base is very deeply rooted in the cultural

traditions and the historic traditions from which they came. I think it's an oversimplification to say that all they want it for is to maintain some control over means of production. I think it's a much deeper feeling than that and one which I think we have to respect and recognize if they are to be given an opportunity to do "their thing." I'm not sure what it is and I'm not sure they know exactly what it is, and certainly it isn't universal across the country. One of the greatest problem in this whole area is generalization. There is not *an* Indian problem, there is a whole series of circumstances giving rise to specific problems that can be approached and attacked. The Indians in Nova Scotia don't have nearly the same kinds of situations to deal with as the Indians in the Northwest Territories. I think it's a gross oversimplification to say that the desire of the Indians of the Northwest Territories is now articulated to be to own 450,000 square miles. It's something more than simply a power-play about who is going to control the pipeline. For their purposes at the present time, they don't want a pipeline. It's not money, it's not economic power alone. There's a great deal more to it than that. How the issues will be resolved is going to be a test of a lot of things in this country and while the participation in the economic mainstream is important to both the Indians and non-Indians alike. This is by no means the sole issue which we face nor necessarily the most important one. In my view, our collective approach to the settlement of Indian claims will be a severe test of our resolve to provide freedom and justice for all of our citizens.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

SECOND SESSION

Manifestations amérindiennes de caractère politique dans les Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest

*Louis-Edmond HAMELIN * s.r.c. **

Abstract

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Matching the awakening of numerous other minorities, that of Canadian "Amerindians" is visible in many areas but especially in politics. Indian and Eskimo restlessness constitutes an empirical response to the strong pressure for the recent development of the North. Although the main rules of the game have been set exclusively by "non-Amerindians," indigenous groups have launched a moral resistance that fits in well with their cultural values.

1) Problems to be solved. The indigenous response is in every day reactions that are expressed in closed social frameworks. Solutions that are useful to the whole community are constantly sought. Indigenous groups have been led to initiate political action to resolve specific problems. For example : a) alcohol ; b) hunting ; an economic activity still considered to

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Président fondateur du Centre d'études nordiques de l'université Laval, membre du Conseil des Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest et professeur au département de Géographie de l'université Laval.

be under their own jurisdiction and c) development, a relatively alien concept to "Amerindians." They proclaim that nature has to be protected, but they wish to share in its material benefits and express a world view that subordinates economic endeavour to cultural values and individual well-being ; d) the persistent issue of aboriginal rights where notion of de-localization and functionality are being added to the traditional native concept of lands with a soul. Native land is being viewed as an instrument of maximum promotion ; e) finally, geographical maps with indigenous place names offer a message which is more than cultural and academic. The most important part of "Amerindian" political action is not lodged in some general political theory.

2) Agencies of political action. Indigenous action groups have made their mark through well defined frameworks and the most readily adapted means. Three kinds of organizations are involved : a) traditional structures such as bands which are upwardly mobile despite other competing agencies ; b) white-introduced political institutions in which "Amerindians" are invited to take part and c) newly-established indigenous progressive associations such as Tapirisat, Brotherhood. Common characteristics of these three organizational adaptations are the following : the freeing of peaceful energy, insured control of permissible initiatives, and a condition of latent vigour. Never in their history have the "Amerindians" been organized to such an extent. Regrettably the abundance and the parallelism of formulas also promote factionalism.

Two case studies of native activity are examined in some details. First there is that of band councils dominated by the "Amerindians." Some of these, Tukto for instance, exert exceptionally great powers with regard to economic development. Second there is the case of the Council of The Northwest Territories at Yellowknife. In 10 years' time, the Natives have evolved from lack of representation to control through the majority rule. The "Amerindians" are capable of bringing to the Council meaningful contributions, as long as they receive the opportunity, through simultaneous translation facilities, to express themselves in their own languages.

New means of action are to be used : common citizen discussions, numerous weekly newspapers such as Native Press, radio and television

programmes, slogans such as "land, not money" and all the modern techniques used by the South such as airplanes, press conferences and the courts. Political information is circulated around as it never was before. The modernization of the means of intervention is paralleled by the revitalization of national objectives.

The new forces at work in "Amerindian" society make it imperative for Canada to react at once, not inattentively this time nor in an extemporaneous fashion. The most fundamental issues have to be faced : native lands, indigenous languages, economic benefits, relationships with the South, etc. But the establishment relies upon the fact that some arguments and time will play again in its favor. If the white pollution from the South should continue, "Amerindian" claims and demands could well cease to manifest themselves peacefully.

Parallèlement au réveil de nombreuses minorités, celui des Amérindiens du Canada s'exerce dans divers domaines. Cependant, les champs qui se prêtent à l'auto-animation ne sont pas nombreux ; il ne peut s'agir du domaine scientifique car, étant donné le système éducatif mis à leur disposition, les Indigènes n'en sont qu'à leurs premiers « professionnels » et les « chercheurs » ne dépassent pas le niveau d'assistants. Le monde de la grande économie ne leur est pas plus ouvert car les capitaux, l'esprit d'entreprise, la main-d'oeuvre spécialisée et la technique font défaut. Les activités culturelles souffrent des limites dues au bassin démographique et à l'ignorance presque totale des langues indigènes par les autres Canadiens. Dans ces conditions, c'est le domaine politique qui semble le moins fermé et, contrairement aux coopératives, il apparaît presque sans limites ; aussi a-t-il été l'objet d'une assez grande effervescence depuis 10 à 15 ans.

Ce thème de recherches politiques est passablement neuf si l'on en juge par le très faible nombre de mentions, à la fois dans *l'Arctic Bibliography* de Montréal et le *Recent Polar Literature* de Cambridge. De leur côté, les articles consacrés à l'évolution des Amérindiens abordent rarement l'aspect politique, ce qui est sur-

prenant car ces textes tendent à couvrir les autres champs physiologique, psychologique, social et économique.

Dimension du sujet

Précisons d'abord les termes. Il ne s'agit que d'un apport partiel au sujet, car nous admettons être sous-informé ; à l'intérieur des TNO (Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest), les discussions politiques se font dans l'une ou l'autre de huit langues ; y a-t-il un seul observateur au monde qui les connaîtrait toutes ? Ne pas avoir de connaissances techniques ou sociologiques de tous ces modes d'expression qui reflètent l'âme, la sensibilité et les émotions des habitants condamne le chercheur à la superficialité. En outre, malgré la coutume amérindienne d'une assez grande ouverture au public, de nombreuses rencontres se produisent comme à guichet fermé. Beaucoup de faits échappent donc aux scientifiques. De plus, la présente contribution reflète notre position même de Blanc.³⁵ Malgré un effort d'objectivité, l'interprétation en demeure une de l'extérieur ; les Amérindiens peuvent avoir, des activités politiques dans lesquelles ils s'engagent, une perspective différente ; un Blanc (1) juge les choses d'après ses propres credo qui ne sont pas ceux de l'Indigène. Enfin, réservant cette tâche pour lui-même, l'Amérindien n'aime plus qu'on parle de lui. C'est en pensant à toutes ces limitations qu'auditeurs et lecteurs doivent recevoir notre regard sur la politique actuelle des Indigènes territoriens.

Amérindiens des TNO

Mais qui sont les Amérindiens ? L'objet précis de l'exposé ne nous permet pas de discuter des définitions juridiques, biologiques, linguistiques et sociologiques applicables à l'Indigène. Il n'entre pas non plus dans notre propos de chercher à déterminer l'impact démographique des transferts culturels comme la « kablounisation » des Inuit. Victime de l'insuffisance des statistiques des documents offi-

³⁵ Entendons un « non-Indigène » car l'on rencontre des individus d'autres races ; toutefois l'attitude de ces derniers est souvent semblable à celle des Blancs.

ciels, nous englobons dans le terme Amérindiens un ensemble de citoyens reconnus comme 1) Esquimaux, 2) Indiens des traités et des réserves, 3) Indiens dont les ancêtres n'ont pas participé à des traités et 4) Métis (dont au sens large l'ascendance partielle peut être autre que française). Même si les Amérindiens ne forment pas un groupe homogène (pas plus que les Lapons d'ailleurs), le Canadien non indigène leur reconnaît par ignorance une certaine communauté de traits. Ce sont les Indiens « hors-traités », ceux qui vivent hors des réserves, de même que les Métis qui sont les moins reconnus dans la société canadienne ; ces deux groupes se sont donné plus tardivement que les deux autres (Esquimaux, Indiens des traités) des structures modernes d'animation ; en février 1973, à Hay River, Métis et Indiens, légalement mal définis, discutaient encore de la première constitution, du statut, des règlements et du nom de leur propre association. Dans le présent exposé, il ne s'agit que des Amérindiens du Nord ; plus particulièrement ceux des TNO où ils forment environ la moitié de la population totale, soit plus de 20 000 individus. Étant donné la répartition ethnique des Territoires (les Blancs vivant surtout dans les centres les plus peuplés), les Indigènes dominant dans 75% des postes ; dans une démocratie gérée par la loi de la majorité, cette situation apparaît avantageuse pour eux. Phénomène également important pour la politique, le taux élevé des immigrants occasionnels ; en effet, si la presque totalité des Amérindiens des TNO y sont nés, une forte proportion d'entre eux se sont rendus dans le Sud du Canada ou à Yellowknife pour des raisons de maladie et d'études, pour des stages divers et voyages culturels ou par curiosité. Suivant une longue tradition, ces voyageurs n'ont cessé d'être de fins observateurs des mœurs et institutions des autres groupes.

L'espace considéré correspond aux TNO, c'est-à-dire à un ensemble couvrant le tiers de la superficie du Canada et la moitié du Nord canadien.³⁶ Administrativement, un tel monde pose deux types de problèmes : ceux des foyers peuplés

³⁶ D'après nos propres travaux, les limites sud du Nord canadien traversent sept provinces (« Essai de régionalisation du Nord canadien » *North*, XI, 4, 1964, pp. 16-19 ; en anglais, dans W. C. Wonders, édit., Ottawa, Carleton Library, 1971). Nous utilisons trois - dans l'expression Territoires-du-Nord-ouest car il s'agit d'un nom de lieu administratif. De plus, l'adjectif « territorial » s'appliquerait à une situation valable pour les deux Territoires canadiens (TNO et Yukon) alors que le terme « territorien » ne vaudrait que pour les TNO.

mais réduits en étendue, ceux des immenses espaces vides intermédiaires ; pour des raisons différentes, Blancs et Indigènes ont cessé de s'intéresser au premier type seulement. Cependant, dans l'ensemble, les structures politiques sont caractérisées d'une part par leur insuffisance comme si le sous-développement général du Nord avait son corollaire dans une administration boiteuse et d'autre part par une superposition et parallélisation de cadres : ceux du fédéral, du territorial et, en certains cas, des Amérindiens eux-mêmes ; cet échafaudage encombrant alourdit l'action de tous les mécanismes politiques. De plus, un semblable clivage se retrouve sur le plan économique ; la dénivellation est presque infinitésimale entre la puissance des « grandes affaires » et celle des Amérindiens, d'où l'accent facilement revendicateur des activités politiques. Curieusement plus timides sont les demandes linguistiques amérindiennes ; est-ce un reflet de l'influence habile du dominateur fédéral qui a déjà des difficultés à travailler dans deux langues officielles ? Sans doute plusieurs citoyens poseront des objections constitutionnelles à l'utilisation de plus de deux langues (ou de plus d'une) dans d'autres régions politiques du Canada ; mais dans les TNO, la langue parlée à la maison, la langue d'enseignement au niveau des trois premières années, la langue de certains programmes de radio, la langue de plusieurs publications, la langue de discussion dans bien des conseils est l'une ou l'autre des sept « langues » amérindiennes. La loi peut-elle faire fi d'une telle réalité, même si cette dernière n'est pas désirée par le Sud ? C'est donc dans un milieu particulier et à des paliers divers que se situent les activités politiques amérindiennes.

Récente est la période

Enfin, notre exposé ne concerne que la période toute récente, celle des types de gouvernement influencés par les Blancs, il ne sera donc pas question des cadres historiques et traditionnels. Les Amérindiens ne se sont engagés que tardivement dans ces formes modernes d'administration. Cette situation pourrait refléter l'inadaptation congénitale des formules proposées de l'extérieur, la dure leçon reçue par les Métis de Riel et l'occupation quasi totale du champ par les Blancs (le premier Inuit au Conseil territorial est arrivé en 1966 seulement). Avant la deuxième guerre mondiale, des Esquimaux canadiens l'on pouvait écrire : « Of

organized government, there is no sign ³⁷. » Plus tard, l'on a suivi les modalités de fonctionnement des premiers conseils amérindiens installés dans de petits villages ³⁸. Pour comparaison, G. W. Rogers lie le développement politique des Indigènes alaskiens aux cours sur les droits des citoyens américains, cours donnés à l'occasion du service militaire de guerre ³⁹. Au Nouveau-Québec, « les Esquimaux n'ont eu leur premier contact avec la politique qu'en 1953 alors qu'ils ont voté aux élections fédérales ⁴⁰ », et aux élections provinciales de 1960 (à Chimo seulement). Les premières activités politiques parallèles à l'activité des Blancs sont donc choses quasi contemporaines ; elles datent d'au plus trois décennies. Les progrès ont toutefois été rapides ; cette évolution n'est sans doute pas étrangère aux nouveaux problèmes liés à l'insatisfaction face aux programmes officiels et aux longues périodes de temps libre que le chômage laisse aux Amérindiens ; ceux-ci ont le temps de faire de la politique.

Une réponse à l'« establishment »

"The only people thinking seriously about a different plan for the development of the Mackenzie Valley are the native people."

P. Usher, Toronto, 1974.

L'expression politique des Amérindiens se fait dans une écologie mentale toujours difficile. Quand cette expression est exclusive au monde indigène, par exemple par l'intermédiaire des conseils de bande, elle est limitée dans ses applications et elle n'est pas accompagnée d'un abandon par le Blanc de pouvoirs législatifs correspondants. Quand cette expression politique se produit à l'intérieur de

³⁷ C. E. Whittaker, *Arctic Eskimo*, London, Seeley, 1937, p. 74.

³⁸ A. Balikci, - Two Attempts at Community Organization among the Eastern Hudson Bay Eskimo, *Anthropologica*, 1, 1959, pp. 122-135 ; H. et N. Zukerman, *A Community Council*, Ottawa, DNANR, 1962, pp. 21-28.

³⁹ G. W. Rogers, Party Politics or Protest Politics : Current Political Trends in Alaska *PolarRecord*, 14. 91, 1969, pp. 445-458.

⁴⁰ M. Brochu, « Étude comparative de l'évolution de la vie économique et sociale du Nouveau-Québec esquimau », *l'Actualité économique*, 42, 2, 1966, p. 32 1.

structures pancanadiennes, elle court le risque d'être entièrement noyée, suivant le principe de décision par majorité ou en fonction de procédures mal connues de l'Indigène. Comment le seul député (un Métis) des TNO, député qui représente d'ailleurs presque autant de Blancs que de non-Blancs, peut-il infléchir au profit de l'amérindianité la chambre des Communes à Ottawa avec ses 265 membres ? Et surtout lorsque ce représentant est dans l'opposition et face à un parti majoritaire ? Les Indigènes sont évidemment soumis aux lois du Canada et celles-ci dans leur presque totalité n'ont pas été et ne sont pas établies en fonction d'eux. La situation semble être sans issue.

Mais ne fait-on pas beaucoup pour le Nord et en particulier pour les Amérindiens ? Certes, au moins depuis 20 ans, le bilan du gouvernement fédéral apparaît très impressionnant. Dans les deux Territoires, les dépenses courantes (autres que militaires) se chiffrent annuellement par près de 300 millions de dollars. Il est difficile d'imaginer des secteurs fédéraux qui ne se seraient pas engagés dans telle ou telle aventure septentrionale. L'action a été un leitmotiv, une obligation. Dans les petites agglomérations indigènes, il fut un temps où le représentant du gouvernement fédéral tenait souvent le rôle de « maître après Dieu ». Le ministère du Nord ⁴¹ a probablement été l'organisme fédéral qui, le premier, s'est engagé dans la production de textes en esquimau syllabique. Enfin, de par le nombre des administrateurs fédéraux et territoriaux à leur service, les Nordistes sont peut-être les citoyens les plus gouvernés de l'univers ⁴². Le Canada a certes porté à ses Amérindiens du Nord une sollicitude particulière. La bonne volonté et l'action doivent être reconnues.

Mais pour comprendre la contradiction entre « faire beaucoup » et « faire peu d'amérindianité », il faut s'arrêter à l'examen des structures mentales qui, consciemment ou non, ont guidé les politiques officielles. Quatre grands principes semblent avoir guidé la presque totalité des grandes initiatives tant gouvernementales que privées. Nous ne ferons que rappeler ces idées directrices déjà discutées

⁴¹ Ou les ministères qui ont porté un autre nom mais qui se sont occupés du Nord.

⁴² W. C. Wonders, « Our Northward Course », *The Canadian Geographer*, Toronto, 6, 3-4, 1962, p. 105.

ailleurs ⁴³. En regard des Indigènes du Nord, ces principes paraîtront critiquables soit dans leur valeur intrinsèque, tel celui de la reconnaissance insuffisante des différences ethniques, soit seulement dans leur application excessive, par exemple le principe de canadianté.

1) En fonction du principe de *canadianité*, les politiques sont définies dans l'intérêt du Canada pris comme un tout, comme si les caractéristiques propres à la partie nordique étaient suffisamment représentées dans les mécanismes décisionnels du pays. Bref, ce qui est bon pour le Canada est bon pour le Nord. Prolongeant naturellement ce principe, se développe la stratégie du « sudisme » d'après laquelle le Canada du Sud sert de base au développement du Nord et dans tous les domaines ; ce sudisme s'affiche uniformisant, suffisant et exagérément prioritaire. Comment un minimum d'amérindianité nordique pourrait-il être assuré à partir d'un alignement des solutions sur une entité sudiste et non amérindienne ?

2) Le principe de *fédéralité*, lui, assure la préséance du gouvernement central sur toutes les organisations nordiques, indigènes ou non, qui deviennent ainsi subordonnées. Comme corollaire, une très forte centralisation du pouvoir politique et une stratégie de l'ensemencement dirigé d'une notion non indigène de gouvernement auprès du peuple, c'est-à-dire un curieux cheminement démocratique de haut en bas ⁴⁴.

3) Le troisième principe est celui de la *méconnaissance de la différentialité ethnique*. En fonction de cette philosophie, l'on hésite tant que l'on peut à faire des législations qui reconnaîtraient qu'un Amérindien du Nord n'est pas un Sudiste dans l'« average ⁴⁵ ». L'on tend même à éroder des textes officiels anciens les

⁴³ L.-E. Hamelin, « les Structures mentales de la nordicité empirique », Congrès du Moyen Nord, Chicoutimi, 1974 ; une partie du texte a été publiée en anglais dans *The Musk-Ox*, Saskatoon, 14, 1974, pp. 3-6.

⁴⁴ L.-E. Hamelin, « Développement nordique et Harmonie », conférence, ACG, Toronto, 27 mai 1974 ; résumé, pp. 39-40. Texte publié dans *Cahiers de géographie de Québec*, n° 44, 1974.

⁴⁵ Même philosophic en Alaska : - Native politicians have been strongly discouraged from making political appeals that might distinguish the interest of native Alaskans from those of nonnative Alaskans. , G. S. Harrison, , Modes on Alaskan Native Electoral Politics , *Polar Record*, 16, 104, 1975, pp. 691-700.

mots « Esquimaux » et « Indiens ». Selon nous, une certaine reconnaissance des différentes ethnies ne conduit pas à diviser la population mais plutôt à empêcher que des insatisfactions prolongées déclenchent des attitudes exagérées de revanche.

4) Enfin, le principe de la *liberté d'entreprise* suivant lequel n'importe qui, du Sud ou d'ailleurs, pourra venir dans le Nord s'exercer à la recherche de profits maximums. Par « saine » concurrence les affaires tomberont ici aux mains des plus puissants.

Même cette présentation limitée de quelques-uns des principes qui ont guidé les aventures canadiennes démontre que le Nord est influencé par des attitudes et des structures très faiblement appropriées à une situation pourtant spécifique ; le fait d'être « nationales » et de venir des bases principales du Canada ne les bonifiait guère. Le Nord a été pénétré à partir d'une philosophie extérieure, animée d'une façon puissante mais lointaine par des métropolitains, des grandes compagnies et des gouvernements, Que ces facteurs travaillent indépendamment ou en convergence discrète et même ouverte, ils ne laissent aux Nordistes qu'un « input », qu'une marge de participation très faible. Quand il s'agit des Indigènes, même cette marge ne peut guère être utilisée car la collaboration doit se faire d'après des normes et dans une langue étrangères, celles des Blancs ; les règles du jeu sont uniquement déterminées par ceux qui détiennent le pouvoir réel, c'est-à-dire les non-Arnérindiens ; pour contribuer au développement, les Amérindiens doivent donc démontrer plus d'élasticité que les autres, pourtant mieux préparés. Puisque ces stratégies extérieures ne se situaient pas du tout dans le prolongement naturel des habitudes des Indigènes, une énorme dénivellation en culture matérielle s'est établie entre les émigrés véhiculant une technique fort avancée et les Amérindiens dont, hier, la majorité vivait encore de la nature.

Devant cette puissance de la pénétration des autres, quelle pouvait être la réaction des premiers occupants ? Rappelons les deux possibilités extrêmes. A) Apprécier les avantages matériels apportés (maisons) au point d'accepter d'emblée d'être comme des moustiques ou une queue de comète, entraînés dans le sens de la lumière ; cette voie de l'effacement ou de l'assimilation rapide était sans doute la

plus facile et elle n'aurait malheureusement pas reçu d'opposition de la part de la très grande majorité des Blancs. B) L'autre voie consisterait pour les Amérindiens à refuser totalement la collaboration à un régime étranger et à vivre dans un système et dans un vaste espace complètement fermés aux Blancs. Une voie médiane serait celle de la résistance morale qui inviterait les dominants à modifier leurs structures mentales que caractérisent l'a-nordicité et l'a-amérindianité. Cette réaction qui se dresse comme une réponse à l'« établissement » sera-t-elle assez éloquente pour décider d'un redressement au bon moment ?

Des problèmes à résoudre

C'est donc à la fois dans un contexte écologique et politique bien caractérisé que les mouvements amérindiens ont commencé à s'affirmer au cours des années 1960 ; auparavant la contestation était très réduite et non publique. Les réactions amérindiennes se font sous le signe du concret, du quotidien et dans des cadres proximaux ; elles se moulent sur les événements qui invitent la population à discuter. Cette façon empirique de procéder est, par comparaison, à l'opposé de celle des intellectuels du Sud qui défendent la cause amérindienne ; ils le font, en effet, au niveau de principes généraux et de catégories sophistiquées émanant de leur propre culture, ces Sudistes de pointe influencent cependant la très grande majorité des étudiants amérindiens inscrits dans les universités du Sud, telles McGill, Saskatoon, Trent, Calgary ou Laval.

Les difficultés de la vie courante ont certes poussé les Indigènes à intervenir dans la recherche urgente de solutions. Or, de telles discussions intéressées ont contribué à redonner vie aux organisations traditionnelles, ont fait naître des cadres revendicateurs ou entraîné les Indigènes à participer aux structures que les Blancs mettaient en place. Quoi qu'il en soit de la formule utilisée, l'inquiétude créée par les problèmes nouveaux aura certes fourni des occasions d'amplifier les mécanismes politiques du Nord. L'on s'est penché sur les effets que tels ou tels événements exerçaient non plus sur des individus pris isolément mais sur leur communauté. Puis l'on s'est engagé dans des processus décisionnels comportant une large participation des habitants. Une conscience politique nouvelle par sa forme et sa dimension était née. Contrairement aux minorités blanches dont les

réclamations expriment souvent des faits de culture nationale, mentale ou écrite, beaucoup de préoccupations amérindiennes se rapportent à des faits de culture locale et matérielle.

L'alcool

La consommation de l'alcool crée des situations graves et complexes ⁴⁶. Au cours des dernières années, des groupes indigènes ont pris des attitudes très courageuses concernant l'abus de boissons enivrantes, attitudes pouvant aller jusqu'à la prohibition totale et même jusqu'au refus de développements économiques (ces derniers apportant des salaires, donc de l'argent, pour l'alcool en particulier). Il va sans dire qu'un décret d'abstinence n'amène pas l'adhésion de chacun des individus de la communauté et que les frontières d'une telle « sécheresse » résistent mal aux assauts qui peuvent venir de l'écoumène « humide » des environs. De toute façon, le problème de l'alcool pousse plusieurs groupes à prendre des initiatives de type politique.

La chasse

Un autre champ, traditionnel celui-là, concerne les règlements de chasse que d'ailleurs les Indigènes semblent n'avoir jamais cessé de considérer comme l'une de leurs responsabilités propres. Ils contestent même le droit que les gouvernements se sont donné de légiférer sur ces questions. Croyant qu'un équilibre quantitatif se produit automatiquement entre les hommes et les bêtes, les Amérindiens n'aiment pas le régime logique des quotas, par exemple un maximum de cinq bœufs musqués à abattre dans tel village au cours d'une année. Un peu paradoxalement, les Esquimaux, eux, ont été divisés quant à l'ours blanc : les chasseurs comprenant mal ceux qui réclament l'arrêt total des opérations. Quoi qu'il en soit, le problème de la chasse de cet animal « de culture » politise les consciences et les

⁴⁶ Voir le *Wacko's Report*, Conseil des Tenitoires-du-Nord-Ouest, Yellowknife, 1973.

Inuit canadiens réclament même de participer aux ententes internationales, à côté de pays comme tels (Canada, URSS, USA et Groenland)⁴⁷. Comme pour le problème de l'alcool, celui de la chasse invite également l'Amérindien à se situer face aux Blancs, ceux-ci produisant l'alcool avec profit ou chassant simplement pour tuer. La conscience politique nouvelle présente donc un faciès ethnique. Ce trait est apparent dans tous les champs d'intervention des Amérindiens.

Le développement

Les modes de développement suggérés par le Sud et par les Blancs poussent également les Amérindiens à réagir et à s'engager dans d'autres campagnes d'allure politique. Rappelons d'abord jusqu'à quel point les conditions actuelles font des Indigènes des étrangers aux affaires de leur propre région. Ils ne sont responsables que d'environ 2% de la masse monétaire annuelle des TNO. La grande majorité des communautés qui ont été recréées par les Blancs sont dans un état économique fortement déficitaire ; elles ne sont pas nées viables par elles-mêmes étant donné les fortes dépenses d'infrastructure et d'opération ; cet état d'assistance à perpétuité est mal accepté par des populations fières qui, dans le passé, savaient se suffire. Un questionnaire rempli par des spécialistes blancs du Nord canadien est venu confirmer l'absence des Amérindiens des « grandes affaires ». À la question : « Les Indigènes du Nord canadien exercent-ils une influence forte sur le développement économique de leur région ? » la réponse de chacun des participants a été : « Non ». Les Amérindiens eux-mêmes sont conscients de cette situation et leurs réactions visent trois objectifs : a) d'abord le respect de la nature dont toute modification met en cause la chasse comme telle ou les liens intimes que les habitants entretiennent avec un autre élément culturel très profond, la terre. Ainsi, de petits conseils « municipaux » comme Tukto, exploitant à fond la législation fédérale qui oblige les compagnies pétrolières à obtenir l'autorisation des Nordistes, se dressent contre les opérations et opposent des veto ; les recherches sismiques ne peuvent détruire des « lignes de trappe » ; à l'île de Banks et à Bathurst,

⁴⁷ Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Brief to the Federal Government of Canada in Respect to Disallowance of Game Legislation of the NWT, Ottawa, 1973, 28 pages.

l'exploration a dû être soit interrompue, soit canalisée à l'intérieur de périodes et dans des secteurs déterminés. Ainsi, une puissance politique exceptionnellement grande a déjà été atteinte. b) En deuxième lieu, les Amérindiens réclament du développement plus de bénéfices matériels : salaires, bien sûr, mais aussi infrastructures, telles que raccordements de pipe-lines (ce ne fut pas le cas à Fort Liard), routes et relocalisations d'habitat. L'effort (fortement publicisé, il est vrai) des compagnies privées pour engager des Indigènes sur les chantiers de prospection semble de faible productivité ; le gouvernement lui-même a mieux réussi par son programme « Hire North », vers 1973. c) Enfin, les Amérindiens mettent l'accent sur des revendications globales au travers desquelles s'exprime une certaine philosophie de la vie ; l'on refuse d'être bousculés, d'être entraînés dans des tourbillons contrôlés dans le lointain, d'être mis dans une situation telle que les membres de la famille ne vivent plus ensemble. Ces raisons ont poussé la petite communauté des Indiens de Wrigley à dire « non » au passage de la route fédérale du Mackenzie. Il y a même seulement 10 ans, qui eût cru une telle opposition possible ? Le ministre lui-même se rendit rencontrer les habitants pour leur expliquer la situation et les convaincre de changer d'idée. Ainsi, de minuscules conseils de localités, pratiquement sans budget et sans pouvoirs terminaux de décision, même concernant leurs propres affaires municipales, en sont arrivés à s'exprimer contre des plans nationaux de développement. Résultat spectaculaire d'un investissement politique minimal. En contrepartie, il n'est pas interdit de penser que ces résistances sont de bonne guerre et qu'elles peuvent décider l'interlocuteur à accroître les avantages à consentir. Il peut arriver aussi que les puissances gouvernementales et financières s'habituent au droit de veto et qu'elles trouvent les moyens de le contourner ; ainsi les protestations locales n'ont pas eu raison des compagnies qui prospectaient sur les rivages de la mer de Beaufort.

Les liens avec les terres

C'est le problème des terres qui se prête le mieux aux initiatives politiques. Curieusement, les Blancs eux-mêmes ont les premiers politisé cette question, en déclarant leur droit de propriété, en suggérant quelques traités, en établissant des réserves et en se reconnaissant des obligations à l'endroit des dépossédés. « Les

Sauvages ou Indiens... Seront maintenus dans Les Terres qu'ils habitent, S'il veulent y rester », signaient conjointement le général Amherst et le gouverneur Vaudreuil, à l'article 40 de la capitulation de Montréal en 1760 ⁴⁸. Deux siècles plus tard, la perspective d'un gazéoduc transmackenzien a sans doute polarisé aux yeux des Amérindiens des TNO le problème des terres. Des organisations comme COPE ⁴⁹ en ont fait leur premier objectif. Il y avait bien les traités 8 et 11 mais il semble, à la fois aux yeux des Indigènes et du juge W. Morrow ⁵⁰, que les Amérindiens n'avaient pas abandonné le fonds de leurs terres en signant une entente « de paix » avec les Blancs. Aussi (du moins temporairement), les Indigènes ont-ils enregistré un caveat sur un espace nordique deux fois grand comme l'Ontario. Une telle initiative, inimaginable il y a très peu d'années encore, a donné une puissance politique inattendue à la jeune Indian Brotherhood des TNO. La notion même des terres s'est également développée. Au concept culturel et émotionnel ancien d'après lequel les terres ont une « âme ⁵¹ » se sont ajoutés les aspects de délocalisation et de fonctionnalisation. Délocalisation en ce sens que les terres obtiennent un nouvel attribut qui dépasse l'espace restreint de chaque petit groupe ; elles deviennent « nationales », à l'échelle de l'ensemble des ethnies indigènes ; l'on réclame alors des étendues débordant les frontières des anciens traités. Fonctionnalisation car, en accroissant le nombre de services à fournir par les terres, celles-ci peuvent devenir un moyen de développement intégral pour leurs résidents. Comme l'a écrit P. Usher, il faudrait utiliser les terres comme instrument d'une promotion totale à la place des deux régimes dégradants des allocations ou de l'assimilation ⁵². Le problème des terres a eu la force de réunir hâtivement toutes les catégories d'Indigènes au Mackenzie et, en avril et mai 1974, ces derniers pouvaient lancer un cri politique commun : « Land, not money ».

⁴⁸ A. Shortt et A. Doughty, *Archives... Histoire... Canada....* Ottawa, 1971, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Committee for Original People's Entitlement.

⁵⁰ Justice W. Morrow, Reasons for Judgment No 2. In the Matter of an Application by Chief François Paulette... In the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife, 1974, p. 35.

⁵¹ J. Wah-shee, *A Land Claims Seulement. What it Can Mean to our People*, texte d'une conférence à Hay River, janvier 1973, 8 pages.

⁵² P. Usher, *The Significance of the Lands to Native Northerners*, Calgary, 1973. Texte d'une conférence, Canadian Society of Exploration Geophysicists.

L'on écarte ainsi une solution purement monétaire et terminale, comme fut celle de l'Alaska en 1971.

Noms de lieux indigènes

Le dernier thème politique choisi n'a pas l'impact économique des deux précédents mais il concerne un aspect culturel plus important qu'on ne le croit. Il s'agit de la choronymie ou de la science des noms de lieux. D'abord, un bref exposé de la question. Dans les régions amérindiennes, les noms officiels n'expriment pas beaucoup les cultures locales ; dans les TNO où jusqu'à récemment les Indigènes formaient une large majorité, l'on a légalement accepté que 12% seulement des toponymes des localités soient amérindiens ; ils ne le sont qu'à 19% dans les agglomérations où il y a un magasin de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson ⁵³. Ici aussi un redressement est en route ; à la suite de l'œuvre de quelques missionnaires, de quelques linguistes et peut-être d'exemples venus d'ailleurs comme du Québec ⁵⁴ l'on produit maintenant des cartes portant des noms de lieux amérindiens. Ces documents traînent un message politique évident, message qui va prouver et compléter les revendications aréales.

Ce n'est donc pas au niveau de la théorie politique générale et de la discussion de certains points distaux comme le partage fédéral-territorial des pouvoirs ou la proximité du Nord soviétique que se situe l'essentiel de l'action politique des Amérindiens du Nord canadien. Il s'agit au contraire de problèmes très concrets dont le Sud a précipité l'acuité. Bref, nous n'aurons souligné que peu de domaines se prêtant à des initiatives politiques. D'autres champs proximaux d'engagement sont les programmes de radio, le développement municipal, le marché des objets d'art, le logement, la santé, les langues d'usage, le paiement des annuités des traités, le non-emploi et évidemment les coopératives.

⁵³ L.-E.Hamelin, « Choronymie du Nord canadien » *Mémoires*, Société royale du Canada, Toronto, IV, X, 1972, pp. 31-44.

⁵⁴ H. Dorion, Contribution à la connaissance de la choronymie aborigène de la Côte-Nord : les noms de lieux montagnais des environs de Mingan, Québec, Presses de l'université Laval, GECET, 1967, 216 pages.

Des structures de travail

Les activités politiques des Amérindiens ne sourcent plus des opinions informelles d'individus isolés. Elles se développent à l'intérieur de cadres définis et même reconnus par les Blancs eux-mêmes. En outre, ces structures utilisent des moyens adaptés.

Types de cadres

Les organismes d'action forment trois catégories suivant leur nature et leur apparition dans le temps. Les plus anciens correspondent aux institutions traditionnelles, comme les bandes dont l'existence était démontrée par les interventions du chef tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'aire. Les leaders locaux peuvent se grouper en vue d'une action commune ; en 1974, les chefs Flancs-de-Chien l'ont fait pour combattre l'alcool. Avant l'arrivée des Blancs, ce système millénaire constituait, chez l'Indien, la seule structure politique. La pénétration des immigrants a mis dans l'ombre cette pratique. Aujourd'hui, la vigueur de ces organisations simples varie de bande en bande et certains Indigènes espèrent même pour elles un grand redressement. Le cadre ancien subit cependant la concurrence des deux autres types d'institution qui attirent davantage les éléments jeunes de la société. L'argument « sagesse » que l'on reconnaît à l'autorité traditionnelle pourrait cependant être mis davantage au service des organisations modernes ; celles-ci en profitent quand elles répondent : « Nous allons d'abord consulter nos chefs. »

Beaucoup plus récentes sont les formules politiques apportées par les Blancs. Elles peuvent concerner de vastes étendues (un seul député fédéral pour plus d'un million de milles carrés) ; elles sont également ouvertes à toutes les ethnies et elles participent aux importantes fonctions législatives du pays. Plus loin, nous décrirons la contribution des Indigènes au Conseil des TNO à Yellowknife de même qu'aux conseils locaux dans l'hinterland. Il y a moins de 10 ans que les Amérindiens sont en mesure de collaborer à ces institutions officielles et apportées de l'extérieur.

Presque en même temps se sont développées, sous le modèle des cadres amérindiens du Sud du Canada, des associations progressistes, les Brotherhood (1969) pour les Indiens, le Tapirisat (1971) et COPE (1969) pour les Esquimaux ainsi que des formules un peu moins définies pour les Métis (1972) et les Indiens « hors-traités ». La Compagnie des jeunes Canadiens a influencé l'organisation de l'Indian Brotherhood des TNO. De plus, sur présentation d'un budget approprié, le gouvernement fédéral finance une bonne partie des opérations de ces nouvelles associations d'Indigènes. Ces organisations, strictement amérindiennes par leurs membres, adoptent rapidement les méthodes des Blancs ; elles ont des bureaux chefs et des aviseurs à Ottawa ou dans de grandes villes du Sud ; à la dernière minute, les leaders peuvent arriver en avion pour prendre part à des réunions, tout comme de puissants P.D.G. ; l'anglais est la langue d'usage dans les réunions publiques (les assistants parlant souvent différents langages indigènes) ; l'on anime des bureaux de recherche ; l'on utilise les techniques des groupes de pression et le système judiciaire ; l'on fait des déclarations et l'on publie. Sont considérées toutes les causes amérindiennes, comme les droits de chasse, l'éducation des adultes (activités du Tree of Peace de Yellowknife), le pipe-line et l'emploi ; le thème principal des efforts concerne les terres ou les revendications aréales. Ensemble, Indiens et Inuit réclament la presque totalité des TNO. Jamais dans leur histoire les Amérindiens n'ont-ils été autant organisés, politiquement. Toutefois, ces groupements jeunes et vigoureux en sont encore à leur période d'organisation. C'est la phase de l'accumulation de l'énergie reçue. Comparé aux deux structures précédentes, respectivement caractérisées par une autolibération paisible d'énergie et par un contrôle assuré des initiatives permises, le dernier cadre représente une force latente dont l'avenir peut être déterminé par bien d'autres choses que les subventions du Secrétariat d'État.

L'on ne peut que constater l'abondance et la parallélisation des formules politiques offertes à l'Indigène. S'agit-il d'un phénomène uniquement empirique et spontané ou du résultat d'un calcul machiavélique de Blancs dans le but de concentrer l'influence des autochtones et de les forcer à utiliser des cadres modernes ? Chez les Indiens, le pouvoir est-il détenu par le chef de bande, ou par le représentant élu au Conseil territorial, ou par les membres élus au Conseil de la localité, ou par les associations modernes plus tapageuses ? Entre ces forces, des distances, des différences de point de vue, même des conflits se développent. En

1973, dans la petite communauté de Wrigley, le chef par tradition réclamait du gouvernement territorial une scierie alors que le représentant régional à ce même gouvernement s'opposait à la dite demande, les deux hommes pourtant d'origine indienne ne mettant pas l'accent sur le même aspect de la question. À l'échelle des grandes régions, la multiplicité des cadres favorise un « factionalism » institutionnel qui s'ajoute au « factionalism » proprement sociétal. Quant à la présence juxtaposée des structures amérindiennes et blanches, elle produit certes des activités communes mais elle enregistre des tensions ; en 1973, dans la baie d'Ungava, les deux Tapirisat (du Canada et du Québec) ont conjointement fait connaître leur intention d'ignorer la réglementation gouvernementale sur la chasse. Un exemple d'incompréhension s'est récemment présenté : les chefs des Flancs-de-Chien ont véhiculé, à leur propre manière, une décision dont la démarche ne coïncidait pas avec les aspects formels des Blancs ; ainsi, la légalité d'une procédure millénaire et admise par la grande majorité sinon la totalité d'un peuple peut être mise en doute par le pouvoir officiel. Les petits décrochements entre les systèmes sont nombreux (l'adoption est un autre champ de divergence) ; ils font regretter la superposition, avec peu d'adaptation, du régime blanc et surtout l'absence d'un code de rites de passage entre tous les systèmes en usage. De toute façon, la multiplicité des cadres est de nature à favoriser aux Indigènes l'universalité et l'accélération de l'engagement.

Les conseils de villages

Il s'agit de formules politiques « blanches » venues d'en haut et offertes au peuple. Hiérarchiquement, ils sont rattachés au gouvernement territorial. Il faut bien comprendre la dimension ethnique des localités gérées par ces conseils ; certaines agglomérations sont totalement ou majoritairement non indigènes ; leurs conseils municipaux ne sont pas considérés ici. Nous ne nous intéressons qu'aux localités où les Amérindiens forment la majorité de la population et surtout là où ils dominant (ou semblent dominer) la politique locale.

Compte tenu de l'expérience politique fort différente d'un immigrant sudiste blanc habitué à voter et d'un Esquimau traditionnel qui « n'aurait même pas eu de

mot pour gouvernement ⁵⁵ » ; compte tenu du fait que le droit de vote n'a pas été accordé en même temps aux diverses régions des TNO, il faut reconnaître que les Nordistes semblent avoir répondu favorablement à l'implantation des formules gouvernementales. Il s'est produit un développement rapide de la conscience de certains problèmes. Sans parler ici des droits d'autochtones, précisons que le niveau local est celui où l'engagement apparaît comme le plus naturel ; l'Indigène connaît davantage les besoins de sa communauté en logements que la répartition sophistiquée des responsabilités entre le fédéral et le territorial. Les Inuit nous ont surpris par l'identification de leurs problèmes quotidiens et l'insistance à réclamer des solutions, surtout si les délibérations se font dans leur langue. Des exemples nous ont été fournis, notamment en mars 1972, par les conseils de quelques agglomérations, dont Pond Inlet, situé sur la façade septentrionale de la plus vaste île de l'Arctique, et Port Burwell, aux frontières Québec-Terre-Neuve. À l'aide de documents du gouvernement territorial, nous considérerons également les matières discutées au conseil de Fort Good Hope, communauté indienne du Mackenzie qui, par son plan de 1970, a conscience de ses problèmes d'espace et de services. Le niveau municipal de ces trois agglomérations est celui de « seulement », c'est-à-dire que chacun des conseils, tout en étant composé de membres élus, n'est pas un organisme « incorporé », il n'a de pouvoir que celui de proposer. Le Tableau 1 fournit un échantillon des préoccupations des dits conseils, et celles-ci ne sont pas nécessairement présentées suivant un ordre de priorité. Même si, d'un centre à l'autre, les différences sont grandes concernant l'ouverture au monde extérieur (Pont Inlet rendait plus sévères les conditions de la consommation locale de l'alcool), le réalisme et l'ajustement des délibérations aux conditions locales sont frappants. La volonté de participation et même celle de prendre les affaires en main propre manifestent des ambitions pour la politique. En outre, se conformant au désir du gouvernement territorial, de petites communautés se sont même engagées à établir des plans pour cinq ans ; ainsi, Rankin Inlet, village esquimau du Keewatin (613 habitants), a prévu, entre autres, une expansion domiciliaire graduelle : en 1974, il s'intéresse aux conditions de son site ; il considérera le nettoyage des anciennes installations minières, le statut de Hamlet et l'amélioration des équipements de transport en 1975-1977 et, plus tard, l'organisation de services récréatifs.

⁵⁵ Canada, *Report....* Ottawa, 1966, p. 10. (Commission Carrothers.)

Il serait inexact (le laisser entendre que, dans l'ensemble des TNO, l'engagement dans les affaires locales se fait à un degré uniforme. Des communautés comme Tuktoyaktuk et Fort Simpson sont plus avancées que d'autres (Arctic Red River). En général, les agglomérations qui comprennent un fort pourcentage de Sudistes en résidence courte et les groupements indigènes qui n'ont plus à leur service de conseil de bande actif ou qui résistent à adopter les mécanismes des Blancs montrent un niveau peu élevé de participation aux activités des conseils locaux.

En réfléchissant au contenu des matières ordinairement discutées dans les villages et même à celui des plans de cinq ans, nous pourrions regretter que les objectifs visent presque exclusivement les services matériels et qu'ils s'intéressent peu aux investissements d'ordre productif. Cette défaillance n'est pas localement voulue ; faut-il en effet rappeler que le développement des ressources reste dans les mains du fédéral et qu'au niveau économique une incapacité légale pèse à la fois sur le territorial et sur le municipal ? Il est moins compréhensible que les questions culturelles ne semblent guère préoccuper ces conseils ; cette carence reflète-t-elle la nette séparation des pouvoirs entre les divers cadres territoriaux, le département du Gouvernement local, responsable des conseils des agglomérations, laissant au département de l'Éducation les aspects culturels ? En outre, le faible engagement dans les affaires non matérielles peut-il correspondre encore à la phase d'indifférenciation ethnique jadis souhaitée et mise en place par les gouvernements ? Sur le plan de la culture, que l'on s'attende à un revirement prochain des attitudes !

Tableau 1**Matières discutées dans trois conseils « municipaux » (TNO. janvier-mars 1972)**

<i>Port Burwell (Killing)</i> 116 habitants <i>Détroit d'Hudson</i>	<i>Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik)</i> ^a 449 habitants <i>Baffin</i>	<i>Fort Good Hope</i> (<i>Yattakwon ou Tradelikwon</i>) ^b 355 habitants <i>Mackenzie</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construire piste d'atterrissage (les avions devant utiliser les surfaces glaciales ou hydrographiques) (c) ; - Changer immédiatement le gérant du poste ; - Payer le déménagement au Québec de ceux qui veulent y retourner ; - Solutionner le conflit entre l'âge enregistré et l'âge déclaré en ce qui concerne l'accès aux pensions de vieillesse ; - Destination des allocations d'adoption ; aux parents d'origine ou aux adultes qui s'occupent de l'enfant ? - Les fuites du réservoir à combustible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Que les contracteurs du Sud emploient des travailleurs locaux ^c ; - Que l'extérieur n'organise pas de chasse sans consultation locale ; - Avoir un terrain pour construire un édifice coopératif ; - Bâtir un entrepôt communautaire pour combustibles afin de diminuer le coût individuel du chauffage ; - Date d'exploitation du fer de Mary River ? - Âge minimal de consommation d'alcool 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accroître l'impact local dans les affaires d'éducation ^d ; - Construire un centre communautaire ; - Relocahser le dépotoir ; - Majorer le système de l'utilidor ; - Plan de zonage en vue de l'extension de l'écoumène villageois ; - Adapter la structure des rues à l'ac-

^a Amérindianyme, d'après Paul Koolerk.^b Les deux noms indiens du village d'après R. Fumoleau.^c D'après des relevés personnels et faits sur place.^d Consultation de documents territoriens.

<i>Port Burwell (Killing)</i> <i>116 habitants</i> <i>Détroit d'Hudson</i>	<i>Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik) ^a</i> <i>449 habitants</i> <i>Baffin</i>	<i>Fort Good Hope</i> <i>(Yattakwon ou Tradelikwon) ^b</i> <i>355 habitants</i> <i>Mackenzie</i>
polluent un secteur de l'agglomération.	est porté de 19 à 21 ans ; - Que les étudiants de Pond à Frobisher puissent revenir dans leur famille pour les vacances de Noël aux frais du gou- vernement territorial ; - Que la population locale soit renseignée sur le statut municipal de « Hamlet ».	croissement de la circulation ; - Construire de nouvelles maisons à loyer modique ; - Rénover le système d'approvisionne- ment en eau.

Malgré certaines incompréhensions, la formule du gouvernement local nous semble avoir été acceptée ; elle a permis au moins à une minorité de Nordistes de faire l'apprentissage du gouvernement. Un commissaire a justement commenté le rôle de ces conseils de village : « It is no utopia. It gives the people a beginning in government ⁵⁶. »

Plusieurs conditions sont nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de ces conseils de localité. Au départ, il faut un animateur qui sache ne pas dominer. Puis une connaissance minimale des procédures, la présence de leaders locaux, l'existence d'un problème ou d'un objectif bien compris, une définition précise des tâches et le respect difficile d'une situation qui est rarement monoethnique.

Le Conseil des TNO

Quelle a été (il serait presque exact d'écrire quelle est) la participation des Amérindiens à l'important organisme législatif du gouvernement territorial, localisé à Yellowknife depuis 1967 ? Le Conseil est une pièce maîtresse de ce gouvernement et de loin il a précédé la formation d'une administration proprement territoriale. En collaboration avec Ottawa, il élabore la législation et, à l'occasion, exerce un rôle moral inégalé dans les affaires nordiques canadiennes.

Les Amérindiens seront arrivés tardivement à cette Assemblée législative. Avant l'ère des membres élus au Mackenzie (1951), la très grande majorité des conseillers provenaient du service civil fédéral où, au niveau des cadres, les Indigènes étaient absents. Au Conseil territorial, ce n'est que vers 1966 que le nombre des Amérindiens a commencé à compter. Mais la montée a été rapide ; ils occupaient déjà 16% des sièges l'année suivante et 35% en 1973 ; étant donné les nouvelles frontières des 15 circonscriptions, les Indigènes pourraient enlever la majorité de ces dernières, en mars 1975. Faut-il rappeler que les autochtones

⁵⁶ S. Hodgson, entrevue dans « The Canadian Magazine », *The Gazette*, Montréal, 6 janvier 1973.

composent plus de la moitié des électeurs et qu'aux dernières élections fédérales un Métis a été élu, puis réélu ⁵⁷.

Ce n'est pas tant la valeur numérique qui importe que la pensée politique propre. Jusqu'à maintenant, les Indigènes ne se sont pas intéressés à fond au territorial pour des questions de juridiction fédérale, par manque d'intérêt et par volonté de ne transiger les prétentions aréales qu'avec le « grand » gouvernement. Un influent journal indien exprimait ainsi un sentiment assez bien partagé : « territorial middlemen are not needed ⁵⁸. » Présentement, au Conseil, Indiens et Inuit votent rarement en bloc pour ce que l'on pourrait appeler les « causes indigènes ». Vers 1972, un seul se faisait systématiquement l'avocat de ces dernières. L'Inuit Tapirisat s'est étonné qu'une représentante esquimaude n'ait pas toujours donné son appui au projet de l'ours blanc ; mais, pour les Amérindiens en particulier, il est difficile de ne pas être entraînés par une machine gouvernementale extérieure à leur mode de pensée. Un tournant peut être proche cependant. Ce virement pourrait apporter un changement assez profond dans le contenu des discussions en chambre. De grands problèmes à peu près jamais abordés, tels le type de Nord désiré, la coexistence sans dénivellation excessive de genres de vie différents, le pluralisme culturel, apparaîtraient ainsi dans les réponses au Discours du trône, les motions, les demandes d'information ainsi que dans l'étude des « Ordonnances ». Exposer systématiquement la pensée des premiers habitants du Nord fournirait l'une des meilleures occasions de ressourcer le gouvernement territorial. Ce groupe trouverait sans doute des alliés chez les Blancs, ce qui l'empêcherait de tomber dans la stérilité d'un clivage proprement racial. De toutes les discussions se dégageraient naturellement des points de compromis, de convergence, sans doute différents des rapports interethniques que l'« establishment » a comme prédéterminés.

Étant donné que même pour les conseillers bilingues il est plus facile d'exprimer les nuances de leurs pensées par les mots les mieux connus, il demeure souhaitable pour les Indigènes de parler en chambre dans leur propre langue. Le groupe des interprètes des TNO pourrait assurer les services de traduction (surtout dans le sens amérindien-anglais). Ainsi, les Indigènes pourraient livrer le contenu exact de leurs opinions et participer davantage aux délibérations.

⁵⁷ Curieusement, il n'appartient pas aux « vieux partis » qui auraient « fait tant » pour le Nord depuis 20 ans.

⁵⁸ *Native Press*, Yellowknife, juillet 1971.

Le « contrôle » possible de l'appareil législatif par les Amérindiens a fait naître des inquiétudes logiques chez les Blancs ; ceux-ci sont habitués à voir les choses suivant une certaine échelle de productivité. On craindra donc que plusieurs interventions indigènes ne dépassent pas le niveau municipal, que des membres manquent des connaissances fondamentales en droit, en procédures politiques et en finances publiques pour aborder convenablement les questions complexes d'un gouvernement relativement important. Le Conseil des TNO demeure un jeu de Blancs, fortement teinté à la fois du formalisme et de la souplesse parlementaires britanniques. D'ici à ce qu'un plus grand nombre d'Indigènes apprennent à manœuvrer allégrement dans la voie des autres, plusieurs conditions sont souhaitables : grande préoccupation des Indigènes dans le choix de leurs candidats, appui de consultants nordistes non seulement compétents mais compréhensifs, assistance constante et bienveillante de leurs collègues au Conseil et des membres des administrations.

Moyens de procéder

L'éventail des outils est grand. Par un renversement largement inattendu des choses, les Amérindiens se font plus valoir que les autres Nordistes ; il est vrai que les premiers ont plus besoin de faire campagne que les seconds. D'abord, au niveau local, les discussions des problèmes sont nombreuses, longues et participantes. Certes ce n'est pas chaque individu qui s'engage mais les deux phases antérieures où on laissait, isolément, décider, soit le chef, soit les Blancs, sont terminées. L'engagement de monsieur-tout-le-monde n'est peut-être pas sans liens avec les très nombreux questionnaires scientifiques et gouvernementaux qui n'ont cessé d'accabler les résidants depuis environ 20 ans ; les enquêteurs, sans le savoir, ont accéléré la prise de conscience des problèmes locaux avec des questions comme : « Préférez-vous travailler ? », « Êtes-vous d'avis que la terre vous appartienne ? », « Parlez-vous l'anglais ? », « Comment acceptez-vous les règlements de chasse ? », « Qui doit fixer le prix de vos productions artistiques ? » Dorénavant, plutôt que d'informer le Blanc devant rédiger une thèse ou un rapport administratif justifiant un salaire, l'Indigène reprend les mêmes questions pour son propre compte.

Les journaux hebdomadaires composent un autre moyen politique efficace. Ces publications non sophistiquées auront joué un rôle de poids dans plusieurs pays polaires, par exemple le *Tundra Times* en Alaska, comme l'a souligné G. W. Rogers ; il semble aussi que *Politiken* et *Gronlandspoten* font de même dans la grande Île polaire danoise ⁵⁹. Dans le Nord canadien, les publications de ce genre remplissent deux rôles, soit qu'elles disséminent l'information comme le fait *Native Press*, soit qu'elles offrent aux lecteurs eux-mêmes une tribune pour s'exprimer : *Keewatin Echo* publie de nombreuses lettres d'Esquimaux se prononçant sur la chasse, l'alcool, les médicaments ; le lecteur se reconnaît dans ces écrivains simples, sincères et qui utilisent la langue régionale. Ainsi, les messages font leurs traces. Le nombre des « journaux » (environ 30) est extraordinairement élevé, ce qui peut s'expliquer par la dispersion de l'habitat, la phase présentement militante et certaines subventions. Certains, peu nombreux, comme *l'Inukshuk* de Frobisher, semblent recevoir une part importante de leurs revenus de la location d'espace pour des annonces d'affaires. Associées aux journaux sont les feuilles d'information officielles publiées par le département du Gouvernement local sur la situation municipale dans les TNO.

La radio régionale (réseau du Mackenzie) ou locale (Tukto) consacre un temps relativement long aux affaires politiques ; il en est ainsi des comptes rendus détaillés des sessions du Conseil territorial. La plupart des émissions sont en anglais mais certaines, en langues indigènes, occupent aussi les ondes ; ainsi peut-on entendre en « Dogrib » et en « Slavey » de bons résumés et des commentaires du cru sur les événements politiques nordiques. Dans plusieurs langues tant écrites que non écrites, des témoignages sont aussi enregistrés sur bobines pour utilisation répétitive. En juin 1974, pour la première fois, les séances du Conseil territorial ont été télévisées ; l'on en a même extrait un long métrage dans le but spécifique de favoriser, par sa circulation dans les communautés, la connaissance des principaux événements et des courants politiques. Ce programme spécial, patronné par le gouvernement de Yellowknife, a été décidé dans la perspective des élections territoriales de 1975. Un transfert d'opinion politique a donc lieu comme jamais auparavant. Circule un flot considérable d'informations dont une partie se fait en langues amérindiennes. Dans ces résumés, traductions, adaptations et

⁵⁹ Canada, *Press Clippings on Greenland*, Ottawa, IIN (depuis 1969).

commentaires, une certaine « adaptation » des propos originels semble naturellement se produire.

De forte puissance morale sont les slogans de ralliement, de prise de position ou de réclamation, slogans surtout patronnés par les nouvelles associations indigènes : « Land, not Money », « Back to Batoche », « Ban the Hunting of Polar Bear », « Peace Treaties, not Land Cession Treaties ». De telles expressions fixent le résultat de longues discussions dans un message court et clair, comme l'Indigène aime le faire, surtout dans une langue qui n'est pas la sienne.

Enfin, pour mentionner seulement certains autres moyens, s'ajoutent des interventions amérindiennes à tous les niveaux de la société canadienne : conférences de presse, entrevues avec des ministres à Ottawa, organisation de réunions publiques, participation à des congrès non indigènes, publication de prises de position, rencontres, présentations devant des cours de justice ; bref, sous bien des rapports, la société amérindienne s'est mise à l'heure du temps ; elle n'est plus un monde replié, passif et nécessairement consentant. Plus d'événements sont mieux connus ; l'engagement individuel se développe ; le leadership glisse du chef traditionnel ou de personnes de l'extérieur vers des cadres dynamiques, proprement ou partiellement amérindiens. La modernisation des moyens d'intervention se fait contemporaine de la revitalisation des objectifs eux-mêmes. Une telle convergence a fait naître en peu d'années, dans le Nord, un accroissement spectaculaire de la présence amérindienne.

Prospectives

Si les tableaux précédents peuvent contribuer à la compréhension du futur, personne ne semble vraiment savoir où l'on va. L'équilibre des forces politiques territoriales a rapidement changé. L'élément nouveau, imprévisible dans sa dimension, consiste dans le redressement amérindien, redressement soutenu d'ailleurs par la natalité. Phénomène analogue au récent mouvement pan-lapon de Scandinavie ou à celui de l'Alaskan Federation of Natives. Au Canada, le souhait, même la vision d'une assimilation à peine déguisée, le « Merging Policy ⁶⁰ » de

⁶⁰ D. Jenness, *Eskimo Administration*, Montréal, AINA, vol. 5, 1969, p. 59.

Diamond Jenness - un homme meilleur en ethnologie qu'en politique - n'est pas corroboré par l'histoire récente. Au contraire, frappe chez les Indiens l'accumulation d'une énergie politique certaine. Jusqu'à maintenant, celle-ci est demeurée presque latente et ne s'est permis que des opérations de rodage. Mais l'entrée dans une phase plus vive, dans une période d'énergie libérante, constitue un futur qui n'est pas du tout imprévisible. Mais en faveur de quelles causes et dans quels termes les Amérindiens passeront-ils de la phase d'énergie latente à celle de l'énergie libérée ? Jusqu'à quel point les Indigènes du Nord accepteront-ils l'appui d'une certaine intelligentsia du Sud ? De toute façon, les forces nouvelles de la société nordique exigent une autre définition du Nord et mettent le principal agent de la société actuelle en demeure de réagir. La parole va de nouveau à la structure dominante et uniformisante du Sud mais, cette fois, sa voix ne saurait être empirique et improvisée.

Il faut donc retourner aux questions fondamentales qui avaient été trop facilement écartées lors de la première pénétration blanche. Pour telle région en particulier, quel est le type optimal de Nord ? Toute politique réaliste ne saurait éviter de constater le clivage ethnique et l'absence concrète « d'égalité dans les opportunités » entre les Amérindiens d'une part et les Blancs d'autre part. L'un des objectifs principaux est de trouver le meilleur point de rencontre entre des groupes trop dénivelés. Ce qu'il faut chercher, c'est un seuil de compatibilité mentale et d'association économique entre des éléments culturels différents mais vivant à l'intérieur d'un même encadrement officiel. Déterminer comment le pays de chaque ethnie peut vraiment devenir un unique pays pour toutes les ethnies. Le défaut de trouver un compromis devrait faire instituer des régimes parallèles de fonctionnement. La politique est l'art du compromis. D'un côté, la solution des problèmes ne réside pas dans l'acceptation de la totalité des demandes, d'ailleurs en partie tactiques, des Amérindiens. De l'autre, malgré les erreurs passées des Blancs, une solution juste ne saurait ignorer les intérêts acquis de ces derniers ; les réclamations ne peuvent se limiter aux droits des ethnies initiales. C'est le Nord d'aujourd'hui dans sa complexité qui doit être impliqué. En outre, dans la recherche d'un point médian qui redresserait la situation actuelle, les dominants doivent être de bonne foi. Ils semblent s'inquiéter de la direction des événements et se demandent jusqu'où les Amérindiens iront ; ils manœuvrent alors l'argument « désintéressé » et logique qui veut qu'au nom du principe de l'accessibilité universelle des ressources il

ne faudrait pas remettre les terres à un petit groupe de citoyens (il y a cependant 20,000 Indigènes dans les TNO), trop de pouvoirs tomberaient alors entre les mains de trop peu d'individus. Soit, mais ne subirait-on pas un semblable inconvénient si ce sont les grandes sociétés multinationales, par l'intermédiaire d'un syndicat financier oligarchique, qui exploitent le pétrole nordique ? De plus, sur le plan proprement racial, l'état-major des grandes corporations fait-il des concessions mentales à la pluralité ? Il nous semble que beaucoup de sophismes enveloppent l'argumentation en apparence objective de ceux qui ont intérêt à s'opposer à la promotion des « naufragés de la terre ». Mais les vraies puissances savent bien la force de certains arguments et simplement celle du temps :

- 1) dans les TNO, une fois que les immigrants blancs auront réalisé une minorisation démographique des Indigènes, la nouvelle majorité pourra « démocratiquement » prouver qu'elle a raison ;
- 2) la pression que peut exercer le gouvernement fédéral lui-même, soit par l'arrêt ou l'orientation des subventions aux Brotherhood et Tapirisat, ou soit encore par la législation territoriale toujours subordonnée à lui ;
- 3) l'attitude dure que pourrait prendre la masse de la population canadienne face aux exigences financières directes ou au manque à gagner que provoqueraient de fortes demandes indigènes ;
- 4) l'argument souvent manœuvré de façon fallacieuse que le bien commun transcende le bien particulier.

Si les événements allaient continuer suivant ces directions évaluées raisonnables par les dominants, de nombreux problèmes du Nord et non seulement ceux des Amérindiens ne s'en trouveraient aucunement solutionnés. Prolonger les maux de la « pollution » blanche venant du Sud ne saurait qu'attiser les revendications nées dans le Nord ; celles-ci prendraient de l'ampleur mais d'après une formulation politique qui pourrait cesser d'être paisible.

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Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

SECOND SESSION

Some Speculations on the Canadian Indian Socio-Political Reality

R.W. DUNNING *

Résumé

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Le but de l'exposé est de souligner quelques aspects économiques et écologiques de la situation des communautés indiennes d'aujourd'hui en accordant une attention particulière aux facteurs historiques. Dans la région circumpolaire on note certains traits culturels : une écologie peu diversifiée et des activités économiques importées des métropoles. Les Indiens du Canada seraient le seul groupe qui ne possède plus de système économique indigène à la suite de bouleversements historiques qui l'ont rendu dépendant des subsides gouvernementaux pour 41% de ses revenus.

Les Indiens du Canada sont dirigés par une bureaucratie gouvernementale : le Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) qui exerce un contrôle quasi absolu sur l'ensemble des activités indigènes rendant toute initiative à la base impossible. Au surplus, c'est une bureaucratie de type paternaliste dont les décisions trop souvent arbi-

* Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto. The author is grateful for discussions with members of Dr. W.P. Carsten's graduate seminar at the University of Toronto, and to those of Trent University's combined Anthropology and Native Studies Departments.

traires ont créé jusqu'à récemment apathie et désintéressement. Les actions du DIAND sont multiples, grâce à un personnel de plus en plus nombreux, s'exercent dans des domaines de plus en plus vastes et résultent de critères de choix reliés à l'autorité et à l'efficacité administrative. Plusieurs communautés contestent aujourd'hui les décisions du DIAND. Sept exemples d'abus de ce pouvoir bureaucratique sont cités dans la conférence. Même les bandes les plus avancées sont freinées dans leur élan vers l'autodétermination. C'est à se demander si la plupart des communautés indiennes ne sont pas plus intéressées à demeurer dans cet état de dépendance qu'à inventer leurs propres instruments de promotion.

À cette structure et action bureaucratiques des diverses agences gouvernementales, les organisations et groupes politiques indiens doivent opposer leurs propres lignes d'action et faire valoir leurs objectifs et leurs points de vue tant auprès du DIAND qu'auprès des autres unités administratives concernées. On remarque d'ailleurs certaines tendances qui se développent dans plusieurs réserves à la fois à l'échelle du Canada tout entier. Qu'il s'agisse des revendications indigènes sur les portions de territoire attribuées à chaque famille, ou des pressions concertées des chefs et des organisations indiennes nationales sur le gouvernement central pour obtenir le maximum de capital en vue de l'expansion économique, voilà des signes annonciateurs des temps nouveaux. Seule une action politique tant au niveau local, par le renforcement de la fonction de chef de bande, qu'au niveau régional et national, par le renforcement de l'action concertée des diverses organisations indigènes, est en mesure de renverser la situation présente et de préparer la voie au développement tel que le conçoivent et le désirent les Indiens eux-mêmes.

In some ethnographic works, now become traditional, such as Honigmann on the Kaska (1949, 1954), Dunning on the northern Ojibwa (1959) and Rogers on the Round Lake Ojibwa (1962), there was an implicit boundary. Resident members of the community became the total society. Our conceptual framework saw as irrelevant those members listed (by government) as non-resident. The meaning

of this was quickly ignored for the so-called social actuality of those people "on the ground."

Where this implied assumption became a conceptual trap if not a cul-de-sac was in later studies which chose to speak of the Indian group as being in a state of "disintegration" (Shimpo and Williamson, 1965, Honigmann, 1966). "disorganization" (Rogers., 1963, Baldwin, 1957), "breakdown" (Rogers. 1964), or "collection" (Dunning, 1964, using Leighton's model. 1959). and "deculturated" (James. 1961). This kind of formulations emphasizes, perhaps reifies, ethnic entity as a generic phenomenon. In this way the dynamics of process may be ignored. In this paper I propose to suggest some rather general economic and ecological facts of the historical situation. These are germane to the present state. In addition I propose a model of the present economic and socio-political situation.

In the Scandinavian study, *Circumpolar Problems*, the contributors outline some historical and current problems facing peoples in the North. One fact, which is not commented upon, is that for most of the groups treated there is in each ethnic group a basic and often an indigenous economy. For the Lapps there is reindeer herding, for the Greenlanders. a mixture of seal and fish hunting as well as some integration into the imported Danish economy. For some of the Eskimos there is sea mammal hunting. What stands out in stark contrast is that of the Canadian Indian at the present time. It may well be that the Canadian Indian is the only ethnic entity which at present lacks a traditional and basic economy. The argument goes something like this. During the 18th century (19th century for the far North and West) many traditional hunters and collectors. following the pressures of efforts and incentives of the fur trading companies and free traders, changed their relationship to the land. Their economy from that of widespread hunting and collecting, was changed to that of fur trapping in relatively fixed localities. Movement in search of large game became secondary to the pursuit of fur bearing animals. In the struggle for furs in exchange for European commodities and foodstuff the dependency economy began. Coming closer to the present day it was demonstrated (Dunning. 1959) that for an apparently independent and subsistence economy of northern Ojibwa that their income from government per capita grants represented 41% of their total annual income. During the past 20 years, while the total fur take, as to both quantity and price, has fluctuated within only a limited range. the population had doubled. The result of this is a doubling of the

number of grants from government on the basis of the per capita system, as well as cost of living increases. The result of these changes is to further reduce the percentage of annual income deriving from economic activity on the part of the residents.⁶¹

This would appear to be generally true for most northern Indian communities. Thus the process for these northern communities (elsewhere I have called them Type A communities, 1964) has been changing from hunting and collecting to fur trading, and recently to a subsidy economy.

For the more southerly and rural type of community (Type B in my typology) the land which later became designated as Indian reserve land, is arable and cultivable. The switch from hunting and collecting was made about the time or shortly after the inrush of pioneer settlers and farmers. Fur trapping was marginal. Instead there developed subsistence cultivation of European crops. Elsewhere (1964) I have suggested for the Pine Tree Ojibwa in Southern Ontario, although at the time of fieldwork in 1958 there was virtually no farming done, that at the turn of the 20th century, this group lived in a subsistence farming style. It was not too different from rural non-Indian neighbours. The more general position of Indian subsistence farming in Southern Ontario during the 1890 to 1920 period being economically indistinguishable from neighbouring non-Indian farmers, was clearly made by Laird Christie in an unpublished manuscript (as a result of his fieldwork in Southwestern Ontario).

The hypothesis suggests that the revolution in agriculture, i.e. increase of viable unit of land as well as greater capitalization required for economic farm production, pronounced the end of Indian subsistence farming as a way of life. Here then we see for the southern areas those who were principally hunters and collectors changing to subsistence cultivation on a European immigrant model in the 19th century until the economics of expansion by the 1930's prohibited its continuation as a basic economy. And since the late 1940's for those people who were

⁶¹ Rea (1968) spells out the relative change in dollar value of the fur income for the Yukon and Northwest Territories. While the number of pelts taken annually between 1942-1943 to 1961-1962 remained fairly constant (Table 3. 1, p. 387), the net value of fur production changed as follows: between 1920 and 1946 the percentage ranged from 22% and 66%; whereas between 1953 and 1961 the range was from 2% to 5% (Table 11. 13, p. 439).

unsuccessful in obtaining wage labour in surrounding regions, per capita welfare payments became more basic to their sustenance.

For both the northern isolated bands and rural southern ones the hypothesis suggests that due to the economics of both the fur trade and small scale farming in Canada, Indian people in many groups throughout the country have been deprived of a staple crop, hence a basic economy. If there is any validity to this proposal, the consequence is grave. It means that the historical and traditional role of paternalism played by the federal government, as defined by the *British North America Act* is fortified and extended by this increase in dependency.

It is however more than the economic reality which determines the nature of this situation. In social and political terms the inferiority of the Indian position was implicit in the Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson (1958) analysis of *The Indians of British Columbia*. Dunning proposed a caste-type system for the northern trapping communities (1959a). Several writers have demonstrated and commented upon the important role of discrimination on the part of resident non-Indians (Shimpo and Williamson, 1965, Elias, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1974). It is suggested even further, that the role of the nonIndian power elite is greater than one of control and discrimination. Brox (in *Circumpolar Problems*) has suggested that the "blocking of alternatives" for the Indian groups by this outside non-Indian power actually serves to maintain the ethnic identity of the group.

George Manuel (1974) makes the telling point of the loss of decisionmaking powers by the band members of Shuswap at the time of the introduction of the Indian agent after World War 1. Further he suggests: "So long as our traditional economy remained strong, the social fabric could withstand the pressure that was being put upon it" (p. 41); and "The agents were armed with three laws that made them, for the moment, the stronger party in the contest for power (namely, prohibition of subsistence hunting and collecting because of the game laws. Secondly, the regulation of the sale of all farm produce, and finally the dispensing of welfare)." (p. 54.)

The overriding fact of recent years and one which has emphasized the dependent role of Canadian Indians under the umbrella of the federal government Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (referred to as DIAND), has been the expressed wish of Indian organizations to maintain the federal go-

vernment presence. Reaction to the governmental *White Paper* of June 25, 1969 was immediate, spontaneous and unanimous. The various Indian publications such as *The Red Paper*, *Wahbung*, and *The Brown Paper*, all emphasized the desire to maintain the federal government relationship. Only the Yukon Brotherhood, perhaps influenced by the Alaska Native Settlement, voiced a willingness to drop the government role over the years.

The financial and personnel involvement of DIAND has grown over recent years far beyond the national development of affluence. Moreover, the overall jurisdiction and responsibilities of DIAND is far reaching. It functions for Indian reserve communities as all levels of government, federal, provincial and municipal, as well as almost all departments of government, i.e. education, welfare, housing, economic development and community affairs. All these responsibilities are subsumed under the umbrella of DIAND. Traditionally Indian people have respected the power of DIAND, if not always its personnel and policies.⁶²

In brief résumé the structure and operation of the administration of parliamentary funds for the benefit of Indian status people might be something like this:

1) The DIAND of the federal government has overall responsibility for administering the *Indian Act*. It is more than the normal single responsibility of a federal cabinet post and department. Virtually all administration for Indian people except for health and justice comes under its jurisdiction. It is the only federal government department with so many functions. Moreover, in general as Indian communities do not operate as municipalities of a province, for the most part the

⁶² Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson state the position of the Indian people as "social claustrophobia" and the following: "What would we say, for instance, and how would we feel, if all our democratic institutions, while retaining full rights of decision-making, would only approach their business through the medium of an office controlled by a federal civil servant; if we did not speak to advisers on sanitation affairs, on irrigation, or to potential purchasers of our property, or to contractors with whom we dealt; if all the speaking were done for us, not by us, and in addition by a person who represented, not the local authority, but the federal government? Such a situation, if it could be conceived, would hardly be conducive to the growth of liberty and civil responsibility. We would soon degenerate into passive ciphers or become bitterly opposed to the bureaucratic system." (1958, p. 460.)

equivalent governmental functions of both municipal and provincial governments come under the jurisdiction of the DIAND.

2) Although the people, namely the Indian status people, are being governed by DIAND, the latter organization is not responsible to those whom it governs. Its responsibility is to the governor-in-council and to Parliament. Basically therefore the structure of government is not democratic, but bureaucratic. And the guidelines and rationale for governing are stated as the ARA: that is Authority, Responsibility and Accountability. I emphasize, the ARA is to the government, not to the people governed.

3) The officials of DIAND, those responsible for governing, are civil servants. It is therefore appointed officials in all cases, on the ground and in the offices, who have the responsibility for decision-making on the disposition of parliamentary funds voted for Indian status people. ⁶³

In the bureaucratic form of government provided for them, it is of ultimate importance to the Indian people whether this, their government is arbitrary. Whether a decision is or is not arbitrary is one thing. But more important is whether that decision appears to be arbitrary. Attitudes of resignation and dependence can develop from this. For the detailed and daily decisions to be made by DIAND civil servants, there is more than the ARA for guidance. In addition there is a general basis for judgment which, at least to the social scientist, is recognizably founded in the folk system of his own society. ⁶⁴ Evidence of the civil servants' folk system is seen by the observer in the kinds of statements made in order to rationalize decisions. For example, phrases and truisms such as "these people," "the Indians are not ready yet," "the Indians need training for leadership," "they

⁶³ It is true that the Minister of the Department and his parliamentary assistants are elected politicians. in the vast majority of cases however, those whom the Indian people meet and see deciding on their funds are appointed civil servants.

⁶⁴ See: Paul Bohannan, *Social Anthropology*, N.Y., 1963, pp. 12-14, for a discussion of this important subject.

don't understand," "we rely on our own expert advice." And further, "we're handing over," "we're doing ourselves out of a job" (in spite of no timetable or schedule mentioned. the only visible result being a significant increase in DIAND staff),- some of these statements imply an attitude of permanent trusteeship. Many examples could be used to demonstrate the sterility of this form of government.

As well as some government civil servants, local businessmen too appear to widely share a belief in the unreliability of Indians as workers. For example, in the armed occupation of Anicinabe Park, Kenora, the press turned to a local businessman for an opinion about Indian values. It was described in the *Globe and Mail* of July 29, 1974 as "The Indians reject the whiteman's clockwatching culture, and their itinerant life style affects their employability."

There seems to be no understanding of the role played by the external elite in placing Indians in this category. Through large scale unemployment and underemployment as a way of life, in the face of wide ranging and visible affluence on the part of non-Indians, what alternative do Indians have to a so-called itinerant life style?

It might be argued that the limited and limiting views of some DIAND civil servants, based on their own folk system , with its low expectations for Indians, that this is the most important part of the paternalism syndrome of administration. A few illustrations of recent situations might elucidate the nature of the situation of Indians and the administration:

a) In one place the DIAND technical specialist as agricultural representative visited a reserve in which there were several cattle farmers. He was to inoculate the cattle and did not know how to do it, nor was he able to answer general questions addressed to him. ⁶⁵

b) In one place of 1,500 population DIAND had agreed to authorize a post of local Indian constable with police car. The people wanted two constables, belie-

⁶⁵ In the Hawthom-Tremblay study, Vol. 1, 1966, Stuart Jamieson raised a pertinent question by decrying the selection criteria of DIAND in appointment and promotion procedures. Jamieson reported that DIAND preferred experience to professional and technical qualifications as the selective criterion used.

ving that a single officer would represent more of a provocation than resolution of problems. This was denied them by the officials.

c) In one place in 1973, a school was to be built on the reserve. The people through their band council decided on the location after which the foundation excavation was begun. A DIAND engineer from the district office visited the site and countermanded it, ordering a new site foundation to be executed. Later the region office engineer visited and chose a third site. As a finale, DIAND in Ottawa charged one of their own special agents, with full powers of decision, to proceed to the site and remain until the problem was resolved. This is not an Indian problem. but a DIAND problem. With virtually nothing but custodial service in mind, government can perpetuate the so-called Indian problem.

d) In 1971 Treasury Board raised the unit housebuilding limit from \$8,500 to \$ 10,000. In one region director's office, the senior person in charge of community services. stated publicly at a Brotherhood meeting two years later that he was unaware of the change, still maintaining the lower limit. Some of the bands simply defied him and adopted the higher limit on their own.

e) In one provincial region, the brotherhood sought to change the stultifying power of supervisory personnel. Ottawa agreed to supply funds for a joint study of change. One of the first requests of the committee was to freeze the manpower level at the region office while the study was in progress. During the first three months of the study total personnel under DIAND in the region increased from 772 to over 800. In addition advertisements appeared in national newspapers for several social workers for this same region.

f) In one region respecting one large band. DIAND was ready to invest money and authority in a foreign businessman to develop an industry on the reserve, The band council was unimpressed and asked their own legal counsel to run a credit check on the candidate. The person's credit, based on his reputation in other places, was zero. This type of poor judgment by government officials results in non-action or change of policy. Had it been reversed and Indians had committed themselves in this way. doubtless DIAND would have felt it necessary to place the band affairs in trusteeship.

g) Respecting an Indian educational program in a college, a number of representatives of the Indian organization approached two senior DIAND officials.

One was the regional director, and the other, a former regional director, was from Ottawa, in charge of a senior part of the H.Q. office. When appraising the problem of differential financial support about which the students were complaining, the senior man said immediately that the matter could and would be cleared up satisfactorily. The regional director when asked, indicated that it was a difficult problem and one to which he saw no solution. The petitioners were left with the promise of investigation, but ambiguous and opposite answers to the same question. How can people who are seriously trying to move forward in learning the system, how can they ever cope when the complexities presented to them by men, often respected officials, grow increasingly erudite? Caught in this system the sceptic might think that the process masks the real system in order to maintain power for the governors.

4) Grants to bands toward limited self government. The government has operated under a policy of eventual integration of the Indian people and bands. Section 83 of the *Indian Act* raises the idea of bands passing their own money by-laws when "a band has reached an advanced stage of development." The government also recognized that permissive legislation alone could not accomplish this objective even for the more advanced bands. ⁶⁶

By the mid-1960's a policy of grants-to-bands enabled bands to have the disposition of minimal funds for their administration. The purpose of DIAND was for limited self-government. To many Indian people there appeared to be no change in policy. Even where the apparent direct control of band affairs in the person of the agency superintendent was modified, the effect appeared open to question. In several areas of Canada agencies and the superintendents were removed in favour of district offices and district supervisors. The manifest purpose of this was that band councils who were administering their own local self-government would require specialized and technical services and consultation. This could best be done by means of a centralized district office. It appears to

⁶⁶ In an interview the writer had with director of DIAND in 1958, the latter bemoaned the fact that only 5 bands in the whole of Canada would even entertain the idea of running their own affairs. Apparently it had not occurred to him that the reluctance of band councils to volunteer for limited autonomy was their fear of being given responsibility without authority.

many that whether the authority of DIAND is removed from the reserve area, from the agency or even the district and into the regional (provincial) office, the result for the Indian elected officials comes to the same. What will DIAND allow and what will they veto? In the case of a few of the more advanced bands there appears to be a slight advantage in bypassing even the regional director in the provincial office by going straight to DIAND in Ottawa. This has begun to prove more effective when done with the aid of prominent legal counsel.

Even this stratagem does not necessarily succeed. There are so many steps along the way, from agreement in principle to a course of action, approving the funds and finally delivering them on a partial basis. In terms of self-government, the declared policy of the government, a band is required to mount maximum political and diplomatic pressure on the officials at each stage of the process. And this process may take months to complete. When the funds are finally delivered, at any point the band council must submit to comprehensive and systematic auditing. This gives an enormous lien on the part of government officials to edit, modify or veto the programme. Trusteeship can easily be declared over the programme at any time and DIAND regains total administrative control again. It is instructive to look at the account system of a DIAND regional office. An exhaustive and computerized record of expenses and payments is kept on every category. It seems that it is correct by definition. What is not revealed in these accounts however is the degree of shifting of funds from one programme to another. If any of this were done by the band council, trusteeship could immediately be put into effect.

It appears to the writer that the rigidity imposed on the system of grants by government officials parading under their ARA obligation almost guarantees the permanence of the supervisory system. So much energy is absorbed by elected officials in catering to bureaucratic requirements, that it seems difficult to see any kind of normal community developmental policy taking place.

Although the elected officials (chief and councillors) are responsible to their electorate for their positions, they are in a much more meaningful position of accountability to bureaucratic officials at all levels of DIAND. And wherever discretionary powers are involved, Indian leaders sometimes see reasonable judgments and sometimes arbitrary ones. Whereas in the 1950's the nature of authority was usually personal and visible in the person of the superintendent, in the 1970's

the same paternalistic authority is often in the form of nameless and distant office decisions.

5) Correlated with the increase of the parliamentary appropriation for Indian administration and development is the significant increase of personnel in DIAND. In some areas it has reached proportions beyond the comprehension of some serious Indian leaders. The continual increase in staff may reflect an increasing budget and responsibilities, but surely does not reflect a growing emphasis on local self-government of Indian communities. On the contrary, the priority appears to be supervision and control of the parliamentary appropriation.

6) A factor in the situation which emphasized if not reinforced the supervisory role of DIAND officials is the role of the towns or villages neighbouring larger Indian communities and reserves. These are often strong and independent communities, whose economies are based on the local industries of the region. They have become trading centres whose business sometimes depends to a not inconsiderable degree upon the subsistence needs of the Indian communities. In addition the maintenance and repair services offered are often not available elsewhere to the Indians. Compared with the population of frontier towns and villages, the adjoining Indian population represents a significant consumer economy. For example, Kamsack, Sask. (population, 2,783) has adjoining Indian reserve population of 1,223; Kenora, Ontario, 10,952 with nearby reserve population of 9,304. In some areas, the Indian population is greater than that of the service centre, e.g. Gleichen, Alta., 367 and adjoining reserve population of 1,707; Powerview, Man., 667 with adjoining Indian population of 1,931; Amaranth, Man., 150 with adjoining population of 1,500.⁶⁷ For example in Ft. Alexander as of late 1973, there were upwards of 200 privately owned automobiles among the reserve population. There was however not one repair shop or service station in the community. Nor were there any restaurants, coffee shops or retail outlets of any kind. In consequence, all the retail business is done with the outside communities. For the large communities this is a financial consideration of some magnitude. Of greater signi-

⁶⁷ Population figures from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census 92: 706 and 707, except for Amaranth and Sandy Bay which are estimates.

ficance however is the role of the town people in presenting a point of view to DIAND and provincial officials. Often it mirrors the officials' own judgment on the abilities of the Indian people. Based as it is on a non-Indian folk system, as well as experience, it can be strongly limiting for development. ⁶⁸

It appears therefore to be of considerable benefit to this type of frontier town for Indian communities to remain in a state of subsistence and dependency. ⁶⁹

At best, the prospect for change and development within the system of government for the Indian people is not promising. For them to move beyond the structures of the system, a number of alternatives are open. It remains therefore to consider the implications of some of these possibilities.

Indian Organizations: the Alternatives

There are a number of lines of action being followed by various Indian political organizations. Each direction, if it reflects policy, is fraught with limits and consequences:

1) In various parts of the country there is an active effort to research and present the case for aboriginal and land rights. In non-treaty areas it is based on prior occupancy of the land. In treaty areas, such as Manitoba, there is a claim for more land on the basis of treaty differences between 160 acres and 640 acres per family. Since the Supreme Court decision on the Nishga land case of January 31,

⁶⁸ See: Shimp and Williamson; Kamsack in 1960 appealed to both governments to do something about the Indian problem. See also the written statement and speech of Ontario government minister Leo Bernier at the NO-RAC conference of March 1974. His negative view of the prohibitive costs of winter roads appeared to be based on views obtained from his constituents from Hudson, Ontario. The winter roads project of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood nearby, if successful, would lessen the quantity of goods supplied and contracts gained by the local town merchants. The present outstanding success of the project disproved these negative views completely.

⁶⁹ Note the current controversy in the press of The Pas, Manitoba businessmen to the development of an Indian retail complex being built.

1973, the Prime Minister's stated policy has changed. As a result the DIAND has granted research monies to Indian organizations to study their case for lands. As land amounts to Indian patrimony, it will and should be pursued vigorously. To ignore this avenue would be to court diminution of the Indian position.

2) If this documentation of land claims against the federal government is not a sufficient problem for Indian organizations, there is an even more urgent state of affairs against various provinces (and also the federal government in the NWT). Sanders has presented the case in his IWGIA document, *Native People in Areas of Internal National Expansion, up to 1973*. Indian lands are being flooded by provincial government hydro-dam projects. In addition when the Indians of Grand Council Treaty Nine of Northern Ontario suspected similar policies in their area, there was no confirmation by the government of Ontario. Harry Achneepineskum's study of hydro surveys indicates the real possibility of parts of this region also being in danger of river diversion and flooding.

There is in consequence a grave danger of unilateral action by provincial governments which would compromise the land position of some Indian groups. This is being done without consultation with or knowledge of the Indian residents. It would appear therefore, in view of the federal government's careful position of neutrality in the Quebec James Bay situation, that more than litigation is required at this stage. A determined and unified political effort to preserve Indian land is imperative. ⁷⁰

3) The problem of general administrative and core funding for local communities has become an institutional hazard. In order to maintain a minimum subsistence and to gain the most minor extra funding, the chief and council as well as both the provincial and national Indian organizations must expand a maximum effort in negotiation with and pressure on the federal government. The hazard lies

⁷⁰ The November 15, 1974 agreement in principle between the Cree Grand Council and the Quebec Government signals the possibility of similar political negotiation in other regions of the country. It is hoped that the involvement in land rights will not obscure the greatest need, the real economic development of communities.

in the sapping of energy and political strength to gain minimum standards. The consequence of this is to relieve general political pressure on genuine and needed capital economic expansion. Expenditure in this area appears to be based on a per capita basis, with a small extra amount to ease the pressure in any visible area of crisis. In conversation with officials and at meetings of Indian organizations the regional office (provincial) claims there are insufficient funds and that the decision is up to headquarters (Ottawa). The latter officials of course expound on the principle of decentralization, stating, up to the level of the assistant deputy minister, that the regional office under the director has full authority to grant funds as he sees fit. The kinds of requests are for minimal services, v.g. a council house, a new school house, an access road, a few more houses, some core support for administering the band office. The Secretary of State's office has since 1970 begun to supply some core funding for administration. This is scheduled however to cease in 1976. Meanwhile the Minister of DIAND announced (June 26, 1974) that a per capita grant totalling \$9.5 millions would be available immediately for this purpose. Within a few weeks of the announcement a senior official from Ottawa reported that the failure to communicate with Indian groups was because "some of our staff don't understand it" (*Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1974). At the same time it is a normal experience for Indians to have their funding cut off or withdrawn because of inadequate reporting of expenditures (the case of the Woodland Indian Cultural and Education Centre, Brantford, as reported in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, August 8, 1974).

One consequence of this whole process of trying to get and keep funds for legitimate purposes from DIAND is that Indian political organizations from the local band council to the regional and national organizations are kept in a chronic state of catering to officials in order to commence and keep operating not capital development, but minimal community services.

In my view the hazard in this system is that genuine Indian political activity must remain secondary to emergency and chronic problem activities.

4) Another area of policy direction which could prove to be a cul-de-sac is that of regional organizations involved in programmes rather than political activity. Some organizations have recognized the danger of this approach. The work,

the skills and the organization required to train personnel and administer programmes for local communities can absorb all the energies and talents available. Particularly in community development, a measure of its success is often the visibility of dissatisfaction and restiveness on the part of community members. As such this becomes of questionable value to a governmental bureaucracy which is trying to keep within a modest budget. Not only are total energies of organization absorbed in a policy of programmes, but there can be confrontation with government along with all the complications of a suspension of funds if not threats of trusteeship. ⁷¹

It may be that the now famous confrontation in the media between President Cardinal of Alberta and the Minister of DIAND is indicative of the continuing difficulties in the path of regional organizations. ⁷² Even more important, this kind of situation inhibits full attention given to political aspirations and activities.

5) In the whole gamut of the Indian relationship with government, the most crucial and most exposed position is that of the band chief. As an elected official he must continually demonstrate his ability to produce for his electorate. Often he is pressed by highly specific and individual details which in total become a chronic problem. In order however to accomplish anything for his community, he must deal with, negotiate with and pressure DIAND officials. In August of 1973 a senior regional DIAND official, in charge of community affairs within the province, summed up for me the major problem as he saw it. Following is a paraphrase of his statement. An older and experienced chief has learned to know us and can get a good deal from us for his community. When however, a young and inexperienced person is elected as chief, all the work of the old chief finishes and the whole band suffers. The novitiate can get little from the region office because he does not know how to do it.

Surely this kind of thinking about the system denies the whole concept of specialized service for which DIAND is in existence. The writer fails to understand why an elected chief must negotiate and pressure the civil servants for budgetary items for his community. Moreover, if he falls into this trap, he becomes so oc-

⁷¹ The Brantford case mentioned above may be an example of this problem.

⁷² See: Frideres (p. 118).

cupied with the dyadic relationships that he is unable to see the larger problem conceptually. This whole attitude is based on an assumption that Indians like to deal in inter-personal relationships. It may very well be more true that DIAND officials prefer to deal in this way, while claiming it to be "Indian custom."

Paradoxically, this whole system, unique and paternalistic, is not a result of liberal government policy. On the contrary it is an anachronism—an administration which just grew, Government policy for some years has been opposite to this. It has created organizations such as ARDA and DREE which offer substantial funding for regions of the country in need of development.

It would seem consistent with this recent and current government policy and practice (except in Indian matters) for Indian leaders to seek first and foremost a political direction which looked for a new relationship with government.

Current developments within Indian organizations suggest that this kind of change is coming about. At its August 1974 meeting in Vancouver, the National Indian Brotherhood resolved to become the Indian Political Party of Canada (*Globe and Mail*, August 8, 1974). The Cache Creek B.C. road blockages of mid-August and Labour Day week-end to protest housing policy on Bonaparte Reserve, established the principle of talking with politicians (the Minister and M.P.) rather than DIAND officials. Although the Parliament Hill confrontation of September 30 failed to connect directly with politicians, an apparent result of the demonstration was the first of a series of meetings of cabinet ministers with the executive of the Indian Political Party of Canada (National Indian Brotherhood). And at least one of the regional organizations, Grand Council Treaty Nine of Northern Ontario, has directed its delegation and brief to the minister of DIAND, thus bypassing the civil service (entitled *Our Philosophy of Approach Towards Local Government*, Timmins, October 16, 1974).

An important step has been taken in policy direction. The day of "imaginary" negotiation with civil servants, empowered only to administer and advise, seems finished. ⁷³ Powerful, concerted and persuasive political action towards negotiation with those who set policy will be required.

⁷³ The American Indian Historical Society newspaper, *Wasaja*, of San Francisco, editorializes on the American Indian problem with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington. Not only do they find it impossible to work with the

Finally, to be specific about policy directions, if the argument of this paper has any validity, Indians might see governments at present as their basic economy. Present levels of administered funding are merely for basic subsistence, welfare, education and some housing. Negotiation beyond this with the federal government could go towards a DREE style capital development rather than a per capita welfare formula.

With regard to provincial government negotiation, there are vital capital requirements of roads, buildings and industries to be pressed for. In addition however, there appears to be an area which to date has been neglected. I refer to what might be called social capital. Although much of the funding would come ultimately from the federal government, the initiative and direction for this would come from provincial government policy. Substantial funding of capital programmes in municipalities for residents is expended on custodial and specialized care for the aged, infirm and other categories, such as disturbed children. Through determined negotiation, provincial governments might see the wisdom of providing these services for Indian status and non-status people in their own communities rather than in urban centres. For a provincial government this kind of policy might result in substantial reduction of per them rates, hence overall budget saving. If local communities had control of per them rate services, the construction and service labour generated would provide a substantial economic input into the local economy.

In general the suggestion here is that Indian reserve communities, unlike municipalities, have a special relationship with governments. A former weakness of Indian strategy may have been to see one government as the appropriate source for funding. It would appear that a clear set of priorities should be urged politically on both levels of government at the same time. Regardless of the rhetoric of politicians about limited areas of jurisdiction, shared cost programmes, or inability to fit Indian needs into the present structures of capital funding, Indian leaders may make most headway by pressing for capital funding within the context of local government autonomy. A favourable political factor at present is the symbo-

BIA civil servants, but they find them in practice to be "in opposition to what has been decided by the courts, what has been spoken by the President, and what has been the position of Congress" (September 1974).

lic importance and visible success of younger, non-elected speakers such as Louis Cameron of White Dog Reserve. ⁷⁴

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⁷⁴ Rudy Platiel's report of the Minister's meeting with the 23 chiefs of Grand Council Treaty Three in Kenora is a case in point. The chiefs made it clear that militancy is a serious option which they have considered (*Globe and Mail*, November 9, 1974).

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Discussion *

Gary Potts : I would like to share an observation on what the first speaker has said. He mentioned that when the native population in the Northwest Territories is about 70%, we'll have native names. I suggest to him that if they were to give the Indian people control over the natural resources, we would give Indian names to all the lakes in that area under Anglo-Saxon names. Another thing I wanted to point out is related to the reasons why Indians could not charge settlers land rent for ancestral territories, for the use being made of the land or draw upon royalties from the extractions of natural resources that are made from the land. I also want to comment on the core funding. The core funding was about nine million dollars. It was supposed to have been for a year, it was cut to nine months. By the time it reached our particular band, it was cut again by 30% because of administration costs and we receive this only in quarterly installments which is very strictly controlled by the Indian Department. This does not allow us to develop any concept ourselves of actually budgeting money and that. There is another thing I wanted to comment on. I'd like to know what is the purpose of this modern society that is trying to look for the problems and give answers to the Indian society? Because, if I'm going to be a part of that modern society, I want to know what its long term objectives are, what the main purpose of it is. In getting back to the speaker before the coffee break, he mentioned that this was a highly sophisticated technical culture and my interpretation of that is that it is an artificial culture and it draws upon the natural resources of the land. I'd like to know what this system is going to draw upon when the natural resources are depleted? And that gets back to my original question of what is the purpose of modern society and what its objectives are? I'd like some answers along those lines.

Louis-Edmond Hamelin : Je vais laisser la question principale à mon collègue. Au sujet de la proportion de la population amérindienne du Nord, on est en présence de discussions sans fin. J'ai pris seulement les chiffres officiels où il y a

* Commentaires sur les conférences de L.-E. Hamelin et de R. W. Dunning.

52% de la population des Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest qui sont Inuit, Indiens et Métis. Les Amérindiens contestent ces chiffres : ils disent que nous pensons que c'est 70%. En fait, je n'ai pas d'opinion là-dessus. C'est une question d'arithmétique. Il faudrait, peut-être, suggérer au gouvernement fédéral d'effectuer des relevés, des recensements beaucoup plus complets auprès de la population du Nord. Il peut survenir exactement la même chose qu'en Alaska. Avant que l'on édicte la loi de 1971 à Washington, tout le monde était d'accord pour affirmer qu'il y avait à peu près 55,000 Indiens en Alaska. Après les règlements de la loi Nixon en décembre 1971, les Amérindiens se sont déclarés 100,000. Cela compte deux aspects. Sans doute, on comprend que ni les Américains ni les Canadiens ne parviennent à faire un compte exact des Amérindiens du Nord. Mais il y a aussi l'autre aspect. Du côté amérindien, en face d'une perspective de certaines compensations monétaires ou territoriales, il y a, peut-être, un certain gonflement de la population. C'est une question très difficile à apprécier. Je connais des Indiens des Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest qui vivent dans le territoire albertain et vice versa. Donc, ça devient très difficile et je pense que c'est une question secondaire. Dans l'ensemble, les Amérindiens des Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest sont assez nombreux pour réclamer leurs droits, et je ne peux pas discuter plus longtemps sur le pourcentage des Amérindiens, ça me semble être une question qu'on ne peut pas résoudre ici. Quant à la deuxième question qui est beaucoup plus importante, soit les objectifs de la société blanche, j'éprouve beaucoup de difficulté moi-même à les défendre, mais je pourrais vous inviter au Congrès du Moyen Nord à Chicoutimi où je suis ce soir le conférencier invité et où je parlerai justement de ces questions. Vous avez tout à fait raison, je pense que les Blancs n'ont jamais défini d'une façon claire leurs objectifs dans le Nord.

R.W. Dunning : I would like to add only that I am concerned if members in this conference, the white members, give a wrong impression to Indian people about all sorts of ideas on what should be, and so on and conceal the road to some kind of real development. I think some of us could be accused of, perhaps, being Indian lovers and we may not be your best friends in a sense. On the other hand, we could point out clearly objective measures that could be taken or define the road that could be travelled rather than rhetoric or ideals. I feel very strongly

about that, that you should criticize us very strongly on what precisely it is that we have in mind.

Claude Fortier : I was extremely interested by the highly relevant question raised by the band chief from Ontario about the objectives and purpose of our society. But the term technical -industrial society, and I think this is a concept which is being questioned from all sides, by our youth in particular who hold wide protests, has been used for the last few years to justify our western society in terms of technological development and increased wealth. The Club of Rome symposium on the subject clearly points to the need to consider other objectives. These objectives, the development, the industrial and economic growth, cannot by themselves provide sufficient justification for our very civilization. Many answers have been considered along the same lines. There was an OCDE report to the point which was quite indicative that the new trend in defining objectives for our western society-among which is the quality of life-makes it evident that technology would be quite secondary in helping to achieve these objectives. One has to take into consideration ecological factors so as to preserve our environment. In the last 10 years these ecological considerations have acquired increasing significance in many quarters. In addition to that, what is meant by quality of life? Quality of life means la possibilité de l'épanouissement individuel, c'est-à-dire que la société fournisse à l'individu les possibilités d'épanouissement dans les cadres qu'il s'est lui-même choisis. La semaine de travail diminue d'année en année. On peut concevoir que, dans deux décades, la semaine de travail, pour la grande majorité de notre civilisation, sera réduite de moitié. Alors on comprendra l'importance croissante de la qualité de l'existence. Cette qualité se traduisant par une possibilité de plus en plus grande d'épanouissement individuel, de manifestations de créativité, et où Indiens et Blancs peuvent se rejoindre sur le même terrain parce que ce que nous recherchons n'est pas du tout différent de ce qu'ils recherchent, quoique les manifestations de cette qualité et les modes d'y parvenir peuvent différer.

Mme Eleanor Sioui : Il faut qu'un soleil se couche et qu'un autre se lève. Je suis en chômage et donc j'ai beaucoup de temps pour la politique. J'aimerais dé-

crire aux gens ce que c'est que la terre pour *l'Indien*. C'est bon. Un nouveau nid qui vit, qui crie, une vieille porte, une vieillerie. C'est le printemps d'une journée, c'est un automne d'une année. Les temps se relèvent et se croisent. Lever du jour, coucher de la nuit, soleil levant, bois flamboyant. Ô grand esprit qui m'a moulue, parente des feuilles, pareille au jour. Suis-je comme eux, pas moins pas plus ? Tu es la vie, tu es l'amour. Nourris bien ta mère en retour. J'espère que je n'ai pas été trop sophistiquée. Je me demande si l'éducation est basée sur la culture de l'Indien et si un ministère de l'Écologie ne devrait pas créer ceci pour donner à l'Indien la possibilité de s'épanouir selon sa culture, selon ses conséquences. Le Dr Fortier tout à l'heure disait, on converge vers un seul but, un unique but, on ne veut plus d'acquisitions, on veut des loisirs et c'est nécessaire. Mais tout est pollué. On a le Grand Nord qui existe encore et c'est la seule place où on pourrait voir un soleil de minuit, où des gens du peuple pourraient prendre encore une bouffée d'air. Les Indiens, je crois, veulent encore conserver cela, et, si vous leur donnez la chance de pouvoir travailler en ce sens-là, je crois que tout le monde en bénéficierait. Si on parle du ministère des Affaires indiennes, il a lutté contre les associations des Indiens. Si on mange dans la main de quelqu'un on doit alors se soumettre à son idéologie. Au lieu d'être démocratiques, ces structures sont plutôt devenues des oligarchies où quelques-uns d'entre eux peuvent évoluer. Quand on voit l'Ontario où, d'un côté, il existe une réserve où tout le monde croupit dans la misère et l'inaction et, de l'autre côté du chemin, l'abondance qui règne, il faut se poser des questions. Est-ce que l'on laisse croupir volontairement le peuple afin d'en faire un génocide ou si on lui donne les possibilités de vivre aussi ? Il y a aussi l'autre génocide qui est beaucoup plus camouflé quand une jeune Indienne va dans un hôpital et qu'on arrange tout afin qu'elle n'ait plus d'enfants parce qu'il y a trop d'enfants indiens, là aussi c'est un problème !

Lita Boudreau : I find it very interesting to note that several of the speakers at this conference feel free to criticize the Department of Indian Affairs and yet there are no "senior officials from DIAND" slated to speak at the conference in an official capacity.

Ed. Pinay : I'd like to make a comment rather than ask a question. Core funding was mentioned very briefly this morning and also by Chief Potts just a while ago. I want to give a little more detailed examples. We quote the figure of 9.5 millions. We looked at that and my own people said that it's good. We'll get you back again. I took a year's leave of absence to devote more time to chief duties because I have to make a living too. So they said good, we're going to keep you again. You can get your salary out of that and we'll stay back here and we'll get things done again. About the time it gets down to us, the grass roots people in other words, there's 9.5 million dollars up there and it looks very good to our people. But I think it ended up something in the neighbourhood of about 3 million dollars across Canada. It came right down to us, our portion was around \$17,000, I think, but by the time we sat down and negotiated with federal officials, it went down further to \$12,000. Part of that \$12,000 was \$5,900 and some odd dollars which came from our administration program. The year before we had received \$5,000 as an honorarium, so we were no better off than we were before. And here I am still working for the Department of Indian Affairs and I can't devote more time to being chief. So we are no better off and people are saying, gee, you're moonlighting, you're getting more money as Chief. I get \$20 a month for being chief of my band. I have to make a living too. Besides that, this morning I wanted to comment a little bit on Dr. Barber. I'll call him Dr. Barber until he starts calling me Ed. Anyway, we're putting in a claim, a lands claim, where long ago, I remember as a child, I used to listen to the older people speak. There was one old chap who used to visit my folks quite a bit, he lived in a tent beside us and I went down there to listen to this person and my mother would say-go on, go out and play, don't come around here, don't bother us. But I used to hang around there and I remember this old man, he was about 90 years old at that time, saying that when the treaties were made, so he must have been a young man when the treaties were made, and his understanding of the treaties was that we only gave a portion of Saskatchewan to the white man. We didn't give him anything else. And so, we're hoping that we can make a claim in the near future based on this. If we can solidify the thing, we'll make a claim. Saskatchewan is not owned by white people anymore. They got rid of their portion in the 1930's. It's all over the Atlantic ocean and it's floating around there somewhere, so we own Saskatchewan.

R.D. Sparham : I'm glad that Dr. Dunning, at the end of his remarks, made the general comment about the need to refer to the difficulties that he had been enumerating rather impressively to the body politic generally rather than to DIAND. That is really the question to ask, not does DIAND do this or that? Does it truly reflect in this action the kind of country we are? Is it in fact a fair reflection of what Canada expects of it? My guess is that the answer is yes. It does. And this raises for me what I regard as the first principle as I see it underlying the remarks of both Dr. Hamelin and Dr. Dunning. It is, what do you mean by self-determination? The political meaning of self-determination is what is at issue here. All of the examples and incidents and problems rarely resolve themselves in the last analysis to what it is you believe the people should have. Most of our discussions, including even the critical discussion of Dr. Dunning, and even perhaps the case of Dr. Hamelin, are being based on an assumption that self-determination is something that some people award to other people at some point in the course of development. You can't, I suppose, undo all of history, but the point that Dorian made last night about a moral crisis, if it means anything, it means a stage that we've reached only in our time and in our own generation where we begin to ask ourselves whether or not we can do something to atone for or to redress the moral grievances which have accumulated over a long period of time. In the case of Dr. Barber's remarks, he was quoting 200 years and 300 years. As recently as 50 years ago, these problems that we have here are the problems of the Whites. They wouldn't have been problems 50 years ago. The question really is, are they yet problems for the majority of our people? Is there really a moral crisis? Dr. Elias, I think, was implying that whether or not there is a moral crisis, he won't count. His more or less marxist analysis of the scene which he was putting forward I think is the only possible solution to the difficulty. In spite of the rather daunting view that our first speaker last night had of Mr. Collier many years ago, I personally don't think that that's the only solution, what he called the structural solution that based upon the banding together of people with economic and class difficulties in order to confront our current system. I feel that there really isn't anything other than a proposition that we have to try to reach a concept in our own minds of an original position. And this is what I understand the native people and the native organizations to be saying. We are not going to be limited by a position which you have thrust upon us and in which we now find ourselves. It's all right for you to say, that water is under the bridge and we can't push it back

again. We didn't help to push the water under the bridge. What we want is to start with, admittedly it can only be a theoretical or moral original position in which we say it was all wrong. Morally, as we now believe it, or at least I suppose we believe it, the colonial proposition was always wrong. There was never a time in any people's history when they ought not to have been self-determining. So we have to devise programs not which give more or fewer houses to an Indian band, which form this or that structure in the Northwest Territories, but which are based upon the proposition that the people who are aboriginal in the country always had morally the right to self-determination. And our only justification in our relations with them is in what we are able to do to enable them genuinely to exercise the right of self-determination. If that is done, it's not too late in the Northwest Territories, we could have, if the native people wanted it, an eleventh province. We should make another province not like the others. You make quite properly, Dr. Hamelin, the point that it could be yet another French problem up there. What they are presently faced with is the proposition of selling. We are not trying to conquer or cheat them, we are trying to seduce them out of it. What we mean by self-determination is what really counts and what I think underlies all that you have been saying and I would like to hear yours or anybody else's comments about what really it means now.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

Third Session

Under the chairmanship
of Fred Carrothers

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Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

THIRD SESSION

The Native Offender in Canada

Douglas A. SCHMEISER *

Résumé

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La plupart des chiffres utilisés dans cette étude descriptive de l'incarcération des Indigènes du Canada s'appuient sur le recensement de 1971 ou sur des statistiques plus récentes se rapportant aux populations autochtones de l'Ouest canadien. Le concept « Indigène » utilisé inclut à la fois les Indiens enregistrés ou non enregistrés, les Esquimaux et les Métis. L'image qui se dégage de l'analyse de la criminalité indigène est sombre et invite à la réflexion ceux qui assument des responsabilités dans l'administration de la justice. L'analyse est présentée sous les titres suivants : l'admission dans les centres de détention, le genre d'infraction commise, la consommation d'alcool, la durée de la sentence et le taux de récidive.

L'auteur résume dans dix constatations, à la fin de son article, les faits saillants de son étude descriptive :

1) un nombre disproportionné d'Indigènes est condamné et envoyé en prison;

* Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Saskatchewan.

2) cette disproportion est accentuée dans le cas de la population féminine;

3) les infractions des Indigènes sont en général moins graves que celles des non-Indigènes;

4) la durée de la sentence est plus courte chez les Indigènes que chez les Blancs;

5) un grand nombre d'autochtones se retrouvent en prison parce qu'ils refusent de payer les amendes;

6) les infractions les plus fréquentes sont l'assaut, le vol, le bris et effraction, la création d'incidents et la conduite en état d'ébriété;

7) *les Indigènes ont un taux de récidive plus élevé que les Blancs et un dossier plus volumineux qu'eux;*

8) *l'indigène possède peu de chance d'entrer dans le système de la probation;*

9) *la plupart des délits indigènes ont un rapport direct à la consommation d'alcool;*

10) la dixième constatation est une recommandation. Tout progrès dans le système correctionnel pour les Indigènes doit se traduire par une réduction dans le nombre de ceux qui vont en prison parce qu'ils négligent de payer leurs amendes, par leur insertion dans le système probationnaire, par l'établissement de centres de détention sur les réserves, par la création de cliniques de désintoxication, et par l'engagement de policiers indigènes et d'Indigènes oeuvrant dans le système judiciaire.

L'auteur nous laisse sur cette réflexion : notre système actuel est menacé de perdre sa crédibilité parce qu'il applique aux délinquants indigènes des règles différentes.

The record in Canada of the conviction and incarceration of persons of native origin constitutes a sad story. In order to describe that story, some preliminary points must be made. The term "Native" is used to include Indians, Metis and Eskimos, and no distinction is made between registered and non-registered Indians. The term "offender" includes persons prosecuted under both federal and provincial law, where incarceration may be imposed. Population figures referred to are from the 1971 census, and other statistics will be the most recent available. Comprehensive Canadian statistics do not exist, and most of the available data come from Western Canada, where the proportion of native population is higher.

Incarceration Statistics

In Saskatchewan, 12.7% of the population of 926,242 persons is of native background. In recent years slightly more than half of all admissions to provincial correctional centres are of native origin. About 90% of all female admissions are native. In the federal penitentiary at Prince Albert, which serves both Alberta and Saskatchewan, about 25 to 30% of inmates are of native origin.

In Manitoba, 12% of the population of 988,247 persons is of native origin, but Natives constitute about 45% of all admissions to provincial correctional institutions. The native percentage of female admissions is about 70%. A study of arrests in 1969 in the City of Winnipeg by Magistrate Ian V. Dubienski Q.C. and Professor Stephen Skelly showed that while native people constituted about 3% of the population of greater Winnipeg, they accounted for 27.2% of the arrests. Of those of native origin who were arrested, 30% were female and 70% were male. Of all others arrested, 11.2% were female and 88.8% were male.

The native population of Alberta is about 5.5% out of a total of 1,627,874 persons. About 25% of admissions to provincial correctional institutions are of native origin.

The native population of British Columbia is estimated at 5% of the total of 2,184,621. About 15% of all admissions to provincial institutions are native, and the native female percentage of admissions is from 25 to 30. Natives constitute

approximately 10 to 15% of admissions to federal penal institutions in British Columbia.

The native percentage of population is 2.1 in Ontario, 1.7 in Quebec, 1 in New Brunswick, and smaller in the other maritime provinces. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive information available concerning native criminality in these provinces.

The Type of Offences Committed

General statistics concerning the type of offences committed by native persons incarcerated in an institution are available from the Provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia.

In Saskatchewan for 1970-1971, Natives accounted for 71.6% of all breaches of provincial and municipal by-laws by sentenced inmates. The vast majority of these offences were breaches of the *Liquor Act* and the *Vehicles Act*. The usual punishment in such instances is a fine, and as will be pointed out later, many Natives are incarcerated for default of payment of the fine. Native offenders accounted for 48.7% of federal offences committed by sentenced inmates in provincial institutions, almost all of these offences being under the Criminal Code, the *Narcotic Control Act*, or the *Indian Act*.

Of federal offences, Natives committed a significantly larger percentage (68.7) of offences against the person, rather than offences not against the person (45.8). In the former category, the highest ratios were in the areas of assault, wounding and rape. In the latter category, the highest ratios were in the areas of escapes and bail jumping, causing a disturbance, interfering with the police, and offences under the *Indian Act*. The most common crime committed, by both Natives and non-Natives, was theft or breaking and entering. The lowest proportion of offences committed by Natives, only 5.7%, concerned narcotics offences.

The statistics in June 1973 at the Saskatchewan Penitentiary in Prince Albert were similar. Natives had committed 30.8% of offences against the person, the highest percentage being assaults. They had committed 25.4% of offences not

against the person, the highest percentage being theft and breaking and entering, and the lowest percentage being drug offences (4.6).

In Manitoba, the study by Dubienski and Skelly, previously referred to, showed that in 1969, 15.3% of native arrests in Winnipeg were for criminal offences, 64.8% were under the *Liquor Control Act*, 2.4% were under the *Highway Traffic Act*, 2.2% were for other provincial offences, 8.6% were pursuant to warrants of committal, and 6.7% were unknown.

In a study of native inmates in the Manitoba Penitentiary in 1970 for the *McCaskill Report*, it was found that break, enter and theft and robbery accounted for 64.8% of the native offences. Violent crimes such as assault and manslaughter accounted for a further 25.9%. There were very few other crimes committed by Natives.

In British Columbia for the period from April 1, 1972, to December 31, 1972, the highest proportion of native offenders incarcerated provincially was in the category of sexual offences, public morals and disorderly conduct, which category includes causing a disturbance, trespassing, vagrancy and public mischief; and in the category of offences against the person, including homicide, criminal negligence, driving offences, and assaults. Communications received from police detachments in British Columbia all referred to the large number of native arrests for liquor and driving offences, and for causing a disturbance.

When one reviews the information on native criminality coming from Western Canada, certain patterns become evident. The greatest area of involvement of Natives with the criminal process is in the area of provincial offences relating to alcohol and driving. The types of offences committed by Natives who are incarcerated are generally less serious than the offences committed by non-Natives. The most common criminal offences committed by Natives are theft, breaking and entering, assaults, and causing a disturbance. Compared to non-native offenders, Natives have a higher percentage of offences against the person.

The Use of Alcohol by Native Offenders

Police officers and judicial officials are unanimous in their comment that there is a very high correlation between native criminality and the use of alcohol. Alcohol may be directly involved in the charge itself, such as in the offences of being intoxicated in a public place or impaired driving; or it may be a motivating factor in other offences, such as assault or theft while under the influence of alcohol or in order to obtain funds for alcohol. Statistical data is scarce, but what exists supports the high correlation theory.

In Saskatchewan in 1970-1971, native offenders made up 861, or 74.6%, of the 1,154 persons sentenced to provincial correctional centres for offenders under the *Liquor Act*. Native offenders also made up 79 of 94, or 85%, of sentence admissions under the *Liquor Licensing Act*. The percentages were particularly high for native female offenders, - 95% of female sentence admissions under the *Liquor Act* and 96.6% under the *Liquor Licensing Act*. There were 206 admissions for intoxicated driving, and Natives accounted for 132 of these, or 64.1 %. There were 37 admissions for impaired driving, and 24 admissions, or 64.9%, were of Natives. There were 268 admissions for the offence of driving with more than 8 mg. of alcohol in 100 mls. of blood, and Natives accounted for 181, or 67.5%.

There is not as much specific information available for the Province of Manitoba, but the statistics available also support the high correlation between native offences and the use of alcohol. In 1970-1971, there were 439 native people incarcerated at the Brandon Correctional Institution for 636 separate offences, and 199 of these offences were breaches of the *Liquor Control Act*. Similarly, the Dubinski-Skelly study of arrests in Winnipeg in 1969 reported that 36% of all native offences were under the *Liquor Control Act*.

A 1970 survey of files of native inmates at the federal penitentiary at Stony Mountain, Manitoba, and at the Manitoba Provincial Gaol at Headingley, done for the *McCaskill Report*, revealed that 70.5% of the crimes resulting in incarceration directly involved alcohol. As well, 82% of the inmates were considered to have alcohol problems at the time the crime was committed.

The Corrections Branch of the Province of Alberta does not categorize by racial origin the types of offences resulting in incarceration. However, the Native Counselling Services of Alberta, which provides a courtworker and counselling service for Natives charged with an offence, reported a very high incidence of alcohol problems among its clients. During 1971, it handled a total caseload of 3,469 cases, and reported that "the element of alcohol was basic to 97% of the cause/effect relationship."

Sentencing of the Native Offender

The Saskatchewan statistics indicate that Natives sentenced to jail have usually committed less serious offences than non-Natives, and that the length of sentence tends to be shorter. In 1970-1971, Natives accounted for 59.4% of all sentence admissions to Saskatchewan's provincial correctional centres, but served only 50.2% of total days served. Sentences based on federal offences accounted for 35.9% of native sentence admissions, but 56.9% of non-native sentence admissions. Correspondingly, 72.5% of days served by Natives and 82.7% of days served by non-Natives were for federal offences. Convictions for provincial and municipal offences by native offenders accounted for 27.5% of all sentence admissions in 1970-1971, but only 6.2% of total days served.

The same trend was observed in June, 1973, at the federal penitentiary in Prince Albert, where native inmates had a higher proportion of sentences in the short sentence category. Of all sentences being served by Natives, 82.1 % were of five years or less in duration, whereas 52.8% of sentences by non-Natives were in this category.

One of the serious problems in Saskatchewan, which explains to some extent the previously described provincial statistics, is the large number of Natives in jail for non-payment of fines. In 1970-1971, there were a total of 4,892 provincial admissions, of which Natives accounted for 2,910 or 59.4%. Of these, there were 2,309 initial jail sentences, of which Natives accounted for 1,123, or 48.6%; 226 sentences of both jail and a fine, of which Natives accounted for 117, or 51.8%;

and 2,357 fine-default admissions, of which Natives accounted for 1,670, or 70.9%.

To interpret these statistics, one should observe that 57.4% of all native admissions were for fine-defaults, whereas only 37.4% of non-native admissions were for fine-defaults. One-third of all people admitted to Saskatchewan jails were Natives sentenced for non-payment of fines. However, such admissions accounted for only 18.1% of all days served by Natives.

The practice of imprisonment for non-payment of fines requires reevaluation in today's society. It does not rehabilitate the offender, as is evident from the high recidivism rate in regulatory offences. It destroys the deterrent value of prison. It is very expensive, being the most costly form of supervision, and it actually penalizes society for the wrongs of the offender. It also gives the appearance of being discriminatory against the poor.

It is also noticeable in Saskatchewan that the native offender is less likely to be put on probation as a form of sentence. In 1971-1972, Natives were involved in 26.1% of offences for which probation was granted, but were serving 64.5% of all jail sentences. There appear to be two main reasons for this. As indicated earlier, native offenders are convicted of proportionately more provincial, municipal and regulatory offences, where probation has traditionally not been viewed as an appropriate sentencing alternative. Also, most native people live in rural areas, where probation supervision is not as feasible under the present probation structure.

Recidivism Rates

As of June, 1973, proportionately more Natives in the Saskatchewan Penitentiary had prior records than non-Natives. There were 87 Natives incarcerated for offences against the person, and of these, 93.1% had prior convictions for offences against the person, and 94.2% had prior convictions for offences not against the person. Of the 204 non-native offenders incarcerated for offences against the person, 83.3% had prior convictions for offences both against and not against the person. Of the 63 Natives incarcerated for offences not against the person, 65.1% had prior convictions for offences against the person, and 96.8% had prior convictions

tions for offences not against the person. The corresponding figures for the 188 non-Natives so incarcerated were 42.6% and 93.7%.

The pattern of previous records of Natives and non-Natives had both similarities and differences. Persons incarcerated for offences against the person had about the same number of prior convictions in both categories, while persons incarcerated for offences not against the person had significantly more previous convictions in that same category than in the category of offences against the person. However, native inmates had longer records for each type of offence. They also had a greater prior involvement in crimes against the person, even when presently sentenced for offences not against the person.

The only available Saskatchewan provincial statistics on recidivism concern multiple admissions to provincial jails, and also indicate a higher native recidivism rate. In 1971-1972, there were a total of 895 people admitted more than once, and Natives made up 685, or 76.5% of this number. Natives accounted for 498 of 675 offenders with two admissions, or 73.8%; 132 of 162 with three admissions, or 81.0%; 38 of 43 with four admissions, or 88.4%; and 15 of 15 with five or more admissions, or 100%.

The Dubiński-Skelley study of arrests in Winnipeg in 1969 seems to parallel the Saskatchewan statistics. Of the 3,979 non-Natives arrested, 2,778 were arrested once, and 1,201, or 30.2%, were arrested more than once. Of the 1,493 Natives arrested, 878 were arrested once, and 615, or 41.2%, were arrested more than once.

General Conclusions

Canadian statistical data on the native offender suggest the following general conclusions:

- 1) A disproportionate number of native persons in Canada are being convicted of offences and being sent to jail;

- 2) Native women constitute a much greater proportion of the female prison population than do native men of the male prison population;
- 3) Native offenders usually are involved in less serious crimes than non-native offenders;
- 4) The average length of sentence served by a native offender is less than that served by a non-native offender;
- 5) A substantial and disproportionate number of native offenders are sent to jail for non-payment of fines;
- 6) The most common federal offences committed by Natives are assault, theft, breaking and entering, causing a disturbance, and driving offences involving the use of alcohol. However, the highest percentage of federal offences that are committed by Natives are offences against the person. Natives are rarely involved in narcotics offences. The most common provincial and municipal offences committed by Natives are liquor and driving offences;
- 7) Native offenders have a higher recidivism rate and longer records than non-Natives, particularly of crimes against the person;
- 8) The native offender is less likely to receive probation;
- 9) Most native crime is associated with the use of alcohol;
- 10) In order to move forward in our treatment of the native offender, we must consider the reduction of the number of incarcerations for non-payment of fines and the provision of more probation and supervisory facilities for native offenders, of local detention centres, of detoxification centres, of native constables and native courtworkers. Our present system is in some danger of losing its credibility because it results in substantially different treatment of the native offender.

Discussion

Francine McKenzie : Monsieur le président, je voudrais remercier le conférencier mais toutefois j'estime qu'il peut être assez dangereux de livrer une étude qui est presque exclusivement de nature statistique sur un phénomène aussi fondamental et un indice aussi important du profil d'une société que celui de la criminalité. Alors je demande que le débat soit ouvert pour qu'on essaie ensemble d'apporter des éléments essentiels pour mieux comprendre ce phénomène plutôt que de livrer de façon toute sèche des chiffres qui ont sans doute une utilité mais dans le cadre d'une analyse approfondie. Pour cette raison, je demanderais à l'organisateur du colloque qu'au moment de la publication il ajoute les apports substantiels qui ne manqueront pas d'être produits durant cette période de questions.

Fred Carrothers : Someone once observed that statistics should be used as a lamppost drunk uses more for support than for illumination. There are all kinds of conclusions that one is tempted to draw from the data that Dr. Schmeiser has given us. The correlation between his points four, five and six is pretty obvious, that is the length of time in jail with the proportion of people who serve a sentence rather than paying the fine, and it also ties in with the middle point that he made.

Lucien Laforest : Je suis particulièrement intéressé par le niveau de consommation d'alcool chez les Indiens. Je pense que les statistiques que vous venez de nous livrer confirment ce que deux étudiants ont pu constater cet été dans deux réserves du Québec, à savoir que le phénomène est d'envergure. Il vaudrait la peine que nous examinions ce phénomène de plus près afin d'éviter d'arriver à des conclusions hâtives erronées. Personnellement, j'estime qu'il y a danger de considérer la consommation d'alcool comme un facteur de la délinquance ou de la criminalité. À mon avis, ce phénomène-là ne peut se comprendre que dans une perspective plus large à l'intérieur de laquelle on tiendrait compte des conditions de vie qui sont faites aux Indiens et qui expliquent, peut-être, leur réaction lorsqu'ils sont en état d'alcoolisation ou d'intoxication. J'estime que la consommation d'al-

cool, qui est habituellement pris à fortes doses et sur des périodes de plusieurs jours à la fois, et ceci coïncide ordinairement avec l'arrivée de la prestation d'assistance, le chèque d'assistance sociale, ne fait que déclencher des pulsions agressives inhibées en temps normal. La consommation d'alcool comme telle ne peut jouer qu'un rôle instrumental dans la criminalité. M. Schmeiser, vous avez proposé à la fin de votre exposé qu'on établisse des centres de désintoxication pour les Indiens. Personnellement, je suis très sceptique sur l'efficacité de centres de désintoxication et je peux même faire appel à l'expérience des médecins oeuvrant dans ces centres de désintoxication pour confirmer mes dires. Connaissant le récidivisme très élevé de ceux qui sont traités dans ces centres et qui, finalement, ne font que dépenser l'argent du Trésor inutilement, je me demande s'il ne faudrait pas trouver une nouvelle formule. La réhabilitation des Indiens qui consomment beaucoup d'alcool, et cela s'applique souvent à une majorité des Indiens sur une réserve, doit être conçue à l'intérieur d'un programme beaucoup plus large de réhabilitation sociale - ou peut-être même de réforme sociale sur les réserves -qu'un simple effort de désintoxication.

Douglas Schmeiser : If I could respond to the comment made, I certainly don't disagree with anything that you said. It struck me though that perhaps I should point out that in many provinces of Canada, the figures that I gave you are accurate to the effect that a person who is found drunk in a public place is no longer to be arrested but is simply incarcerated and then let go the next day without any charge being laid. And for the most part, I think that that change is a good one. But it's rather interesting to look at some of those detention figures which reflect a high percentage of people of native background who have been detained. It is also rather interesting that some jurisdictions have now gone back to a half-way approach and have amended their laws to provide that if a person is picked up more than three times in any year, that he can be charged rather than being let go the next morning. I think though that that indicates some recognition by the law that the criminal process should not be used for someone who obviously has a very serious social problem and really should not be viewed as a criminal problem in the ordinary sense. Probably it's a very good thing.

Yvan Simonis : J'aurais aimé, dans les statistiques, avoir des détails supplémentaires. Il est fort probable que si l'on avait des statistiques réserve par réserve, le renseignement statistique serait beaucoup plus révélateur. Je suis convaincu que l'on pourrait établir une corrélation supplémentaire, c'est-à-dire, étudier les causes pour lesquelles dans certaines réserves le problème de l'alcool ne se pose à peu près pas et dans certaines autres, il se pose beaucoup. Autrement dit, je pense, comme on l'a déjà dit, que c'est un contexte social qui est la cause première de comportements qui deviennent des symptômes de quelque chose. Si vous me permettez, j'ai deux exemples, deux images à présenter, parce que le problème est évidemment très complexe. Je connais une famille dont le fils a 6 ans, il en a 7 maintenant, et qui faisait encore pipi au lit. Il a changé de famille il y a deux mois maintenant et une semaine après ce changement de famille, c'était terminé. Ce changement n'a pas passé par la médecine, ni par des piqûres lombaires, ni par quoi que ce soit ! L'épidémiologie nous le dit et nous le redit, et c'est la même chose pour la consommation d'alcool : le taux de fréquence d'apparition des maladies n'est évidemment pas le même dans différents milieux sociaux qui sont dans des conditions socio-économiques différentes, qui sont plus ou moins dépossédés, qui ont perdu plus ou moins leur propre autonomie. Une des seules manières d'être qui reste pour les milieux les plus dépossédés c'est, par exemple, d'être malade. C'est comme s'il ne leur restait que leur corps pour s'exprimer, par la maladie. À cette occasion, soudainement, le milieu s'intéresse de nouveau à eux, la famille vient les voir, le médecin vient les voir, l'infirmière aussi, etc., ils sont traités, disons, socialement, d'une meilleure manière. Mais quand ils sont guéris, ils sont malades socialement. Vraiment, je pense qu'il faut voir cette maladie sociale comme un symptôme, dont probablement les causes sont de notre côté et pas du leur. Autrement dit, nous produisons notre propre problème et si nous voyons des problèmes dans ce comportement chez les Indiens, cherchons les causes chez nous et pas chez eux.

Gilles Larochelle : Mon intervention fait suite à celle de M. Simonis. Il me semble que, dans les chiffres présentés par le Dr Schmeiser, il y a un élément qui est absent de l'évaluation statistique. C'est sûr que lorsqu'on parle d'un accusé ou d'un offenseur, on parle aussi d'un accusateur. J'aimerais définir le problème qui se pose au niveau justement de la société qui accuse, pour des délits plus ou moins

graves, un Indien ou un autochtone. J'aimerais relier cela à deux conclusions qu'a tirées le Dr Schmeiser, la troisième et la quatrième. Si on se demandait, par exemple, si la justice est égale pour tous, c'est-à-dire, pour les Indiens et les non-Indiens. Je me demande alors si on pourrait se servir de la corrélation que le Dr Schmeiser a établie entre sa troisième conclusion, dans laquelle il constate que les offenses réalisées par les Indiens sont moins graves que celles réalisées par les non-Indiens, et la quatrième, dans laquelle il dit que la durée d'incarcération pour les Indiens est moins longue. Je pense que les statistiques sont intéressantes, mais elles sont aussi dangereuses. Si cette corrélation doit nous laisser penser que, effectivement, s'il y a une incarcération moins longue pour des offenses moins graves, c'est que la justice est la même pour tous. Je pense que ce serait faire mentir les statistiques à ce stade-ci. À mon avis, il faudrait mettre en relation, au niveau des statistiques, la durée de l'incarcération d'un accusé par rapport à l'offense commise. Dans ce contexte de l'utilisation de la statistique, on pourrait obtenir une donnée beaucoup plus juste sur cette notion de justice égalitaire entre les autochtones et les non-autochtones.

Douglas Schmeiser : I would like to comment on that and also on some of the previous comments that were made. I haven't purported to evaluate these statistics. I have attempted to present them to you. I think that they suggest certain things, but I've left the suggestions to each of you and I've left out the explanations of them. I wish to deal with the last point that was mentioned. First of all, about the length of incarceration of native offenders, one would have to spend a lifetime doing it. But, certainly from my own observations, generally speaking, native offenders are sentenced to a lesser amount in jail than are white offenders for the same offence. It's very identifiable in Northern Canada and in Western Canada, that, generally speaking, courts tend to be more lenient on native offenders for the same offence than they tend to be on white offenders. There are all kinds of reasons for this. At some stage, that becomes a dangerous proposition when the native offender himself realizes that; I've spoken to native persons who themselves are very concerned about the notion that they automatically get a much smaller fine, and when the recognition comes, then, of course it becomes a rather difficult thing. Mr. Justice Morrow has stated in one of his judgments that he would never sentence an Eskimo offender to the same length of term than a

white offender, the reason being that the life-span is less and, accordingly, the same length of time would produce a much greater share of that man's life so to speak. He feels, on that justification alone, some lesser amount is justifiable.

It's rather interesting when you go into the history of Drybones case; the legislation in Drybones did not involve discrimination against Indians at all. It involved discrimination in favour of Indians and that's how the case arose. It's a story that not many people know. But in fact, in the Northwest Territories, for the offence of being drunk in a public place, it was generally the practice to charge all people under the territorial ordinance and if a person was an Indian he was given usually a 10 dollar or perhaps a 20 dollar fine. But if it was a white person, he was usually given 25 dollars or 50 dollars as a fine. The prosecuting authorities were somewhat concerned about it because they thought it didn't have the appearance of justice. In order to justify it, they adopted the practice of charging the Indian offender under the *Indian Act* and charging the white offender under the territorial ordinance with the end result that it wouldn't look so bad in terms of the different penalty because they were charged under different statutes. In fact, in its operation, the provision in the *Indian Act*, which was found discriminatory in the Drybones case, was actually used in terms of favouring the Indian offender in so far as the penalty was concerned.

I want to comment as well on something that the previous speaker mentioned and that is the question of the alcohol problem. Obviously, I wouldn't have used the statistics unless I thought it was significant. Obviously again the statistics will vary between certain parts of Canada and between certain reserves, but the problem is a general one. It's identifiable in all of Western Canada. I can't speak for Eastern Canada and there are no statistics available. It is very identifiable in the Northwest Territories. A number of years ago, I spent a summer with Judge Morrow on circuit when he was visiting all of the settlements. He was hearing cases for about two months and I accompanied him and sat on every case. We never encountered a single case in the whole summer, where a native person was charged with an offence, who had not consumed alcohol or where alcohol was not in some way a motivating factor. You can say that that's simply an expression of deeper underlying social causes and I don't disagree with that at all. But I do want to make the point that there is an incredibly high correlation in that kind of situation. Many Natives themselves have realized this because there are many propo-

sals now in various parts of the country whereby natives themselves are attempting to prevent the distribution of alcohol on various reserves with varying success. Again, I suggest that there is a recognition by native persons that there is a very serious problem with respect to the use of alcohol and attempts are now being made to try and curb that use. It is a very difficult problem in a society which strives itself on giving equal treatment and having equal laws. It would be very simple to say, well we should prohibit certain people from using alcohol or certain groups of people. But this produces very difficult problems and it is not one that I have any easy solution for at all.

Ed. Pinay : I guess I don't have to introduce myself. I spoke this morning, but I feel like a person that has just been charged, as Dr. Schmeiser has discharged his statistics to us. Maybe one of the things that is running through your minds right now is: "What are you doing about these statistics as an Indian person and as a Chief?" We are trying to do something about these statistical figures. When we first came upon them, we were staggered, we didn't realize that they were this high, but now I can realize Dr. Schmeiser has often been asked. "How come the statistics are so high?" And I guess it is because of the kind of attorneys that defend us, they don't do any thinking. So that is one of the reasons. But anyway, I would like to relate a lot of the things we are attempting in Saskatchewan. I think it is a first in Canada, by the way. We now have our own Justice of the Peace. I don't know what it relates to in other provinces, but as far as I know, maybe some of you learned people will relate some person. He is now a Magistrate by the way, but he is a Justice of the Peace. He is going to begin hearing cases as of October 22nd on our reserve and he is going to be hearing, at the start, guilty cases and both white and Indian people are going to come before him. Their councils are going to play a very major role in the sentences. But they are going to be referred to us, and I think that many of the sentences are going to be different from what they were in the past because we know our own people. We shall put them on probation as this is why the statistics are so high now. Lots of our own people do that, they won't pay a fine, they'd much rather spent the time in jail and they are in there for 15 days. There are people who have been in jail for five to ten years. Not on the one long stretch, but over a period of years and learn some of the tricks of the trade, so to speak. And so they practice it when they come out. In only doing

15 days, they become criminals in people's minds. I'll leave that as such now. Band Councilors can also become probation officers. We can find a contract with the Justice Department in Saskatchewan to be probation officers. Dr. Schmeiser mentioned a while ago that because of the lack of probation officers, we cannot sentence inmates to a probation. But they can now do that if that Council so desires. As a matter of fact, in the last two years I've had two people under my wing and they report every week, I think every Tuesday night, to me of their activities and I, in turn, report back to the probation officer whom I am supposed to report to. But we do have, I guess, an alcohol problem on reserves which is maybe a symptom of other problems. When my people first began to read, they read a great big sign DRINK CANADA DRY; so we've been attempting to do that ever since! But all in all, I think we're attempting to lower these staggering statistics. Maybe they are staggering to you, but they are not to us now. Just yesterday, October 17th I believe, I was invited to a conference in Regina to deal with the short-term offenders. What do we do with these people? Now I don't know what the outcome of that conference will be, but I will know because I sent my band manager out there for me and I brought him up on some of the ideas that I have. So these are things we are attempting to do, like I said before I felt pretty guilty reading these statistics as I am from Saskatchewan. May I just conclude by saying that we also heard at one time that beer is fattening, so an Indian person tries to get fat overnight!

Douglas Schmeiser : The expression "staggering statistics" is unfortunately faithful. When I was in Frobisher Bay on a Commission to make a recommendation to the federal government on the development of government in the North, we discovered that people living in Frobisher Bay had to give a three days notice to the liquor store where they wished to purchase liquor. This was a technique that was being used, I presume, to try to cut down on impulse buying. At least that was the explanation given to us. When we held hearings in Fort Ray, which I think was the most disturbing experience I've been through, I'm sure Fort Ray is a lot different now that it was then. One of the people who stood up in the open meeting said that the price of liquor was so high by the time they've paid to send the order into Yellowknife and have the liquor delivered back on the bus and pay the driver whatever extra he requires for his services, there was no money left

over for food and clothing. Compare that with conditions in Pelley Bay. I don't think I've ever visited any happier community anywhere. It is a delightful place with delightful people and I was very taken by the remark that was made by one of the commentators that perhaps we need to get behind some of these statistics and see what variations there are between the various communities that indigenous people propose. I don't think this is really getting anywhere but it is a problem that anybody who has been in the North will recognize. I expect that statistics relating to the consumption of alcohol of white people in the North, compared to the white people in the South, will probably show a comparable disparity.

Richard Salisbury : I only want to take up the point that somebody was making about the inference that presumably could be thrown from the statistics about the accuser. The fact that these are statistics partly about Indians but very much more about who are the people who arrest people, what sort of behavior do policeman take note of? What sort of behavior of the Magistrates or the Judges consider criminal for an Indian or for other people and what happens on the sentencing? You've obviously made these inferences yourselves and you are very carefully not making any comments on it, which brought up what Dr. Carrothers was saying. The people who consume a tremendous amount of alcohol in whatever white community you can think of, that is very respectable, very middle class, don't get arrested for drinking that amount of alcohol under that environment. Possibly the consumption of alcohol is higher there. Let us say that the consumption of alcohol in Ottawa is probably higher than it is in the Northwest Territories, but people don't get arrested for it. What I was going to ask, however, is that in the end you did make comments on how the staffing of corps and the staffing of police forces should be Indian, I would ask if there are any statistics that are the other way around. How does the pattern of sentencing and the pattern of conviction and the pattern of arrest differ according to the type of policeman, the type of judge, the type of magistrate, the type of probation that is available?

Douglas Schmeiser : First of all, let me say that there are no statistics concerning the type of placing that are available; there are also no statistics concerning any distinction made on the basis of the identity of any court. I would hazard a

guess that one could likely predict that a native Justice of the Peace would certainly be as hard, if not harder, than a white Justice of the Peace. And I would put my money that way. I would expect that the native Justice of the Peace would be harder. Now, I think chief Ed. Pinay referred to something that I personally happen to think is very important. One of the well honoured legal maxims is that justice must not only be done, it must be seen to be done. There is a strong feeling in Saskatchewan at any rate that more native people should be involved in the administration of justice itself to attempt to have the appearance of fairness. Chief Ed. Pinay referred to the appointment of native Justices of the Peace and also to band Councils exercising probation work. I think that it's a step in the right direction. There is also another program in Saskatchewan with respect to the training of special constables of the RCMP who are of native background. Again, I think that's a good thing. We obviously need more native lawyers. At the University of Saskatchewan we have started a program to try to help native people become acclimatized to the study of law and to build up any deficiencies which they might have in terms of being able to compete on an equal basis with other students. Obviously there is a great need there as well. These things come very slowly and they involve enormous amounts of work. I can't explain all of the statistics to you. Obviously I have certain explanations and certain pet theories, but I do think that the bare statistics themselves suggest a lot of things. When one finds out for example that 90% to 95% of all women in jail in Saskatchewan are Natives, I think it is high time to take a long hard look at this. Particularly when one finds that many of them are there for non-payment of fines and that, of course, includes native males as well. It seems to me that that suggests the existence of an enormous problem which I think should lead one to look at the system itself in order to determine whether people should be sent to jail for not paying their fine. Not only native people, but white people as well. Does it not constitute for example a debtor's prison and if that is so, is it justifiable in today's society? Those are the kinds of things which I think we have to be asking ourselves. Again one of the questioners said we have to look at the accuser and again I agree that is right. Should many of these offences be offences? What is happening now with respect to alcohol, I think, is indicative to that kind of thinking. I think perhaps we could apply to other offences as well, in terms of whether or not we should be prosecuting with the possibility of a jail term certain other types of conduct which really isn't all that harmful to society.

Noël Knockwood: My name is Noël Knockwood and I am from the Micmac Institute of Cultural Studies. I am showing considerable interest here when you speak of legal terms and legal justice. My understanding of the Canadian legal system is not too good; but here is what I see. According to my thinking, I believe the law says that if a person commits a crime he must be punished and judged by his peers. Is that not right? Then I do not see any Indian judges. Now let us get back to the local level when you speak of constables on Indian reservations. I want to bring this out because this is the attitude that I see at the grass roots level. I see, immediatly, that the reaction of the people in general gives this type of reflection. First of all, the law that is being executed is the white man's law, it is not an Indian law. This tends to bring reflection of unacceptance and there is no support going to the local constables. So therefore, the local constabulary force is handicapped again by this attitude and perhaps frowned upon by peers as it is trying to execute a particular law. So I would like to try to find out (or perhaps someone can reflect some light in my direction to tell me) how we can overcome these barriers. Perhaps I would think one of the important things would be to get the native Indian people themselves to sit down and draw rules, regulations and laws. And I tell you perhaps another hang-up that you should become aware of. Approximately six weeks ago, the Shubenacadie Indian band Council had sat down with the general public and brought up the question of glue sniffing or the inhaling of solvents and they had passed a by-law indicating that they wish to curb this or to cut it down. And this is what happened. The minutes of this meeting were forwarded to Ottawa because it is a by-law and you have to go through this bureaucracy or red tape. Somewhere along the way, I suppose, it is still sitting on someone's desk and there has been no response as yet to my knowledge. We find again, now, that this bureaucratic red tape gives us a lot of hang-ups. The youth are still sniffing gas or glue, or whatever they do, and this by-law has not been passed nor has it been handed down to the local level of the Chief in Council. Again coupled with this, the attitude towards the Indian constable is not as good as it should be. Again I suppose this reflects to the making of laws. Some of the people are saying is a white man's law. Then how are the band Councils going to respond to this type of question which is thrown at them? When will they come to some sort of an agreement as to who is the absolute ruler here? Is the non-

Indian justice system the thing or do we go down to the lower level and give the authority to the band Council to draw up by-laws and put them into effect? Of course, it then reflects on the part of judging who is to judge. Should a white man judge or should an Indian judge? I am illiterate in these legal terms, but I had hoped that I could provide some bearing so that you will have a little better understanding as to what the situation is at the reserve level.

Douglas Schmeiser : When I travelled through the Northwest Territories, one question I asked native people generally was whether they felt they would like to have a separate legal system. And I was rather struck by the fact that I never had a single person of native background tell me that they would like to operate under a different system of law, and in particular criminal laws. The usual response that I got when I asked native people that question was something like this: "We are all Canadians, aren't we?" And I am rather struck by what you said; I can't of course speak for Eastern Canada, but I certainly have got the impression in the NWT and in Western Canada that most native people certainly do not regard the criminal law as the white man's law, but regard it as their law as well, and I have generally found that the concerns which many native people have with respect to their being victims of crime are very similar to white persons in the same circumstances. Dr. Carrothers, the chairman, was also the chairman of a royal Commission dealing with Northern Canada. I think it was one of your specific recommendations that there should not be a separate legal system for native people, as opposed to white people, as exists, for example, in the Danish legal system.

Lucien Laforest : Je m'excuse de revenir deux fois, mais c'est pour faire suite aux commentaires de M. Knockwood et pour abonder tout à fait dans le même sens. Je pense qu'il faut faire une distinction entre le droit coutumier qui existe de toute manière, qu'on le veuille ou non, dans les populations autochtones et le droit légal des Blancs qui leur a été d'une certaine façon imposé. Alors je ne pense pas qu'on ait à se demander si les autochtones sont intéressés à avoir un système légal indépendant du nôtre, puisque, de toute façon dans la réalité, ils appliquent eux-mêmes leurs propres normes de contrôle social sur les individus. Et sur ce plan-là, il y a un témoignage, une histoire qui ne s'est pas produite, mais qui aurait pu se

produire dans le Nouveau-Québec, dans une communauté esquimaude et inuit et qui a été rapportée par un juge qui allait dans le Nouveau-Québec pour juger une cause de viol. Cette histoire s'est produite dans un petit village où la communauté inuit avait décidé de se débarrasser d'un de ses éléments indésirables. Elle avait prononcé un jugement pour tuer un membre qui avait, dans l'année qui avait précédé, violé systématiquement un certain nombre de femmes. Alors ce qui s'est produit, c'est que dans l'intervalle, c'est-à-dire avant le moment où l'exécution de la sentence donnée par la communauté soit effectuée, le fils de la personne condamnée est mort, de sorte que la communauté a réagi en disant : « Il a maintenant sa punition, il a son châtiment et on renonce maintenant aux droits que nous avons et à la décision que nous avons prise de le tuer. » Les témoignages de l'avocat et du juge à ce moment-là étaient très intéressants. Ils se sont demandé eux-mêmes comment ils auraient dû procéder si jamais l'exécution avait eu lieu. De quelle façon auraient-ils jugé le cas de celui qui aurait exécuté la sentence donnée par toute la communauté. Il me semble que cet exemple-là pourrait fournir une illustration intéressante du problème que cause la corrélation existante entre le droit coutumier et le droit légal tel que nous le percevons.

Fred Carrothers : That is a fascinating comparison because, Dr. Schmeiser can correct me if I am wrong, in criminal law the entire community was guilty of a criminal conspiracy even without the killing of the rapist. And I am reminded of Soucy's case which is a comparable one. It is the tragedy in which the two young men had the responsibility of going back to their camp where Soucy was ruining their effects and threatening the survival of the group and in the process, really of self-defence, one of the boys shot. Soucy and he were I think convicted of manslaughter and I think that Mr. Justice Sissons had the case and sentenced him to serve it out anywhere in Boothia Peninsula. But the contrast that you show between the mores of the Inuit and the white man's criminal code is a very telling one. This whole subject, I am sure, will be on everybody's mind for some time to come.

Wilfred Welldon : My name is Welldon, from the Indian Community Secretariat, Ontario. The delegates here may be interested in a pilot project which is ta-

king place on the Christian Island Reserve of the Georgian Bay area where the court is held on the reserve and the judge has a team of ten residents of the reserve from which three are used for each court session. While they do not participate in the actual finding of guilty or not guilty, once that decision is made, then they advise the judge on the sentencing or on probation to whom should this person report or whatever, and the judge accepts generally the advice of the team of advisers. We haven't had time to evaluate, over the last four or five months, to any definite degree, but it appears to be a fairly successful program and Ontario is prepared to give this type of advisory service to judges holding court on the reserves.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

THIRD SESSION

Quelques caractéristiques des relations entre les communautés indiennes, la société québécoise et l'anthropologie l'expérience des années récentes

Roger POTHIER *

ABSTRACT

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The paper discusses some of the most salient characteristics of the recent history of Quebec Indian populations : a) the publication of the White Paper on Indian policy by the federal government in 1969 and some Indian reactions to that policy statement ; b) the birth of The Quebec Indian Association ; c) the setting up of The Manitou College at La Macaza ; d) the implementation of "Amerindianization" programs ; and e) Indian reactions to the James Bay hydro-electric development.

Obviously these features are not exhaustive. They do reflect, however, a whole set of underlying data that allow us to better understand the kinds of relationships that are in the process of being established between indigenous populations and the dominant society. One is then tempted to examine more closely the functioning of government structures and programs

* Professeur au département d'Anthropologie de l'université Laval et directeur du «Programme baie de James »

in relation to the kinds of changes which are occurring among the indigenous peoples of Canada.

Then the James Bay research program which is being set up in Laval's Anthropology Department is described. Although the program is only in its first stages of conceptual development, the author attempts to underscore some of its plausible practical results.

Finally, the paper attempts to identify the role of anthropology and of the anthropologist in such a broad context. What do Indians have to say to anthropologists and vice versa so as to come up in the end with a better understanding of the Indian situation?

En guise d'introduction, je voudrais vous citer quelques paragraphes de la déclaration du président de l'Association des Indiens du Québec, qui a été faite au cours de la dernière réunion annuelle de l'Association en août 1974. Cette déclaration est adressée au gouvernement du Canada.

Vous avez dit et vous direz encore que nous devons faire face à la réalité. La réalité est que c'est aujourd'hui le 20 août 1974. Nous proclamons que nous avons fait face à la réalité et que nous réalisons encore que notre situation n'a pas changé depuis l'introduction de vos politiques. Nous réalisons que notre peuple échoue dans votre système éducationnel ; mais si plus de nos gens fréquentent vos institutions, notre peuple dépend toujours du bien-être social, notre peuple remplit toujours vos prisons, notre peuple ne voit toujours pas l'occasion de devenir économiquement établi, notre peuple perd toujours ses terres, notre peuple possède toujours des services sanitaires inadéquats et notre avenir est toujours déterminé par d'autres. Il est inutile pour nous de vous citer des exemples pour justifier ces déclarations, vous les avez déjà en votre possession. Il est évident, dans les événements de nos aujourd'hui, et il sera évident dans les événements de nos lendemains, que si aucun effort n'est fourni pour rectifier la situation, ces lendemains seront les commencements de la fin pour nos deux peuples. Car n'est-il pas vrai que, si les droits fondamentaux d'un peuple peuvent lui être enlevés, alors les droits fondamentaux d'un autre peuple peuvent aussi lui être enlevés.

Ce texte, je crois, indique avec force la situation tragique des Indiens et aussi le degré de conscience que les Indiens du Québec ont acquis de cette situation. Je me propose, dans un premier temps, d'identifier certains événements qui sont survenus au cours des dernières années, de les décrire brièvement et de dégager certains éléments qui me semblent significatifs concernant les relations qui se tissent entre les Indiens et la société québécoise. Je compte, par la suite, vous présenter brièvement le programme de recherche sur la baie de James, que nous sommes en train de mettre sur pied au département d'Anthropologie de l'université Laval. Je n'ai aucunement la prétention de présenter une image complète ; loin de là. Disons qu'il s'agit d'une tentative préliminaire pour organiser un discours autour d'un certain nombre de réalités, comme l'émergence de l'Association des Indiens du Québec, l'organisation du collège Manitou à La Macaza, la mise en oeuvre des programmes d'amérindianisation en milieu scolaire, ainsi que les réactions indiennes au projet de la baie de James. Dans quelle mesure l'histoire des contacts entre les groupes indiens et les groupes euro-canadiens au Québec se compare-t-elle à l'histoire de ces contacts au Canada et en Amérique du Nord ? Cette préoccupation est utile puisque cette base comparative existe. Je crois, pour ma part, qu'elle fournit un moyen à utiliser pour « expliquer » aux Québécois comment il se fait que les Indiens résistent aux tentatives plus ou moins camouflées d'intégration ou d'assimilation, qu'on essaie de leur imposer.

En 1969, avec l'arrivée au pouvoir d'un nouveau gouvernement, était publié un *Livre blanc* sur les Indiens. Cette nouvelle politique, qui a pris à peu près tout le monde par surprise, proposait des modifications radicales aux politiques gouvernementales qui étaient alors en oeuvre. Il s'agissait véritablement d'une tentative de l'appareil politique pour formuler de nouvelles règles du jeu. On se souvient que cette politique proposait une négociation finale des droits et des traités indiens, une modification du statut des réserves selon des formes qu'il reste à préciser et la disparition de la bureaucratie fédérale chargée de l'administration de la *Loi sur les Indiens*, des divers programmes et des services accessibles aux populations indiennes. Les propositions fédérales contenaient aussi la promesse de la mise en oeuvre d'une série de programmes spéciaux dans différents ministères fédéraux, pendant une brève période de temps, pour assurer le rattrapage nécessaire. On incitait, dans le même souffle, les gouvernements provinciaux à rendre

leurs services accessibles aux groupes indiens installés sur leurs territoires. Ceux qui ont l'ironie facile vont probablement noter que cette nouvelle politique se formulait à l'intérieur d'une politique plus globale qui faisait référence à la société juste. Jamais, je crois, il n'y a eu de la part des Indiens une réaction aussi forte et aussi unanime contre un ensemble de propositions venant du gouvernement : en affirmant la spécificité indienne, il était inadmissible de mettre en doute l'existence et la légitimité des traités ; il était inacceptable de modifier le statut des réserves même si le prix qui devait être payé pour ce faire comportait le maintien d'une structure coloniale aussi envahissante que l'administration des Affaires indiennes.

En face d'une telle réaction le gouvernement ne put donner suite à ses propositions. Le bilan qu'on peut probablement dresser de cette séquence dans l'histoire des relations entre le gouvernement et les Indiens est que ce fut une excellente occasion pour les Indiens de se découvrir de nouvelles solidarités et de préciser leurs revendications. C'est un résultat qui comporte plusieurs conséquences. Je crois, pour ma part, que cette politique de 1969 propose une analyse exacte de la position de classe des Indiens dans la structure sociale canadienne et que les Indiens ont avantage à l'analyser dans ces termes. Je suis convaincu que les programmes d'amérindianisation sont une des conséquences reliées directement aux débats qui se sont déroulés à la suite de la présentation de la politique de 1969. Ces programmes se concrétisent sous deux formes. D'autres sont beaucoup plus compétents que moi pour en faire une description précise et adéquate ; je vais me contenter d'en dégager les aspects qui me semblent les plus significatifs. Il y a, d'une part, la mise sur pied d'une institution de niveau collégial administrée et contrôlée par les Indiens en utilisant des fonds du gouvernement fédéral, et dont la clientèle scolaire est indienne. L'objectif principal de cette institution est de créer un milieu d'apprentissage où les étudiants indiens se sentent à l'aise et peuvent faire l'acquisition des compétences requises pour avoir éventuellement accès à l'université ou pour acquérir les connaissances nécessaires à l'entrée sur le marché du travail. L'autre série de programmes vise à la formation d'enseignants dont l'origine ethnique est indienne. Ces programmes se proposent d'introduire dans la pratique scolaire, ce qui inclut à la fois les programmes d'apprentissage, les curricula et la performance en classe, des modes de fonctionnement et des discours qui soient moins exclusivement non-indiens. Cette approche inclut, bien sûr, l'utilisation partielle de la langue autochtone.

Il est prématuré d'énoncer une évaluation de ces programmes. Il est possible, cependant, de formuler quelques observations critiques sur ces nouveaux services qui, bien sûr, offrent l'avantage indéniable et déterminant d'être beaucoup plus respectueux des clientèles scolaires auxquelles ils s'adressent. J'aimerais formuler deux observations : la première est que ces programmes posent aux enseignants indiens l'ensemble des problèmes qui caractérisent les bureaucraties scolaires. Au moment où dans notre société nous commençons à douter fortement de « l'humanité » de nos écoles, il serait peut-être préférable que les Indiens mettent à profit les erreurs de la société dominante, essaient davantage d'identifier de nouveaux modes d'apprentissage qui soient moins lourds que ceux qu'utilisent nos systèmes scolaires et, dans un même souffle, soient davantage respectueux des modes d'apprentissage qu'ont utilisés ou qu'utilisent encore certaines communautés indiennes. L'autre commentaire que je voudrais formuler porte sur la contribution que ces initiatives peuvent apporter pour aboutir à ce que nous pourrions identifier comme étant des formes d'éducation des adultes permettant l'émergence d'une conscientisation autour du nationalisme indien. Pour ma part, je trouve qu'il est tragique et triste que le lieu où les Indiens tentent de se bâtir une identité soit localisé dans une ancienne base militaire de missiles Bomarc dont le gouvernement fédéral ne savait que faire. On retrouve là un symbole du colonialisme blanc particulièrement évident qui devrait, il me semble, être insupportable pour les Indiens. Quelle est la logique démocratique qui puisse résoudre cette contradiction évidente ? Je dois vous dire que je ne peux pas le comprendre.

L'autre phénomène que j'aimerais discuter est l'émergence de l'Association des Indiens du Québec. Qu'il me soit permis de rappeler ici un souvenir personnel. C'est ici à la Maison Montmorency et dans cette salle-ci qu'ont eu lieu les toutes premières rencontres qui ont permis la formation de l'AIQ. C'était à l'occasion d'une réunion organisée par le bureau régional du ministère des Affaires indiennes. Cette réunion-là fut sûrement déterminante. Je crois, et il est important de le noter, que, sauf erreur de ma part, les Indiens du Québec ont été l'un des derniers groupes provinciaux à s'organiser en association provinciale. Bien que l'Association soit jeune, elle a contribué jusqu'à maintenant d'une façon remarquable à bâtir une solidarité indienne. Elle a aussi facilité l'émergence d'un leadership indien et d'une classe moyenne indienne. Ce sont là des éléments déterminants qui soulignent l'énorme rôle qu'a joué l'Association au cours des dernières années. Je sais

aussi que l'Association est confrontée avec un certain nombre de contradictions qui reflètent la problématique indienne au Québec et pour lesquelles on n'a pas encore identifié de solution adéquate. Ceci se manifeste dans la diversité linguistique des membres de l'Association, et au sein des différences régionales qui se retrouvent dans la population indienne. Ceci se manifeste aussi au niveau des contraintes qu'une organisation bureaucratique doit subir : il faut utiliser des contrôles et certaines formes de rationalité ; il faut bâtir une structure organisationnelle et hiérarchique. Ces contraintes font que l'Association éprouve des problèmes considérables de communication avec les communautés indiennes. En plus, l'Association des Indiens du Québec est happée par son « modèle naturel », le ministère des Affaires indiennes ; d'où une polarisation beaucoup trop forte en fonction des façons dont le ministère voit les choses. C'est dans ce contexte qu'il faut situer les discussions au sein de l'Association concernant la centralisation et la décentralisation. L'Association des Indiens du Québec doit se défendre de n'être qu'un calque ou l'ombre des appareils bureaucratiques en place soit en les remplaçant ou en acceptant leurs règles du jeu.

Serait-il juste de poser la question suivante ? Y a-t-il des façons indiennes d'aborder et éventuellement de résoudre l'ensemble des problèmes que la vie en société suscite, problèmes qui ne sont pas bien sûr spécifiquement indiens ? Le spectacle morose des communautés dans le Nord avec leurs maisons rectangulaires en file, dans un décor de désolation où on a coupé tous les arbres à un mille à la ronde, représente peut-être l'illustration la plus déprimante des interventions du pouvoir étatique dans ce paysage.

L'ethnocide tranquille, avec lequel la révolution tranquille de la société québécoise se sent très à l'aise, ne fait que confirmer que les solutions technocratiques ne peuvent apporter des résultats adéquats. Est-ce possible d'identifier des solutions qui ne débouchent pas sur une dépossession des Indiens ? Est-il possible de négocier une spécificité indienne dans un contexte égalitaire ? Je dois vous dire sans gaieté de cœur que je ne sais pas comment répondre à ces questions.

À titre d'illustration de cette approche, je voudrais maintenant vous décrire brièvement ce que nous appelons à l'université Laval, « le Programme baie de James ». Je signale au point de départ que ce programme de recherche ne fait que commencer à s'élaborer. Mais nous sommes, cependant, en mesure d'indiquer les orientations que nous comptons suivre. En voulant faire l'anthropologie de la baie

de James, on tente de tenir compte de l'ensemble des phénomènes complexes qui caractérisent les interventions massives entreprises par des agences gouvernementales depuis quelques années, dont l'élément le plus important à ce stade-ci est le développement hydro-électrique de la rivière La Grande. Cette approche nécessite que nos intérêts anthropologiques ne soient pas limités à un discours ou à une analyse des seules réalités indiennes dans la région. Nous n'avons pas du tout l'intention d'exclure ou de nier la spécificité indienne. Mais celle-ci ne nous paraît compréhensible que si elle est analysée au sein des réseaux de rapports structuraux que crée la présence simultanée de plusieurs modes de production. Nous espérons ainsi pouvoir renouveler les approches théoriques utilisées par l'anthropologie lorsqu'elle a tenté d'articuler un discours sur ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le développement du Nord ou le développement des régions périphériques. Dans la même perspective, nous nous devons d'inclure les appareils bureaucratiques dans notre cadre d'analyse.

J'en suis, pour ma part, à un stade très préliminaire dans ma réflexion sur ce sujet. Je suis convaincu, cependant, que les modes de fonctionnement bureaucratiques et leurs sous-cultures sont des objets d'étude auxquels l'anthropologie doit s'intéresser parce que ce sont des composantes essentielles de nos sociétés. Dans cette perspective, l'ethnographie de la baie de James, par exemple, doit inclure les bureaux feutrés et climatisés situés à Montréal, à Québec, à Ottawa ou à New York, où les réalités de la région sont transportées et où, bien sûr, se prennent les décisions. Dans le contexte d'une étude des rapports infrastructure- superstructure, nous croyons également qu'il faut accorder une attention spéciale à l'analyse des idéologies dominantes et des idéologies dominées ainsi qu'à celle de leurs rapports. Afin d'illustrer cette approche, je vais citer mon collègue Serge Bouchard. Chaque groupe a donc une articulation idéologique, une forme de légitimation, mais tous les groupes ont en commun des univers idéologiques qui sont déterminés par l'infrastructure. Autrement dit, puisque chaque groupe a une articulation superstructure-infrastructure qui lui est propre, les idéologies ne peuvent s'appliquer que pour chacun des groupes spécifiques. Ceci ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre l'idéologie dominante et l'idéologie spécifique. Ajoutons, toutefois, qu'à ce jour aucune étude poussée n'a été entreprise sur la nature des rapports entre idéologie dominante et idéologie spécifique. Bien sûr, au niveau de l'État, par exemple, quand on parle au nom de tous, on a bien l'impression que

c'est l'idéologie qui se concrétise à l'échelle de toute la société. Mais il s'agit bien de celle de l'Etat et c'est celle-là seulement qui s'actualise dans ce cas.

Le concept de société globale devient très suspect dans ce contexte. Cela n'empêche pas que l'idéologie soit un instrument de contrôle et de reproduction excessivement redoutable, sans qu'on sache vraiment comment. Compte tenu de ce que nous venons de dire, nous acceptons la thèse marxiste qui soutient que l'émergence de l'idéologie dans l'histoire correspond à des états spécifiques du développement de la hiérarchie et du contrôle qui s'ensuit dans et entre les sociétés. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Notre hypothèse nous conduit un peu plus loin sur le plan de la théorie de l'idéologie. L'émergence de l'idéologie est aussi une extraction à partir de la pensée analytique d'une forme de pensée qui est devenue monopolisante, déplaçant par le fait même comme résiduelle et pathologique toute autre forme de pensée. C'est aujourd'hui le triomphe et l'impérialisme d'une forme de pensée que nous appellerons provisoirement pratico-technique. Cette pensée repousse, étouffe, prive de tous ses moyens d'expression une autre forme de pensée qui a longtemps caractérisé ouvertement l'histoire humaine. Cet étouffement remonte très loin à la source de la hiérarchisation sociale avec le besoin de légitimation de l'inégalité. Je pense que cette approche peut facilement s'illustrer en comparant les réactions des technocrates qui régissent la baie de James et celles des Indiens qui y vivent. Ces derniers affirment : « Non, nous n'acceptons pas une chose comme celle-là. » C'est une réaction qui est simplement incompréhensible pour ceux-là mêmes qui contrôlent ces activités. En d'autres termes, et pour résumer l'approche que nous essayons d'élaborer, les principaux concepts sont ceux de la hiérarchie, de l'intérêt, du pouvoir, du contrôle et de la reproduction.

Conclusion

Le fossé qui existe entre la société québécoise et les groupes indiens s'illustre très clairement dans deux déclarations récentes, l'une faite par le premier ministre du Québec le 25 janvier 1974, l'autre, par l'Association des Indiens du Québec au mois d'août de la même année. Je commence par la citation du premier ministre Bourassa :

Le développement des ressources hydrauliques de la baie James comporte de nombreux avantages dont des économies substantielles, l'utilisation d'énergie renouvelable, des retombées économiques sur l'emploi et l'industrie québécoise et une réalisation dans les délais requis avec des techniques éprouvées tout en favorisant le développement du territoire. Cependant nous croyons fermement qu'il est possible de procéder à ce développement dans les meilleurs intérêts du Québec tout en protégeant les populations autochtones et en répondant à leurs besoins. Nous voulons les aider à maintenir leur mode traditionnel d'existence et à préserver leur héritage culturel, mais nous voulons également les aider à s'adapter au rythme qui leur conviendra, aux conditions changeantes du monde qui les entoure et aux situations nouvelles qui prennent place inévitablement même en l'absence de projets importants de développement. Nous devons être en mesure d'offrir des options réelles aux autochtones. Nous voulons aider ces communautés et ceux qui les habitent. Nous devons représenter en particulier pour les jeunes une société compréhensive qui leur offre des options réelles ainsi que des chances égales sans toutefois les priver de leur héritage culturel.

Je vous cite maintenant la déclaration de M. Delisle :

Aujourd'hui, ce 20 août 1974, notre peuple déclare : 1) la terre nous appartient en tant que curateur pour nos générations futures et vos générations futures, 2) nous avons le droit d'exister de la façon spéciale de notre peuple et d'accepter des choses nouvelles et anciennes qui sont nécessaires à notre préservation, 3) nous avons le droit de nous gouverner nous-mêmes. Nous désirons vous remémorer qu'une certaine reconnaissance a déjà été apportée à ces droits fondamentaux à travers diverses législations et jugements, mais nous désirons aussi vous rappeler que ces droits existaient antérieurement à cette reconnaissance, et nous déclarons aussi : a) les droits fondamentaux du peuple indien demeurent les mêmes, b) il y a une relation unique entre droit de base, valeur morale et la culture du peuple indien, c) ces droits de base n'ont pas été vendus, abandonnés ou conquis, d) les droits indiens et les terres indiennes ne sont pas à vendre. Ces choses étant dites, la seule conclusion que nous pouvons en tirer est que les terres devraient conjointement être développées par notre peuple et

le vôtre et que les produits tirés de la terre devraient être partagés entre votre peuple et le nôtre. Que nos droits devraient être cultivés par quelque forme de gouvernement autochtone, deviennent les instruments par lesquels nous coopérons avec vous pour atteindre ces objectifs. Votre reconnaissance de ces principes de base est nécessaire à l'atmosphère de confiance et de respect pour les négociations futures, tout comme notre reconnaissance de votre désir sincère de résoudre les situations indésirables qui existent présentement est nécessaire.

D'un côté, le gouvernement provincial affirme l'irréversibilité d'une certaine rationalité économique fondée sur la rentabilité et la création d'emplois, n'excluant pas bien sûr la référence à l'héritage culturel des Indiens. Par ailleurs, les représentants indiens demandent une politique du respect mutuel. Nous savons bien sûr que les dés sont pipés et que les interlocuteurs ne parlent pas le même langage. Il faut cependant noter que dans le cas du gouvernement provincial, les propositions soumises aux Indiens de la baie de James et, sauf erreur, la première fois dans l'histoire du Québec, ont commencé à réagir aux revendications indiennes dans des termes qui sont acceptables aux Indiens. Mais il ne faut pas se surprendre du fait que les Indiens éprouvent beaucoup de difficultés à se convaincre de la bonne foi du gouvernement provincial, alors que le rapport de force repose sur des inégalités tellement flagrantes.

Je vais terminer en formulant quelques réflexions concernant le rôle de l'anthropologue et de l'anthropologie dans ces rapports avec les populations indiennes, et ce sont là des remarques que je fais hors texte. Je pense qu'une des toutes premières fonctions que l'anthropologue peut identifier c'est une fonction de chroniqueur : c'est une personne qui décrit les événements. Je pense aussi que l'anthropologue pourrait s'intéresser à l'étude de la symbolique du droit ou des droits indiens et de son rôle à l'intérieur-des différentes formes de nationalisme indien qui sont extrêmement importantes. Je crois que l'anthropologie a un rôle essentiel à jouer au niveau de la documentation des cas ou des manifestations de résistance de la part des Indiens. Il y a une tâche importante qui consisterait à évaluer, sur une base constante, quelle est la distance qui existe entre les objectifs d'une planification qui se fait dans le Sud, à l'intérieur d'un mécanisme de centralisation, et les résultats concrets au niveau de la mise en oeuvre des différents programmes

des gouvernements. Pour ma part, je pense que la contribution la plus utile que l'anthropologie peut faire au débat, c'est bien sûr de dénoncer la folklorisation des Indiens, ensuite, dans le même mouvement, d'éliminer de la façon la plus radicale possible les éléments d'une théorie plus ou moins camouflée de l'assimilation heureuse et, par le biais d'une analyse de la situation indienne, de déboucher sur une critique globale de notre société, de ses priorités et de ses mécanismes de fonctionnement.

DISCUSSION

Francine Mackenzie : M. Pothier, je dois avouer que votre exposé me cause certains petits malaises. Étant donné ce que vous dites, surtout à la fin de votre exposé, concernant le rôle de l'anthropologie, étant donné ce qui a été dit cet après-midi de très intéressant concernant les problèmes des Blancs et les problèmes causés par les Blancs chez les Indiens, je me demande comment l'anthropologue peut arriver à réconcilier ses rôles d'homme de science et d'homme d'action. À l'occasion du projet de développement de la baie de James, l'étude anthropologique, de la façon dont vous l'exposez, semble assez... de l'extérieur. L'anthropologue ne semble pas vouloir intervenir. Du moins il ne prescrit pas un type d'intervention très actif. Cette vision est corroborée dans le premier rôle que vous reconnaissez à l'anthropologue, un rôle de chroniqueur. Il me semble, à moins que je ne m'abuse ou que je ne connaisse pas suffisamment le domaine, que les anthropologues, que les sociologues et tous les représentants des sciences humaines peuvent maintenant se permettre de faire des études beaucoup plus actives. À l'occasion de la baie de James, ne peut-on même songer à une espèce d'évaluation, ce que les Anglais appellent une évaluation de type formatif, c'est-à-dire qui intervient au niveau de la décision et qui est susceptible d'éclairer les « décideurs ». Il me semble que le problème est d'autant plus aigu qu'à la baie de James, compte tenu de ce contraste que vous avez vous-même voulu refléter par les deux déclarations de M. Bourassa d'une part et du chef indien Delisle d'autre part, ces études devraient chercher à la limite à faire dévier le cours du développement des choses. Cette étude serait beaucoup plus fondée qu'une étude du type de celle que vous laissez présager, qui a certes un intérêt sur le plan théorique, mais qui me semble beaucoup trop froide et peut-être inopportunément objective dans les circonstan-

ces actuelles. Je ne sais pas si ma pensée est assez claire, mais je me demande comment on arrive à réconcilier tout ça. La baie de James me semble un cas patent qui peut même nous amener à réfléchir plus en profondeur sur le rôle de l'anthropologue actuellement.

Roger Pothier : La réaction la plus adéquate que je puisse avoir à une intervention comme celle-là serait simplement de faire appel à l'expérience du Dr Salisbury qui a travaillé précisément dans les termes que vous suggérez et qui est bien sûr nettement plus compétent que moi pour en parler. Je ne sais pas si le Dr Salisbury serait prêt à commenter là-dessus.

Richard Salisbury : I think perhaps the most rewarding thing is to have worked for the Indian of Quebec Association. I think that in fact before the case, one of the critical facts that was needed for the court presentation, was a demonstration in terms that would be acceptable to the court of what in fact was native land usage in the area. In the face of all sorts of claims, that there was very little usage of the land in traditional ways by local people, to have worked with or for the Indians of Quebec Association was very useful! It was a demonstration that research skills that are traditional within anthropology are useful. It was also, in fact, exactly the people who worked with us, who were members of the bands that in fact also got the skills and experience working on this sort of thing. They have subsequently used much more detailed research in order to negotiate, to provide the basis for the negotiations that are still under way. So that, in this case, outside anthropologists were used very much as technical advisors on research procedures and similar things. We haven't been doing the research lately ; it's not the Indians of Quebec Association, it's the Grand Council of the Cree of James Bay which is effectively now employing their own researchers. But it's still the same sort of work. There are all sorts of fields of research, however, and I think you were suggesting that research that we would think is useful and necessary and very much needed, has not yet been picked up. And I think that this is one of the things that you're proposing to do, is to pick up some of those fields of research that the native people of the region do not yet feel are essential. I think, I'd stick by my view that many of them are essential and I would want to advise the local people that

there is research that is needed and I hope they would want it to be done, but if they say they don't want it done, there is no way in which an outsider can do it. It can be done only in collaboration, if the local people are interested, because you say this is a feasible subject for research on important subjects. If they want it done then we must act as technical researchers working with them, not on them, and I think this was what Mrs. Mackenzie said in suggesting that working on the local people is the offensive thing, whereas working with them, I think, is a very feasible relationship to try and aim for.

Roger Pothier : J'aimerais ajouter que, dans les perspectives que j'ai essayé d'indiquer, il y a aussi des implications pratiques qui peuvent permettre de résoudre partiellement les difficultés qu'on a mentionnées. Évidemment, il faudrait que l'on prenne un certain temps pour en parler, mais pour moi, je n'identifierais pas l'opposition que vous suggériez.

John Warner : I'm the Director of the sociology-anthropology component of the Churchill River Study. As most of you know, the government which is contemplating a hydro-electric development on the Churchill River has commissioned in advance before a decision was to be made, not after the decision was made, a study which would seek to solve the problem of the feasibility, the cost and so on of constructing a dam on the Churchill River. I was appointed to head up the sociology-anthropology team. To pick up some lines that have been developed here, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians in a letter of August 13, 1974, notified the Director of the study, Dr. Walter Kupsch, that no anthropologist or sociologist would be permitted on Indian lands in order to carry out studies of any sort on a sociological or anthropological basis. Furthermore, the FSI was going to notify the Department of Indian Affairs not to cooperate with any sociologist or anthropologist seeking information with respect to native peoples in the Churchill River study basin. It is becoming very clear, and I think, not to be chauvinistic about Saskatchewan, but I think that Saskatchewan in most cases is a leader in many economic, social and political events and I think the native people here are also progressive in this respect, that the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, along with the Missinipi Committee of the Churchill River basin has decided that

unless they control the studies to be engaged upon, unless they are the ones who direct the studies, who ask the questions they want to have asked, and who direct therefore what variables will be examined and what variables will not be examined, that no conventional sociologist or anthropologist will be welcome to those Indian lands. I can accept that, and in my own way applaud that decision of the FSI, and in my own political position, I find that quite good. What I would like to ask you sir, is : to whom are you responsible in your study and have you requested permission of Indian leadership in the James Bay region to come on to their lands and do you accept, or have you requested, or what is the status of the matter of having them determine what kind of information you will obtain in the area?

Roger Pothier : My answer could be long, but I will try to be short without making you feel that I'm trying to get around the question. The question is excellent. The first step we have made on that, and this is a fairly long period of almost a year now, has been to work with what is called the Advisory Board of the Indians of Quebec Association, which is in the formative process. Most likely, we'll talk about this tonight, during the round table. This body is trying to do the kinds of things you are talking about. At the same time, and Dr. Salisbury referred to it before, it was not clear whether the people, the Indians in the James Bay, were that keen about the kind of things that the IQA was doing. What we did there was to meet with the chiefs of the region to present to them what we were trying to do and I found that their reaction was just realistic. They told us : "We are not too sure, what kinds of things you have to offer to us. We are waiting to see what will happen. We are not necessarily against it, we would like you to talk with our experts, our own anthropologists who are working for us and they will advise us on whether we should throw you out or talk with you. Come back to talk with us when you have more specific things to offer and if we feel that you are doing things that are not OK, we'll tell you so." Very briefly, I think, I am giving you the kind of reaction I can formulate at this point. What I am trying to say is that, yes, we have tried to cope with the kinds of issues that you are raising. I might suggest, and this could lead to further discussion, that the context in Saskatchewan and the context in Quebec are probably very different.

Claude Fortier : Je voudrais quand même souligner que dans ce que j'ai entendu, ce que vous avez dit, il me semble que vous attachez, à bon droit sans doute, une importance considérable aux structures et aux standards, que vous n'avez pas définis et qu'on s'occupe peu souvent de définir, de la société dominante qui intervient auprès d'une société marginale. On prend pour acquis, peut-être un peu trop, parce que les structures ne changent pas, que notre société elle-même ne change pas ses standards. Or, depuis quelques années, c'est très récent d'ailleurs, la préoccupation du côté de l'environnement, du côté de la terre, du côté des écosystèmes, du côté de la survie de la planète, me paraît avoir pris une dimension considérable dans notre société. Et ça me paraît spécialement être le cas en ce qui concerne le Nord, en Amérique du Nord. On se réfère souvent au Grand Nord, que ce soit en Alaska ou au Canada, comme étant la dernière frontière où on pourrait faire quelque chose de civilisé en terme de développement, entendant par civilisé un processus qui inclurait comme paramètre nouveau mais extrêmement important, peut-être le plus important, la question environnementale. Quand on regarde d'un autre côté, comme les anthropologues ont si bien su le faire depuis quelques années, l'identité sociale et culturelle des populations autochtones du Nord, on se rend compte que la relation à la terre chez ces personnes-là est une constituante absolument primordiale de leur identité. Si on met ces deux choses-là ensemble, il me semble que tout à coup on peut imaginer qu'il y a une nouvelle approche au problème, c'est-à-dire qu'il va peut-être devenir vrai très rapidement que notre société n'est pas uniquement préoccupée de faire de la mise en valeur de ressources, même avec des structures traditionnelles, et de faire de la mise en valeur des ressources du Nord simplement en prenant pour acquis que le Nord n'a de valeur que si on le vide de ses ressources ; mais en prenant pour acquis plutôt que le Nord, avec sa glace, avec son froid, avec son poisson, avec son caribou, avec ses originaux, joue en réalité dans l'équilibre des écosystèmes un rôle considérable et pas seulement à l'échelle locale mais à l'échelle planétaire même, dans certains cas. Je me demande si étant donné cette nouvelle préoccupation, l'approche ne pourra pas être très différente de ce qu'elle aurait pu être il y a trois ans pour ce qui est du rôle et l'intégration, versus l'assimilation, des autochtones, ou plutôt de la rencontre de deux cultures. Je me demande s'il n'y a pas là un élément qui n'a pas encore été exploité beaucoup et qui en fait pourrait être un élément déterminant dans la façon pour les autochtones et pour la société dominante de découvrir en quoi consisterait une rencontre qui ne signifierait pas un génocide et qui au

contraire pourrait peut-être favoriser la perpétuation de certain mode de vie que bien des chercheurs, à l'heure actuelle, même en versant des larmes, ont tendance à reconnaître comme étant un mode qui disparaît. Et même l'étude que le Dr Salisbury a conduite avec ses collaborateurs tendait un peu à démontrer au fond que les activités de récolte dans la région de la baie de James étaient en voie de disparaître. Il me semble qu'aujourd'hui on va pouvoir considérer que ce ne sont pas que les activités de récolte qui peuvent favoriser et cristalliser la relation de l'homme à la terre mais que ça peut être quelque chose qui se situe dans cette nouvelle préoccupation de sauver la planète. Il me semble qu'il n'y a pas de meilleurs acteurs possibles de ce côté-là que les autochtones eux-mêmes, c'est-à-dire que par delà les lois et les règlements pour protéger un environnement naturel aussi vaste que celui du Nord il va falloir que les gens qui s'y emploient sentent cet environnement-là et aient noué, grâce à une tradition qui est la leur, un lien vraiment intime avec cette nature. Alors il me semble qu'il va falloir essayer de trouver de ce côté-là, peut-être du côté des autochtones autant que de notre côté, la véritable solution qui aurait à ce moment-là une espèce de signification non pas seulement locale mais vraiment planétaire.

Roger Pothier : Je suis obligé de vous dire que je suis pleinement d'accord. Le problème qui pour moi est déterminant, c'est qu'on sait fort bien que les gens qui administrent, par exemple la baie de James actuellement, ce ne sont pas des gens qui parlent comme vous.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

THIRD SESSION

Indigenous Eskimo Traditions and the Development of Modern Eskimo Societies

*Charles S. BRANT, Ph.D. **

Résumé

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Bien que cette communication traite du Groenland, les similitudes fondamentales que l'on retrouve dans les traditions esquimaudes ainsi que les principaux traits du développement moderne dans les régions habitées par les Esquimaux confèrent à cette étude du cas groenlandais une pertinence par rapport aux problèmes esquimaux du Canada.

La modernisation prit de l'ampleur au Groenland seulement à la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. Les Groenlandais furent soumis à l'autorité coloniale du Danemark durant 230 ans. La politique danoise visait à isoler et à protéger les Groenlandais des influences extérieures nocives : bien que les luthériens aient christianisé les Groenlandais, leur culture est demeurée substantiellement inchangée. On introduisit un programme d'éducation religieuse à l'aide de catéchistes esquimaux qui dispensaient l'enseignement dans leur langue. Les outils européens favorisèrent un plus grand essor de l'économie de chasse. Les Danois ont maintenu un monopole éta-

* Professor of Anthropology, Sir George Williams University, Montreal.

tique sur le commerce, permettant l'exportation des produits locaux mais restreignant l'entrée des produits étrangers aux articles jugés capables de contribuer au confort et de faciliter la survie. On fit un effort pour fonder la loi et la justice sur les valeurs et les normes indigènes groenlandaises.

Le plus important changement de la période coloniale fut le passage d'une économie de chasse à une économie de pêche, résultat d'une hausse de la température durant les 30 premières années du 20^e siècle. L'État danois eut à fournir le capital, les talents et les services nécessaires à la sédentarisation et à entraîner les Groenlandais à toute une gamme d'occupations nouvelles.

La seconde guerre mondiale rompit définitivement l'isolement et le climat politique de l'après-guerre nécessita plusieurs réformes au Groenland. L'incorporation constitutionnelle de l'île au Danemark ouvrit la voie durant les 20 dernières années à des politiques de développement financièrement bien appuyées et comportant de nombreuses ramifications.

C'est ainsi qu'on investit des sommes considérables d'argent dans les domaines de l'éducation, de la santé, de l'habitation, et des services sociaux. Les résultats apparents sont très impressionnants. Cette croissance s'est produite rapidement, aussi a-t-il fallu importer un personnel qualifié du Danemark. Les entreprises privées danoises se sont installées sur l'île, aussi assiste-t-on à la naissance d'un problème sérieux de stratification sociale lié à l'origine ethnique. Les politiques de concentration de la population, en faisant disparaître des communautés autosuffisantes et en offrant des récompenses matérielles à ceux qui déménagent dans les centres peuplés, ont fait apparaître des désordres psychiques et des problèmes sociaux dans la population. Les études récentes ont démontré de fortes tendances à l'aliénation. Celles-ci se traduisent dans les déséquilibres émotifs, l'alcoolisme, la violence interpersonnelle et la criminalité. Ces conséquences humaines de la politique de développement en compromettent les objectifs techniques et économiques.

Sous les apparences manifestes de la transplantation d'un modèle social occidental au Groenland, on peut identifier, dans des formes latentes vigoureuses, les valeurs indigènes, les configurations sociales et les

systèmes de pensée esquimaux. Les vieilles normes de coopération, de solidarité sociale, de vie et de décisions centrées sur le groupe, s'expriment souvent dans la tendance fortement répandue d'établir des contrats dyadiques.

La politique de développement en vigueur ne va pas seulement à l'encontre des tendances socio-culturelles indigènes, ce qui se traduit dans différentes formes de désintégration sociale, mais elle est également non viable sur le plan économique. L'État danois ne peut plus continuer à dépenser \$2,000 par tête au Groenland dans un programme dont l'efficacité même est mise en question. Ainsi un sain réalisme, et non seulement des préoccupations d'ordre humanitaire, nécessite une réorientation fondamentale du développement groenlandais. Cela se traduira par une décentralisation, une définition communautaire des objectifs et des priorités, l'établissement d'associations coopératives et d'une politique de l'environnement formulée par les Groenlandais à tous les niveaux. Il faudra aussi une assistance technique danoise offerte par des techniciens ayant des visées transculturelles plutôt que de simples connaissances bureaucratiques et légales. Leurs fonctions consisteraient à aider sur demande les Esquimaux et à mettre en oeuvre les objectifs indigènes.

Si on n'introduit pas ces changements fondamentaux dans la politique de développement du Groenland la désintégration sociale continuera à s'accroître et à produire des conséquences humaines indésirables.

In addressing myself to this topic, the empirical basis for my argument will be drawn from Greenland, the area of Eskimo culture and modern social change which I happen to know best from my fieldwork and related research activities in the past decade. Although a direct concern in this symposium is with the Eskimo of Canada, an analysis of the course of change based upon Greenlandic data is, I think, relevant for our understanding of the changing social scene of the Canadian Eskimo for at least two reasons. First, indigenous Eskimo traditions, despite regional variations in dialect and customs, are relatively homogeneous right across the Arctic. Second, the direction and main parameters of social change in the Ca-

nadian Arctic and in Greenland are fundamentally alike. Modern technology, urbanization, market economy, wage labor, bureaucratic modes of organization, centralized political control, western education, value-systems and attitudes-to name just a few element-have been for a long time and continue to be increasingly important in both regions. While the specific politico-economic and administrative histories of Greenland and Arctic Canada differ in many respects, I believe the essential similarities in the indigenous cultural bases and in the main thrust of modernization provide implications for each area from the experience of the other.

In this paper I shall argue that, in the Greenland case, development up to now has brought not only a greatly increased and diversified level of consumption, expanded education, improved biological health and longevity, but also massive and now critical social disintegration and psychic malaise. Whether, or to what degree the effects of modernization upon the Canadian Eskimo are similar to those upon Greenlanders is a question I prefer to leave to those more knowledgeable than I am about our Arctic native people. No doubt some members of this symposium are amply qualified to take up that matter in the discussion.

I turn now to a few initial observations which will serve to introduce the ensuing analysis and argument.

Two or three years ago a Danish medical officer remarked that in the course of a year's tour of duty in Greenland's largest hospital he had unexpectedly acquired a measure of specialized experience in a new field, the repair of broken jaws. This was gained by treating patients who had been involved in violent incidents in or near a drinking establishment in Godthab, the rapidly growing port town and administrative capital of the island. The victims were both Eskimo and Danes, attacked without apparent provocation by drunken Eskimo. In some instances the violence included being stomped or kicked in the face!

A second event which may serve to introduce the problems I treat in this paper was the establishment in 1967 of the post of Director of Social Work in the Greenland administration. The first appointee related to me at the time that there was a rather sudden and urgent need to recruit and train rapidly Eskimo social caseworkers to cope with growing problems coincident with population growth in

the towns of West Greenland, much of it due to administratively induced internal migration.

One more preliminary observation : in 1961 in the Umanak District of Northwest Greenland the eskimologist Bent Jensen of Copenhagen University observed in the course of his long term fieldwork which started in the mid 1950's a traditional Eskimo practice of systematic dyadic exchange of meat portions between partners, reflecting an age-old pattern of social solidarity, cooperation and mutuality within the local community. Jensen's subsequent work in the 1960's and 1970's revealed that this dyadic exchange system was still operating in certain hunting areas, although by then it was increasingly being limited to kin-related partners. ⁷⁵

How shall we understand the growth of violent aggression by Eskimo against Danes as well against Eskimo and the establishment of formal institutional means of coping with urban social problems, on the one hand, and at the same time a marked persistence among Greenlandic Eskimo of traditional patterns of social exchange, on the other? What are the relations between such contrasting types of phenomena in Greenlandic society today? To provide a framework within which we can approach an answer to such questions, we must explore the interaction between Danish and Eskimo sociocultural systems which has produced the problems and patterns of the present ; particularly we must probe the dynamics between these systems during the recent decades.

A convenient starting point for our necessarily brief overview of Greenland's social history is the year 1721, when Hans Egede, the first missionary, landed. This inaugurated Danish colonialism on the island, which formally ended, after many changes and reforms, only in 1953 when Greenland became constitutionally

⁷⁵ I wish here to acknowledge with deep appreciation the stimulation and insight I have gained from Bent Jensen concerning Greenlandic society and its problems, since 1965. From various conversations and from his published work I believe I have learned more that is directly relevant to the matters treated in this paper than from any other single source. I am, of course, indebted to many others-Danish and Greenlandic scholars and officials-for information, various forms of assistance, hospitality and courtesies while working in Greenland and Denmark. The list is too long to detail here. I thank also Rigmor Brant for indispensable help with problems of translation from Danish sources.

a county of Denmark. Danish colonialism involved a close conjunction of religious and commercial interest : a stern Lutheran presence was coupled with trade to obtain sea products. Because the small, dispersed indigenous population was loosely organized and lacked the means for resistance, the colonizing process was remarkably peaceful and uneventful.

For more than two centuries Danish colonialism, strongly stimulated in its formative stages by Rousseauian ideas about "savages," maintained the Eskimo in a state of maximal isolation from the outside world, intended to protect them from exploitation, disease and other baleful influences of the civilized world. Indigenous culture, except religion, was little interfered with by the Danes. A limited program of education was conducted in the native language by indigenous teachers recruited and trained by the Lutheran mission. European implements and tools which became available facilitated the traditional food quest based largely upon hunting of sea mammals. The overall Danish policy was guided by a philosophy of paternalism and a zeal to bring "Christian enlightenment" to a people regarded, without any doubts, as innocent, ignorant and backward.

Through agencies of the Danish state a firm monopoly was maintained over the Greenlandic economy in its internal and external operations. The Royal Greenland Trading Company facilitated trade, enabling Greenlanders to buy and sell as advantageously as possible. It introduced foreign goods selectively, having a view to the increased ease of survival and comfort of the Eskimo, which meant exclusion for the most part of alcohol, sweets and luxury goods.

The judicial system the Danes introduced in modern times attempted, at least in principle, to depend upon the moral values, juridical concepts and traditional sanctions of the native people.

Fundamentally, the Danish policy of maintaining Greenland in isolation from the outside world continued almost to the middle of this century. The most important change in the lives of the Greenlanders was their transformation from sea mammal hunters to fishermen. Beginning in the latter part of the 19th century a rise in temperature, which reached its maximum northern limit in Umanak District about 1930, drove away the seals and brought in fish, mainly cod. The far-reaching consequences are too numerous and complex to summarize here, but a

statement published in 1961 by Therkilsen may convey some sense of the change :

"These hunters have become fishermen ; and a distinct change has taken place in their mentality. It was many years before the ordinary Greenlander dared to go in for fishing. This was a despised occupation ... It was necessity which made him a fisherman ; today he is proud of it ... The first fishing station in central Greenland was established in 1910. Now (1961) there are some eighty landing depots where cod is washed, salted, packed, and shipped to Roman Catholic countries in southern Europe, and where large quantities of frozen fish are loaded into ships for export to the world's large fish markets." ⁷⁶

Only the Danish State could provide the capital to develop the facilities necessary for a radically changed society in which settled life and an expanded cash economy would play major roles. Large investments in housing construction and scientific research into Greenland's natural resources were made. Along with these developments came a measure of participation of the Greenlanders in the governing and administration of the island. There was also a heightened concern with training the Greenlanders for the increasing technical tasks of operating the economy and administration and with the problematic implications of a doubled population in an area of limited resources.

Denmark's efforts to cope with the manifold and changing problems of Greenland were interrupted by World War II. The German occupation of Denmark cut off contact with Greenland, and although the war never reached the island it had profound effects. Through the Danish ambassador in the United States agreements were made whereby new markets were found for cryolite and codfish ; these were so lucrative that the supplies no longer available to Greenland from Denmark could be purchased in the United States. The United States, in turn, was permitted to build military facilities in Greenland.

⁷⁶ Kjeld Rask Therkilsen, "From Kayak to cutter : Greenland and Industries and Occupations," in Greenland, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 3rd ed., 1961, p. 106, cited in Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration : IV. Greenland, Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 19, Montreal, 1967, p. 75.

By the end of the European phase of the war it was clear that Greenland's long physical and sociopolitical isolation was broken forever. Through their leaders the Greenlanders told the Danes that they were ready for some modern reform measures. Greenland's political future obviously could not continue to be that of a colony in a postwar era of world-wide movements for decolonization ; it would have embarrassed Denmark's international stance in favour of such movements had she tried to maintain Greenland in the same relationship of dependency as before. But outright independence for Greenland was realized by the Greenlanders to be entirely unviable, at least in any foreseeable future, given the limited resources, her geopolitical location and the technically and educationally undeveloped condition of the population.

The solution was to incorporate Greenland into Denmark by amendment of the Danish Constitution, thus placing the former colony on a footing of equality with the other countries of Denmark. This provided that Greenland would elect two members to the Danish Parliament. We may view this, to borrow Jenness' apt phrase, as the "keystone" in the "laying of the blocks for the new political and social structure" which Denmark was erecting in Greenland.⁷⁷ By the time of incorporation in June, 1953, West Greenland, the most accessible and economically developed part, had been given an expanded local municipal structure and had been opened to Danish private enterprise. Its trade had been separated from its administration, judicial and executive functions had been made independent of each other and the educational system was removed from Church control and aligned with the system prevailing in Denmark.

With the preceding brief background we turn now to our principal concern in this paper : the development of modern society in Greenland, its social and human results, and the relation of this to indigenous Eskimo societal patterns.

The past two decades have seen a program in Greenland which has been financed on a scale that may have no parallel anywhere in the world in the field of regional development of an ethnic minority. Investments in economic enterprises, health, education and various social services rose from Kr. 24 million per annum during the period 1950-1953 to Kr. 110 million in 1962 or roughly U.S. \$3.5 million to U.S. \$16 million. In 1972 the annual state budget for Greenland had rea-

⁷⁷ Jenness, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

ched about U.S. \$100 million, something like U.S. \$2,000 for every man, woman and child on the island!

What has been achieved? We may summarize the major accomplishments as follows :

- 1) a greatly increased fish and shrimp harvest and export trade ;
- 2) a doubling of the average Greenlander's real income between 1947 and 1962 ;
- 3) a large-scale home building program, providing extremely liberal, easy terms for home buyers and extensive apartment facilities for rent in the larger towns ;
- 4) a vast expansion of the educational system, including postprimary schooling, a teacher training college and manifold opportunities for Greenlanders to pursue technical and university professional studies in Denmark ; and
- 5) a greatly enlarged and improved medical and health system, the virtual elimination of tuberculosis, lowered mortality rates and increased longevity, widespread availability of clinics and hospitals.

All these rapid and far-reaching developments have required the importation of Danish professional and technical personnel on a rather large scale. As well there has been a considerable development of Danish private businesses. The influx of Danes in all these fields and in the administration, although they are a very small proportion of the total population, has caused certain problems. The provision of incentives to Danes, in the form of attractive incomes and perquisites, has given rise to invidious comparisons of the socioeconomic statuses of Greenlanders and Danes. Here it should be noted that the small but very vocal and influential Greenlandic Eskimo elite, having experienced and enjoyed in considerable measure the Europeanized livingstandard and life-style, have themselves been major stimulators of the everrising material expectations in the population at large. Their insistent-though mostly Danish-inspired--demand for rapid development, sometimes in the face of grave hesitations and doubts by official and non-

official persons of both ethnic groups involved in Greenland affairs, is at least partially responsible for the fact that Greenlanders have played mostly minor and subordinate roles in implementing development in the various fields. Many Greenlanders today feel that as largely unskilled or semi-skilled laborers and as employees of Danish businessmen they have become an exploited underclass in an increasingly stratified society.

One of the potentially most consequential goals in the development of Greenland in the past decade or so has been the so-called population concentration policy. According to this policy, governmental investment is to be concentrated in a few West Greenland towns which are always accessible by water and from which it is possible to exploit fishing grounds on a year around basis. By virtue of this policy, inhabitants of the smaller, more remote communities living largely on a subsistence economy would have the "option" of remaining in those locations, which would receive a minimum of new or improved facilities, or of moving-with governmental assistance-to become commercial fishermen and, more often, construction workers and employees in factories, shops and offices, in an increasingly urbanized, modernized, monetized and bureaucratically organized milieu. The latter choice has, obviously, many implications for patterns of interpersonal and intergroup behavior which neither the Greenlanders nor the administrators charged with effecting the policy could possibly envisage adequately.

Despite some shifts in the timing and pacing of various facets of the modernization process, Greenland's headlong plunge into the modern world along western European lines during the past 20 years has had social and human disintegrative effects which are already massive and critical. Investigations and reports by experts in a variety of specialized fields, as well as statements of administrators themselves, testify abundantly to the widespread and deep social malaise prevalent in today's Greenlandic society. Here we can cite only a small but indicative sample of the evidence.

In 1972 the Danish psychiatrist Inge Lynge, after some experience and research in Greenland, prepared a proposal for establishing a psychiatric service. Among her findings were these :

- 1) schizophrenia is not rare, as was thought earlier ;

- 2) classical psychoses in general are as frequent in Greenland as in the rest of Denmark ;
- 3) there is a need to establish and extend social psychiatry in community settings for many years to come ;
- 4) the rapid social change makes it difficult to specify the exact nature of the psychiatric services needed outside of hospitals ;
- 5) the need for a psychiatric service is the same as in the rest of Denmark. ⁷⁸

Since Dr. Lynge's report, psychiatry has become an integral part of the medical services in Greenland, to cope with the increasing human wreckage resulting from rapid techno-economic modernization.

At the beginning of 1974 a detailed, quantitative study on alcohol consumption in Greenland was published by the Danish social researcher Leif Solling. He reached the following conclusions :

- 1) total alcohol consumption in Greenland, as measured in units of pure alcohol per resident over 14 years of age, is today twice as great as before the 1954 abolition of prohibition ;
- 2) the increase in consumption has taken place especially from 1960-1966 and after 1970 ;
- 3) the average consumption for Greenlanders is about 40% higher than in Denmark, the consumption rate of which is among the highest in Northern Europe ;
- 4) in 1969 Greenlanders spent the same percentage of their money income on alcohol as they did in 1957, 13% indicating that increase in consumption has been proportional to increase in income ;

⁷⁸ Inge Lynge, Skitseforslag til en psykiatrisk service for Greenland, 1972, mimeo.

- 5) about 20% of Greenlandic households spent 20% or more of their money income on alcohol. For Danish households the corresponding figure was 4% ;
- 6) outside of Godthab, there was at least one registered alcoholic in 10% of the West Greenland households ;
- 7) there was a pronounced relation between alcoholism and other psychological deviations in the households ;
- 8) both alcoholism and criminality are outgrowths of the inability of the underprivileged to realize the life they desire within the established framework of society.

In summing up his findings, Solling says that alcohol consumption increases in proportion to increase of income and wider urbanization at the same time as a more secularized way of life is realized ; that an essential part of total consumption is constituted by regular daily use ; that the largest consumers have the greatest difficulties with children and show a higher criminality rate ; that these difficulties are compounded by financial problems ; that the tendency to spend money on alcohol instead of food leads to additional health problems. Finally, we may cite Solling's finding that 22% of all households which had both social problems and contained heavy drinkers or alcoholics accounted for about 35% of total alcohol consumption, 50% of family financial problems, two-thirds of problems with children, two-thirds of all crime and 80% of socially-caused health problems. ⁷⁹

Students of Eskimo societies know, of course, that the alcohol problem is neither new nor peculiar to any particular Eskimo region. Solling's findings, however, demonstrate beyond question a very close relationship between the intensity of modernization and the exacerbation of the alcohol problem amongst the Greenlanders.

We might go on to cite such other signs of social malaise as the growing gap between generations, as Danicization of Greenlandic culture increasingly affects the young, often resulting in ambivalent feelings, with an uncritical over-evaluation of Danish language, attitudes, values and aspirations and a correspon-

⁷⁹ Leif Solling, *Alkoholforbruget in Greenland*, 1974, mimeo.

ding denigration of those lifeways and traditions which formed part of the enculturative experience of the senior generations. Or we could point to the potential for domestic conflict that is implicit in the radically transformed relations between spouses when they cease to be close working partners in subsistence production, and instead play functionally differentiated, fragmented roles as wage workers, consumers and spectators in a increasingly urbanized society shaped by impersonal market-type relationships.

At this point we can appropriately revert to, and bring into a sharper focus the events mentioned at the beginning of this paper : incidents of violent aggression by drunken Greenlanders and the urgency of establishing a social work service. These may be viewed as mere symbols of the social "fallout" from Greenland's modernizing explosion in recent times.

In an illuminating presentation to the psychiatric staff at Harvard Medical School-Massachusetts General Hospital in 1973, Bent Jensen summarized and diagnosed the present situation in Greenland with clarity and succinctness. He said towards the end of his exposition of several partial measures of modernization :

"Political and administrative institutions have been modernized, and their impact is greater than previously. One of the most recent contributions of the reformers has been the formation of a far-reaching social service system throughout Greenland.

"It is no mere coincidence that social service reforms have arrived at the end of a constant stream of profound societal changes. Significantly, if paradoxically, the reform measures themselves provoked the need for sweeping welfare-political intervention!

"The causality is relatively simple : in order to promote local productivity and economic growth, and in order to raise the material, educational, and sanitary levels, the reform planners in the Danish Greenland administration found it appropriate to concentrate the vast majority of the Greenlanders into urban communities, abandoning the traditional small villages and settlements. This rapid urbanization, a complete innovation in Greenland community life, was patterned predominantly on northwest European,

specifically Danish, technology-and its concomitant socioculture, which includes modes of interpersonal interaction.

"...Implicitly built into the development model for Greenland was a foreign value system, including a foreign sociopolitical ideology. This ideology was, by the way, not a specific Socialist or Social Democratic one . . . it was a more bureaucratic type of social guidance. The reform course has been formally accepted in broad terms by central political authorities in Denmark, and it had received moral, as well as formal, backing from the Danish-oriented Greenland elite. However, no Danish Parliament members had any real connection with the Greenland population, or any serious knowledge of the Greenlanders, sociocultural background. Thus, there was a quite remarkable political vacuum in what was called Greenland "policy"

"Briefly, this whole procedure of guided change has brought about a steadily increasing amount of so-called "social adjustment difficulties" among the Greenlanders. A notable portion of the population has tried escaping from their growing insufficiencies with respect to the new pattern of society-hastily established around them by people from outside-through a high consumption of alcohol. Aggression, violence, criminality, psychic tensions in general have aggravated rapidly and seriously in everyday Greenland life, as compared to the situation before the reforms.

"There seems to be general, though not very explicit, official agreement that these psychosocial disturbances themselves are an essential impediment in the on-going development work. There is now abundant evidence that all these human entanglements represent a big question mark regarding the practicability, the very achievability of several important modernization goals.

"At the same time that we recognize the indisputable outward improvements in modern Greenland, we have to face some equally unquestionable steps backward... A competitive society, a combined ideological and practical fact, was established... Deep class barriers are now being generated almost everywhere. No doubt, permanent intergroup conflicts will de-

velop in future Greenland society if the present course is not changed fundamentally." ⁸⁰

A year or so earlier, Jensen published an extended critique of Greenland development, significantly titled *A Lifeway at the Crossroad*, implying that alternatives to the ongoing policy were still possible. In his opening paragraph Jensen cited Knud Rasmussen from a 1915 publication. Rasmussen's statement may well be considered the corrective to a central error underlying existing Greenland developments :

"Human beings are not like coins which, in a purely mechanical manner, may be melted and recast into new ones of the same value." ⁸¹

This brings us to the matter of indigenous Eskimo traditions. How are they implicated in the response to modernization? How might they still be a utilizable resource in shaping a different course of development in modern Greenlandic society? But first we must try to specify what the relevant indigenous Eskimo traditions are.

Students of traditional Eskimo society and culture all know that primary social relations in small, closely interdependent groups were basic, and that there was an in-built flexibility which represented a social adaptation to the shifting, often unpredictable exigencies of a harsh environment. Just how much the values generated by such a social structure and pattern of interpersonal relationships have survived in Eskimo communities of the present day is, of course, a matter for empirical determination. But I would suggest that what evidence we have indicates that the persistence of the old values has been underestimated. Here let me revert to another of my opening observations in this paper, Jensen's discovery in 1961 of the continued functioning of systematic exchange of meat portions between partners in the Northwest Greenland hunting district of Umanak. The existence of such patterns and their significance would, not surprisingly, go unnoticed or ina-

⁸⁰ Bent Jensen, "Human Reciprocity : An Arctic Exemplification," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 43 (3), April, 1973, pp. 448-449.

⁸¹ Bent Jensen, *En livsform ved korsvejen*, Copenhagen. Gyldendal, 1971, p. 9.

adequately evaluated by administrators and technical experts. To the trained, sensitive ethnographer, on the other hand, they are laden with implications and significance and call for intensive, detailed study. In the Greenland case, Jensen's systematic investigation showed that in a single, small village all hunters and almost all adult women were involved. There were in all 83 two-person partnerships comprising people from 17 different households. Over half of these partnerships were within family-kin groups while somewhat less than half linked individuals of different family-kin groups. To quote Jensen :

"The whole community proved to be interwoven with a network, a complex web, of this type of dyadic contract. The dyads are expressive of a continuous exchange. Every time a seal is caught by a hunter, he will send the specific exchange pieces of meat as a gift to the one of his partners from whom he, sooner or later when the latter happens to get prey, will receive a meat piece of exactly the same character and physical value.

"So far the exchange partnership is a symmetric one. Quantitatively speaking, however, and with regard to the actual exchange going on from day to day, it is also an asymmetrical partnership. Since personal hunting luck fluctuates, there may arise some dissimilarity with regard to the quantities yielded by the two partners. However, the symbolic function of these dyadic contracts seems to be much more characteristic than the mutual economic benefits. Also, explicitly, the villagers themselves stress unambiguously the purpose of the exchange as being "a symbol of sympathy and friendship."... The partnership system has been generated as an attempt to strengthen an already existing close association between two individuals or their families, or to give a newly formed friendship a palpable and permanent confirmation. "The exchanges are social in a very broad sense. They reflect, I suppose, a most deep-rooted human-social feature : the need of a fixed interpersonal security circle, the need of social integration." ⁸²

Jensen goes on to note that, although for the majority of Greenlanders, who no longer live in subsistence hunting communities, the partnership system became

⁸² Bent Jensen, "Human Reciprocity : An Arctic Exemplification," p. 452. (Emphasis added by the author of the article.)

obsolete long ago, that "it is relevant to observe the still-existing tendency to form reciprocal dyadic relationships everywhere in Greenland." ⁸³ He further states that "the substance of local socio-cultural patterns in Greenland was still, even as late as the beginning of the post-war modernization policy two decades ago, influenced to a relatively large degree by traditionally strong cooperative interpersonal notions" and that while there was no surviving aboriginal society on the island "some of its most basic leanings, such as social mutuality, were latently in existence beneath the alien pattern introduced." ⁸⁴

What, then, might this mean for the future of Greenlandic society? If, as we have seen, indigenous Eskimo traditions made relations between persons dominant over relations between things-if, indeed, relations between things were mediated by fundamental patterns of relations between persons-then, quite clearly, the thrust of the Danish modernization policy, diametrically opposite, has gone against the most deep-seated values of the Greenlanders ; to be Made consistent with those persisting values it must be reversed. This is not, let it quickly be added, to advocate a return to a plurality of localized, mutually isolated communities with reversion to primitive technology. That would clearly be impossible, even if it were desired by the Greenlanders, which in fact it is not. What is suggested is that traditional Eskimo-including commonhuman-values and needs of social solidarity, mutuality, cooperation and social wholeness may be made the basis for a new society in Greenland which would enjoy many of the benefits which modern knowledge and technique can confer upon human life, without the social fragmentation and personally destructive stresses inherent in an acquisitive, consumeristic, antagonistic class society developed on the Euro-American model.

It may well be felt that any such proposal for fundamental change in current development policy is long on idealism and short on appreciation of hard, factual realities imbedded in the existing current situation of Greenland and its relations with the rest of Denmark. But an equally hard, factual and realistic reply is that the economic goals of the present policy cannot conceivably be realized, and that sooner or later it must be changed. The resources of Greenland are too limited, and the income from industries like fishing and shrimp harvesting, as well as from

⁸³ Idem, p. 453.

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

prospective industries such as mining and petroleum, can probably never come close to equalling the financial outlays of the Danish State which make possible an artificially high living standard. Already, to repeat, it costs U.S. \$2,000 per capita per annum of the Danish public's tax money to maintain each Greenland inhabitant. There is an upper limit to the Danish economy's capacity-already in great difficulties for a variety of reasons-to afford ever-increasing subsidies for Greenland; and, although up to the present the Danish public has shown an enormous political forbearance and patience about Greenland's costs, there may well be a limit to that as well. Alternatives, therefore, are a practical necessity, which will not disappear by any amount of passive contemplation of the inherent difficulties of reversing a policy which has generated its own rather entrenched, selfinterested bureaucratic corps as well as a few influential adherents amongst the Greenlandic elite class.

Re-thinking the future of Greenlandic society is such a recent enterprise, engaged in by the merest handful of people, that no one can as yet provide detailed prescriptions. I would be grossly immodest to presume to do so, especially when others, who have been occupied far longer and continuously with Greenlander's situation, have abstained. Here I would only set out some broad principles.⁸⁵

First, I think the future economy must be based on cooperative principles, which would involve collective decision-making about the goals and priorities as well as the allocation of tasks, and very wide participation in management processes.

Second, such wide participation would be facilitated by a large degree of decentralization, giving individuals the possibility of effective input. Decentraliza-

⁸⁵ Readers familiar with the work of Bent Jensen on Greenland's development problems will recognize in the following paragraphs that essentially I have presented in re-phrased form his recommendations for change, with which I am in basic agreement. I would add that these broad, general principles could well serve as a starting point for a critical re-thinking of development in the Canadian Arctic, an area in which the Eskimo suffer from all the problems which beset the Greenlanders, plus widespread unemployment, physical privations, mal-nutrition and exploitation, thanks to the lack of any state planning worthy of the name, decades of "free" capitalist enterprise, administrative incompetence and the apathy of a general Canadian public widely contaminated by racism and ethnocentrism.

tion is not easy but it should be remembered that Greenlandic communities, even the largest ones, consist of hundreds of families, not mass populations of the magnitude which the term "urban" connotes in Europe or America.

Third, the kind of environment to be developed-types of housing, the physical composition and shape of communities-should be formulated by the Greenlanders in the local communities, on the basis of their conceptions of what social life should be like. Hopefully this would bring about a setting more reflective of the traditional value placed upon the social group, rather than one which sets people apart, as is the case with the high-rise apartment structures recently constructed in many towns.

Fourth, the necessary continued financial and technical help from Denmark-on a scale which would be fiscally realistic and consistent with the real desires of the Greenlanders-needs to be coupled with a new kind of competence in personnel who implement such help. No one familiar with the body of Danish personnel charged with the administration of modern Greenland can fault them, as a group, on grounds of sincerity, sympathy and good intentions. They are almost certainly the most dedicated and hard-working group of administrators and technical experts responsible for any Eskimo region in the world. My point, however, is that these highly commendable, admirable and indeed indispensable qualities are simply not enough. What is grievously lacking is knowledge of the culture, language and psychology of the Greenlanders. Senior officials of the Greenland Ministry, for example, are required by an old Danish tradition to be trained in law, which is in many if not most positions simply irrelevant to coping with the tasks at hand. Far more relevant for all levels of personnel would be training in anthropology, sociology, psychology and linguistics specially focussed upon the Greenland Eskimo. Thus they would be enabled to achieve something absolutely indispensable, in my view, to implementing a viable Greenland policy : to live with the Greenlanders in close communication and cooperation on a daily basis, not, as at present, on the other side of a cross-cultural gulf which they are not trained to bridge.

Again, it cannot be emphasized too often that the alternative here briefly outlined has nothing to do with any vision or dream of reviving the past. It is more than a reinterpretation or continuation of local sociocultural patterns. The suggested alternative is nothing less than the conscious, pragmatic creation of a *funda-*

mentally new type of society, based upon explicit value-goals that are more nearly universal than they are purely local.

Greenlandic society is, indeed, in Jensen's phrase, at a cross-road, and the choice is between taking a new direction, with all the hard work, uncertainty, difficulties, yet real hopes of enabling a people of age-old proven survival capacities to realize their human potential ; or continuing apathetically and stubbornly along a course which has already given signs of the ultimate disaster which it portends.

DISCUSSION

Otto Schaeffer : I have less a question than a comment to make on this excellent paper on conditions in Greenland, perhaps to link them with present conditions as observed in the Canadian Arctic. First, in regard to the alcohol consumption, I think we have established in a discussion in Yellowknife that unfortunately we now have more in the Canadian Arctic than even in Greenland. The association of violence with alcohol is similarly observed and perhaps much worse observed in the Canadian Arctic than in Greenland despite the fact that accidents due to hunting and so on were always high in the hunting and fishing population but these accidents never constituted the first cause of death until four years ago among the Eskimos. To-day these accidents are by far occupying the first cause of death and 60% of them could directly be attributed to alcohol and I suspect in a number of other cases which were not investigated. It was of interest for me to hear from you that in Greenland the dietary exchange was still a very viable social custom. I discussed this recently with Father Métayer who is a very long student of conditions in the Canadian Arctic, not only of Eskimo folklore but also of their social customs. He emphasized to me that this indeed is also the case in the Canadian Arctic that even in communities where he, for example, now is living, like Cambridge Bay, certainly an urbanized community, the exchange or the unwritten law says that when you come home with a cariboo, there are certain parts which you have to exchange and that still takes place. This is perhaps an observation which is quite sad, since quite a few Natives are aware of this unwritten law and try to circumvent it. With the introduction of the white trader, fur trader, there came something different, whatever he got for his fox in goods or ammunitions or

whatever, was never shared. So the white man's reward never fell under the old sharing custom. When some of the Eskimos are particularly lucky with the hunt and come near a trading post they sell the native meat or whatever right there, so they can circumvent the unwritten law of sharing. Dr. Brant emphasized that we should make more use of the old sharing project and the cooperative spirit that underlies it. This is perhaps one of the best part of the "old" culture.

Charles Brant : I'm not as familiar with the situation in the Canadian Arctic as I am in Greenland. Jensen has found that even in Umanak, where hunting is so very important, there is a tendency to limit the dyadic partnerships to the family-kin circle and to treat non-kin on a different basis. I suspect that that's linked-in with the growing monetized market sector of the economy. You have two systems operating here in those kinds of exchanges.

Robert Williamson : I was struck by the comments of Dr. Brant which while addressing themselves essentially to the Greenlandic situation were replete with factors and lessons applicable to the Canadian situation. It also echoed many things that have been pointed out in some of the comments earlier during this symposium. I think perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Dr. Brant's comments, to me at least, was the matter of values that he raised several times. In another phrase used by Dr. Dunning when he talked about a folk system in which of course values are implied and are at play, I would suggest that there is much yet to be done in understanding the inter-play of values between the societies that we have been concerned with today. Thinking during the last 24 hours of how much the Indian people here must be wondering-they are all standing up and beating their breasts and saying mea culpa, but when are they going to say what they think should be done or what they would like to offer in terms of suggestions as to what they might be able to do should our Indians wish them to. Probably the first things that we could do is make better efforts to understand ourselves with the same techniques that we have been applying almost exclusively to the analysis of other societies. The anthropologist is traditionally a person expected to go on examining exotic cultures of some kind. I think our failure to understand our own culture is one of the problems of misunderstanding that occurs between the cultu-

res in inter-play now. We are talking about land, or the law, or the attitude toward the use of liquor, or philosophy, we are constantly looking at a dissonance of cultures and understandings essentially where values and perceptions do not coincide. Or where there has been some breakdown in the balances of cultures in that some values have tended to persist functionally, others have tended to persist disfunctionally in the changed situation and we need to know more about these things. I found that it might have been useful to the Indian people that met Dr. Dunning's two civil servants, if they could have interpreted the white man's culture a little better. I am talking about these series of examples that Dr. Dunning gave of the DIAND, he talked about the rather flat-footed pas-de-deux that occurred with two senior civil servants who had clearly reached the top end of the Peter principle and were fairly deeply knotted into their lateral arabesque. In fact he painted a picture of a rather long history of DIAND being involved in a fairly chaotic choreography of readjustments. Dr. Brant is showing us the same type of problem in Greenland as we can measure it against what's happening in Canada. I think that one thing we can offer to the indigenous people here, now, is to heighten our awareness of our task as social scientists in the need to analyze the values and the structures and the inter-relationships and the beliefs system and all those other things that we normally look at in another society and turn it upon ourselves. I must say how interesting I found your comments on Bent Jensen's discovery of the dyadic relations in Umanak. Again, as Dr. Schaeffer has shown from the Western Arctic that these do occur in the Eastern Arctic also, that they do go beyond the kin structure, they do persist and it would be interesting I think to discover why these habits persist, to what degree they are functional in the changed situation of the present. A very interesting point that I want to make is that Bent Jensen would not have made that very significant discovery were it not for the fact that he speaks Eskimo extremely well. It was a linguistic clue that triggered his enquiry and in all of the discussions today and yesterday, I have been a little surprised, particularly here in Quebec, that the question of language has not been given as much significance as I believe it should be. I think the chances for some respected and useful persistence of the traditional sources of identity in a modern setting for the people in Greenland are the greater because of the way in which the use of the Greenlandic language has been facilitated in the modern setting. I believe that the chances for the Eskimo to maintain those sources of identity which are functional to their prideful and effective existence in modern society in Cana-

da are also going to be dependent upon the degree to which their language is respected and used. Malheureusement, en ce moment, malgré ma bonne volonté, je ne suis pas capable de parler le français assez bien pour exprimer mes idées. I think I just want to summarize by saying that I was very happy to hear so many of the points made by Dr. Brant, which can be observed in the Canadian situation. We can learn from so many of those points that he made. I want to emphasize the importance of using our scientific analysis on our own society as it is in contact with the other societies. I want to emphasize again the importance of the maintenance of language as the basic social bond in the maintenance of identity and in the functionality of the traditional Canadian societies in the modern setting.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

Quatrième session

Sous la présidence
de Raphaël Picard

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Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.
Quatrième SESSION

Table ronde sur l'éveil amérindien *

Round Table on the - Amerindian - Awakening

*Andrew DELISLE, Jacques KURTNESS,
Léonard PAUL et Raphaël PICARD*

[Retour à la table des matières](#)

Marc-Adélarde Tremblay : Tel que prévu au programme, nous avons organisé une table ronde sur l'éveil amérindien et avons demandé à l'Association des Indiens du Québec de nous déléguer ses représentants. Je vous remercie d'être venus ; je suis certain que vous n'aurez pas à le regretter, étant donné la qualité des personnes qui vous adresseront la parole ce soir. Je me permets, immédiatement, de vous présenter le président de cette assemblée, M. Raphaël Picard, de Bersimis. Quand je lui ai demandé de m'indiquer ce que je devais dire à son sujet, il s'est contenté de répondre - faisant sans doute allusion aux expériences internationales de certains de nos conférenciers : « Moi, je ne suis pas allé en Afrique ou en

* La table ronde fut organisée sur le thème de l'éveil amérindien afin de permettre aux Indiens du Québec de s'exprimer librement et pleinement sur leurs besoins, leurs conditions de vie et leurs aspirations. Ceux-ci sont définis dans huit documents qui nous ont été envoyés par l'Association des Indiens du Québec avant le colloque. Puisque ces documents ont déjà reçu une certaine diffusion, ils ne seront pas reproduits ici. Voici leurs titres : 1) *Développement historique* ; 2) *Évolution des négociations* ; 3) *Déclaration du chef Andrew Delisle* ; 4) *Les Indiens parlent aux Québécois* ; 5) *Objectif des Indiens du Québec* par Aurélien Gill ; 6) *Principes fondamentaux* ; 7) *Notre terre, notre peuple, notre avenir* ; 8) *Aide-mémoire*.

Amérique latine, je suis surtout allé à Bersimis, mais j'y ai acquis une solide expérience de la vie. » This is the kind of experience that we need to hear, an experience which is shared, I am sure, by the other participants in this round table. It is a significant privilege to have with us such a group of important people, especially Mr. Andrew Delisle, the President of the Indians of Quebec Association. I am sure that both individually and collectively, they have an important message for us. We do not have very often the opportunity to listen to inside views, coming directly from the Indians themselves. Alors, sans plus tarder, je suis très heureux de vous laisser la parole, monsieur le président, et de vous laisser le soin de présenter chacun des conférenciers de ce soir. Je suis assuré que tous mes collègues ici présents brûlent du désir de vous entendre.

Raphaël Picard : Il me fait plaisir de présider cette séance de travail sur le so-disant éveil des Indiens, ses lignes de force et ses caractéristiques les plus typiques. Avant de présenter ceux qui parleront de cet éveil amérindien au Québec, et même dans tout le Canada, j'aimerais préciser la façon dont on va procéder pour faire aboutir convenablement cette communication. J'aimerais que chacun de ces trois conférenciers présente son message, à tour de rôle. Ensuite on pourra leur adresser des questions. Moi j'essaierai de diriger le tout.

Je vais d'abord vous présenter M. Léonard Paul qui est le chef régional pour le district de la Côte-Nord. Il a été chef de Bersimis pendant deux ans et a acquis une riche expérience. Il enseigne présentement à l'école élémentaire. Il y aura M. Jacques Kurmess qui travaille à l'Association des Indiens du Québec. Il s'occupe surtout d'éducation dans les communautés indiennes. En dernier lieu, il y a M. Andrew Delisle, le président de l'Association des Indiens du Québec. Je ne sais pas dans quel ordre on va présenter ces gens-là pour que chacun d'eux fasse son discours. Je crois que M. Kurtness va commencer.

Jacques Kurtness : Depuis maintenant presque quatre années, au milieu de l'Association des Indiens du Québec, premièrement, à titre d'officier de liaison des services de santé, deuxièmement, à titre de consultant pour le ministère des Affaires indiennes au niveau des recherches psychologiques dans les régions éloignées et, troisièmement, à titre d'adjoint du comité exécutif de l'Association des Indiens

du Québec, j'ai eu à travailler très proche des problèmes amérindiens, c'est-à-dire très proche au niveau des communautés, très proche au niveau du leadership amérindien, très proche de ce que les enfants, de ce que les femmes, de ce que les hommes amérindiens pensent, de ce qu'est la situation amérindienne. J'ai écouté aussi un appel historique de M. Dorion hier ; cet appel historique est à beaucoup de points de vue un appel dans le sens d'un nouveau contrat social entre le gouvernement du Québec et les Amérindiens. Je parle d'un nouveau contrat social dans le sens qu'on parle d'une compréhension multidimensionnelle et bidimensionnelle contrairement à l'unidimensionnalité qui a caractérisé les relations des Indiens du Québec avec le gouvernement du Québec jusqu'à date. Aussi, le Dr Dorion a mentionné, du moins indirectement, dans le message qu'il nous a livré, que les Indiens se sentent au fond d'une cellule à l'heure actuelle. Il y a deux solutions : ou bien le gouvernement du Québec ouvre la porte aux Amérindiens, ou bien c'est la violence au Québec. De deux choses l'une, ou il y a un libéralisme à l'intérieur du peuple québécois et du peuple canadien, c'est-à-dire qu'on donne une chance aux Indiens de survivre, ou bien, si on manque d'oxygène, on est obligé d'aller le chercher. De deux choses l'une, ou on donne aux Indiens le moyen de survivre, c'est-à-dire de préserver leur identité, de conserver leurs institutions, une certaine volonté de vivre, une certaine volonté de garder une direction et un sens de décision dans son futur, ou bien les Indiens sont manipulés par l'extérieur. De deux choses l'une, ou on leur donne le droit de choisir leur futur ou on choisit le futur pour eux. Je n'ai pas beaucoup d'expérience dans la vie ; j'ai une maîtrise en psychologie, mais l'expérience la plus valable de ces quatre années, la seule expérience que m'ont donnée mon grand-père qui a été chef pendant 22 ans et mon père qui a été chef pendant six ans est la suivante : plus tu veux changer les gens, moins ils changent. Plus le gouvernement fédéral, plus le gouvernement du Québec voudront changer les Indiens, moins ils réussiront, parce que le changement vient de l'intérieur des gens. Plus tu veux changer les gens, moins ils changent : je crois que le développement futur appartient aux Amérindiens. C'est au niveau local que le changement va arriver. Je crois qu'à l'heure actuelle on se rend compte de la somme d'erreurs accumulées, on s'aperçoit de plus en plus que les Amérindiens sont en train de prendre leur destinée entre leurs mains.

Comme Indiens, beaucoup de frustrations nous touchent. On est conscients qu'on n'a pas été tellement choyés depuis le début de l'avènement des Européens.

On n'est pas fous, on sait ce qui arrive ; on sait ce qui s'est passé aux États-Unis, on sait ce qui se passe au Canada ; on sait ce qui se passe sur chaque réserve. On est des gens de chair, on est des gens comme les Québécois, on est des Canadiens aussi. Qu'est-ce qu'on veut ? On veut un nouveau contrat social qui établisse de nouvelles relations avec le gouvernement, qui nous donne le droit de vivre et de s'épanouir dans ce pays. Si on ne veut pas, qu'on continue d'envoyer les bulldozers à la baie James, qu'on continue d'envoyer les bulldozers sur ma réserve, qu'on continue de nous tuer. De deux choses l'une : ou on donne le droit de vivre, ou c'est nous qui allons le prendre par la violence. Peut-être que c'est catégorique, j'en suis très conscient. Comme psychologue, j'ai reçu des gens qui étaient sur le point de se suicider. Quand j'ai demandé à l'un d'entre eux : « Pourquoi veux-tu te suicider, mon vieux ? » il m'a dit : « Parce que j'en ai assez de la vie. » Je lui ai alors dit : « Pourquoi ne te suicides-tu pas ? » Il m'a répondu : « Parce que j'ai une femme et des enfants. J'ai un pays. » Ce que les Indiens veulent vous dire, c'est qu'on a une femme et des enfants, on a un pays aussi et on veut y contribuer. C'est le seul message que j'ai à vous livrer.

Raphaël Picard : Merci, M. Kurtness. Je demande à M. Léonard Paul de prendre la parole.

Léonard Paul : Je vais essayer de ne pas être trop long mais je vais tenter de communiquer ce que vraiment j'ai eu comme expérience jusqu'à maintenant. Comme vous savez, dans les réserves indiennes les jeunes sont appelés très jeunes à œuvrer ou à avoir des problèmes, ou à être politisés, si vous voulez utiliser les termes qu'on emploie ordinairement aujourd'hui quand on parle de la politique québécoise. C'est un peu semblable à cela, puisque dès notre jeune âge nous sommes appelés à faire face à des problèmes. Alors on parle ici des lignes de force. Pour ma part, je suis très sceptique quant à ces lignes de force. Mais je pourrais quand même, d'après mon expérience comme chef de bande, essayer de donner le plus possible. Je me tiendrai le plus près du quotidien que j'ai vécu pendant les deux ans que j'étais chef de la Côte-Nord et pendant les deux ans que j'ai travaillé comme chef régional à essayer de regrouper les neuf chefs de la Côte-Nord afin d'avoir une conscience telle qu'on le mentionne dans le livret, l'éveil amérin-

dien. Je pense qu'il y a trois façons de voir le problème ; je ne dis pas que c'est exclusif aux Indiens, mais c'est ce que j'ai remarqué du moins sur la Côte-Nord. Comme dans toute la société, je pense, il y a trois moyens. Il y a le moyen de prendre la violence, comme M. Kurtness l'affirmait tout à l'heure. Il y a les moyens normaux de démocratie, les moyens normaux d'action : c'est la catégorie dans laquelle j'ai essayé d'œuvrer en tant que chef pendant deux ans à Bersimis. J'ai essayé de voir le plus clair possible, de voir des moyens qui appartiennent à des gens qui sont normaux, qui sont capables de s'asseoir autour d'une table pour discuter des problèmes des Indiens, Il y a sûrement, aussi, ceux qui voient la violence pour résoudre les problèmes des Indiens. Il y a, évidemment, la troisième catégorie de gens, c'est la majorité des individus qui sont passifs.

Alors, pour être le plus court possible, je vais essayer d'expliquer pourquoi certains Indiens des réserves indiennes essaient d'employer la violence. Comme vous pouvez le constater, il y a beaucoup d'anthropologues ici, dans la salle, qui ont voyagé ou fait ce qu'on appelle le travail dans le champ et qui se sont aperçus qu'il ne se passe rien dans le contexte d'une réserve indienne. Alors on serait tenté, en étant jeune comme je le suis, de tendre à la violence quand on dit qu'il ne se passe rien sur une réserve indienne ; c'est qu'on prend aucun moyen actuellement pour résoudre le problème que le professeur Dorion mentionnait hier, le confinement d'une réserve indienne. Au point de vue économique, il ne se passe rien ; au point de vue social, il ne se passe rien ; c'est pour cela qu'il y a des gens passifs d'ailleurs. Alors ce sont surtout les jeunes qui sont tentés par la violence. Je sais que pour le territoire qui m'occupe il y a cette tendance qui est là, qui est latente, qui est prête à agir, et je n'essaie pas d'effrayer tout le monde ici. Je pense que c'est tout à fait normal si on voit le contexte d'une réserve ; c'est démoralisant, puisque, à un moment donné, on est à court de moyens. Surtout aussi quand on a fait, par exemple, l'expérience d'être chef de bande. On essaie de replâtrer la situation d'une façon normale, par des moyens normaux. Je pense qu'à un moment donné, on serait porté à employer des moyens de violence.

Alors moi, pour ma part, je me suis employé, pendant les deux ans que j'étais chef de bande, à essayer d'utiliser un de ces moyens normaux, comme je le mentionnais dans mon intervention d'hier, Même j'ai été obligé, la plupart du temps, dans une situation très défavorisée, de quêter ces moyens-là, d'aller me battre pour aller chercher ces moyens normaux. Alors, moi, comme je le disais hier, au ni-

veau de l'Association, on a essayé de trouver des jonctions en quelque part, avec la population québécoise puisqu'on a affaire à une majorité, la majorité québécoise. On a essayé de les conscientiser le plus possible au problème indien. Moi, quand j'ai été chef pendant deux ans à Bersimis, j'ai essayé d'être le plus possible ouvert à des gens qui n'étaient pas Indiens et j'ai essayé de trouver des moyens de commune participation avec ces gens-là, et c'est ce que j'entendais tout à l'heure par des moyens normaux. C'est sûr que c'est frustrant de se situer dans cette optique-là parce que tout le monde n'a pas encore pris conscience. Quand on a fait la tournée d'information à travers la province sur la situation des Indiens du Québec, on s'est aperçus que c'était pas si facile de rejoindre ou d'essayer de rejoindre les Québécois et de les sensibiliser à la situation des Indiens. Bien des fois, par la voie des journaux, par les voies normales de communication, je pense qu'on ne dépasse pas la frontière justement et qu'on ne tente pas d'aller rejoindre les Indiens qui sont au delà de cette frontière et qui sont prêts à communiquer pour une participation commune. C'est sûr que parler dans ce sens-là, comme j'en parle, ça semble utopique parce que, quand on parle de majorité, c'est quand même une masse de gens qu'il faut rejoindre. Mais lorsque l'on parle de groupements ou de groupes intermédiaires, là c'est beaucoup plus encourageant de rejoindre les gens. Par exemple, lors de la tournée d'information qu'on a faite à travers la province, j'ai essayé de rejoindre des gens, des groupements qui étaient plus sympathiques à la cause des Indiens. Je pense que c'est beaucoup plus encourageant que de parler en terme de majorité, comme cela, abstraitement, sans pouvoir rejoindre les gens qui ne pourraient pas nous aider. J'ai tenté de rejoindre les gens qui pourraient participer ensemble à une aventure comme celle des Indiens, pas dans le sens romantique, mais dans le sens très réel, parce que si on se rend dans des réserves indiennes, on se rend compte qu'il n'y a rien de romantique là-dedans. C'est très réel comme situation et, comme je disais tout à l'heure, il faut prendre action.

Alors la troisième catégorie de gens, que je pourrais appeler la population des gens qui sont passifs, c'est sûr que ces gens-là, par le système, surtout par la loi indienne, ont été habitués à recevoir et non pas à donner. C'est peut-être cela actuellement la ligne de force à acquérir. C'est peut-être la façon de pouvoir enfin donner de nous autres mêmes. C'est peut-être la ligne de force qu'il faudrait pour aller au delà de ce réflexe de tout le temps recevoir des choses. Je pense que le système, ici j'attaque aucunement les fonctionnaires, parce que c'est pas tellement

de leur faute, c'est des boucs émissaires d'un système, que la loi indienne doit être repensée. Moi personnellement, lorsque je rencontre des fonctionnaires, ce serait facile de leur jeter la pierre, mais c'est la loi, c'est tout le système. Je crois qu'il faut repenser toute la loi indienne, qui n'a pas été faite par les Indiens. Ça a été voté au Parlement canadien et il n'y a pas eu tellement d'implications de la part des Indiens. Alors c'est le message que je voulais passer ce soir. Puis, pour ma part, même si ça paraît utopique, je pense que le problème indien n'est pas un problème isolé, dans le sens que ça devrait être un problème de tout le monde. Je pense que lorsqu'on regarde le problème des Indiens, on le regarde, je pense, dans une belle vitrine de magasin et puis on essaye de dire, oui c'est cela le problème indien, on essaye de le tourner d'un bord et de l'autre. Je pense que ça concerne tout le monde. Pour ma part, quand j'étais chef, j'ai essayé non pas de me confiner à ma propre réserve, mais j'ai essayé de faire participer les gens qui pourraient non pas nous aider de la façon séculaire d'aider les Indiens, mais de la façon réelle de travailler entre humains. Alors, je vous remercie beaucoup de m'avoir écouté.

Raphaël Picard : Je remercie M. Léonard Paul pour cette excellente communication. Maintenant, on va passer au troisième invité de cette tribune, qui est en l'occurrence le président de l'Association des Indiens du Québec. On dit tout le temps que le plus important, ou le plus efficace de tous, je ne sais pas quel qualificatif utiliser, est celui qui prend la parole le dernier. Immédiatement, je présente M. Andrew Delisle, le président de l'Association des Indiens du Québec.

Andrew Delisle : Merci, monsieur le président. Je pense que je vais parler en anglais parce que c'est ma deuxième langue pour parler. I said I'm going to speak in English because it is my second language ; my third language is French and because so many of my people work in Brooklyn, my fourth language is Brooklynese.

I guess the subject we are discussing tonight is the awakening of the Indian people and I guess from attending the supper we had tonight, that the instrument that the gentleman [Dr. Claude Fortier] demonstrated to us, which has six points

and the two holes in the head ⁸⁶ is sometimes necessary to get people to understand what we are saying. That is truly what may happen to make people open up their minds. The Indian people have been awakened. When I say this, I am not patting myself on the shoulder, but I am speaking from the experience of my background as a probation officer on our reserve, as a director of recreation, as a counsellor in a band, as chief of a band, as a vice-president of the Association of the Indians of Quebec, as the President of that Association, as a Chairman of the National Committee of Indian Rights and Treaties at one point in time, and also as a vice-president of National Indian Brotherhood, and also, I would like to mention, because this gentleman was introduced at supper as an officer of the Order of Canada. Indian people sometimes say I was a bummer to accept that honour. But, I think, I interpreted it in such a way where I had felt that I had done something which was beneficial to the Indian people in Canada and that I was being charged with the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67. Now I can go that far back only seven years, but it is a long time for us in so far as the awakening is concerned. Indian people have been awakened to the problems that they face. They have been awakened to world situations because of the introduction of communications such as television, radio and travel in airplanes and all in that short period of time and they have been trying to get their points across. And, I think, one of the things that we realize, is that it is the other guys that need to be awakened a little bit : people who are in government, people who are responsible to implement programs of government.

You must realize that our problems are two fold. The problems are that are included amongst ourselves, that is getting our own messages across and getting our unity across due to the fact that we are scattered over so large an area. Individual reserves have their individual problems and each one is trying to resolve them. Getting so many people together and ideas together is very difficult, especially without resources, without anything available to us, except what is given to us at the discretion or out of the goodwill, of our so called benefactors, as is so often mentioned in our signed treaties. Now this is one of the problems we face. The other problem is the obstacles we have to overcome on the other side. The many bosses, and I identify them as bosses, that we have to compete with, that we have to contend with ; the bosses, starting off at the local level with the Indian agent

⁸⁶ A specimen of trepanation among Inca Indians.

which was there, at the district level, with the district superintendent, at the regional superintendent in Quebec and, then, the various Departments in Ottawa. And also, the recognition that the Indian people have to work within a democratic system, which is so well expressed by Canadian government and then that this system must be applied to structures set up by Indian people, who want to accept responsibility and authority at the band level. This system, as you know, was not necessarily introduced by Indians in many cases, but by non-Indians through the *Indian Act*. There is the chief and the council, as representatives of their people, who in turn, if they want to get together, are not necessarily accepted by the government because we have gotten together on a provincial basis and because of the "backdooring" that is taking place. Sometimes this is not accepted by government. They say your organization does not represent all the people. It's the chief that represents them. So, we will go and ask the chief and, in many cases, the back door is entered and the chief is posed questions which he does not understand, due to the circumstances of education, of communication and so forth. These things, which are accepted by your government as being a democratic system, were able to create groups who are then officially recognized as representatives of all people, although they don't have, in many cases, the majority of the votes. Why doesn't this type of thing apply to Indian people? I just use this example as one of the many problems we face. I think Indian people, and I refer back to these two problems, have been saying over the years : "We want to take care of our own affairs, we want to take care of our destiny."

But I would like to mention here that some of our people want to know how they would be able to do that. I think that we have to spend a lot of our efforts on doing these things and then, on the other hand, we have to convince government, who has been used to doing things in a paternalistic manner, to release some of the authority which it has. I just mention these things again as examples of the problems that we have to face. And who has to face that? Who are the people charged with the responsibilities to do these things? It's fellows like these people sitting over here. A small group who is charged with educating people at two levels for two different reasons, for the same objective. Now I tell you people, this is a problem that we are facing, especially as we don't have the resources and the finances available to us... human resources... and financial resources which are already there. That's why I make the distinction between financial and human

resources. This is the reason why Indians in Quebec, after the visit which was referred to by chief Leonard Paul, went to speak to all the people in Quebec and prior to that, we went to speak to all Indians in Quebec so as to find out what their intentions were. The result was clear : the Indians want to take over Indian Affairs. Now, this scared a lot of people. Indian Affairs and government say : "Don't use the word take over, use the word merger. "All right, "merger" or "take over," I think the point is that we want to run our affairs in this sense, within the framework of the wider general society, within the framework of what is happening throughout the world. You know, I mention this because one of our chiefs just recently said : "We realize you may have to use our lands if we are attacked by the Martians or somebody else, but in the meantime, you shouldn't be able to use them." So, this is what I mean within the framework of modern-based society. Our people are thinking that way ; they want to share what they have, but they also want to share what you have benefited from their lands. In taking over this responsibility and authority with the freedom to make a mistake, but also with the responsibility to be responsible for the mistake that was made, I think that we can correct them ourselves. These are the things we want to do. When we talk about take over, that does not mean we are going to fire everybody in Indian Affairs ; it only means that we are going to cut-off one of the bosses because there is one boss too many. We, Indian people, are going to set up and plan our programs ; we are going to plan our policy and we are going to set the priorities with the resources available.

You know, in the province of Quebec, you have 791 Indian Affairs employees and you have approximately 40 million dollars that come to this province every year for the Indians of Quebec. What do the Indians have to say in the decision as to how this money is going to be used? Nothing at this point. And we have to have something in there. It would be so easy to sit down, we as leaders, and as chiefs, to review our own situation and to have our own decisions made as to who is going to have the houses first, who is going to have the houses next year, and who is going to have the houses the year after. And because we have sat together and discussed these things amongst ourselves and come to an agreement of this sort, you won't have that bickering that goes on from year to year : "I didn't get my share of houses." The money would be used positively under the supervision of one Indian over the other, as opposed to the supervision that takes place now,

where policies are created in Ottawa and passed on to the civil service for implementation. Indian people, looking at this, at the reserve level, don't want them, and people at the regional level are stuck in between. They don't know who to listen to. Our suggestion is that we cut off the head at the top and we put the people, who are really supposed to be the clients to tell the employees what they want to be done on the reserves, and the things that will affect the lives of their people in the present and future generations.

This is the type of thing that's got to happen now, because if we wait any longer, as Jacques Kurtness says, the bulldozer will have to come in ; and I don't think the people want the bulldozers to come in. I think by the fact that you are sitting here discussing the "Amerindians," you don't want the bulldozers to come in. By the fact that so much interest is taken, I realize that we have a problem. A lot of people say to me : "Well, what are you going to do about it, why is it the Haitians, the Puerto Ricans, the Belgians that have more voice in their minorities here, and that they get listened to, and they get what they want? And you guys, have been here for so long, you're in many cases the majority and you're not getting anywhere you're not pushing ahead?" We realize there is a problem that we have to resolve. We have, by the way, here in Quebec, our intentions.

Sure, we recognize the fact that there is violence taking place, but we don't want that to happen. We think there could be a coordinated effort ; we think the force that our young people have can be used in a positive way, but we have to be given a chance to coordinate these forces. We realize in making that statement that the government will think and say : "Ah, if those guys get together, we'll really be in trouble." We realize that, but we are prepared to take the chance and they should be prepared to take the chance. We believe, here in Quebec, that a demonstration serves the purpose of getting somebody's attention, and once you have somebody's attention, you have all the working papers and the plans to resolve the problems. That is the way we would like to handle it. If there is any chance of a demonstration, that is the way it should be only when people are not attentive or are not listening. You get their attention with that type of action. On the other hand, when people are frustrated, are unable to get assistance from other people as to how to resolve their problems, you will have this violence. I am surprised, as Jacques implied, that it has not happened in Quebec before, because I can name you a lot of places in Quebec which are worse than Kenora, than Cache

Creek and Wounded Knee. You just go and look and you will find these places : for one Matagami, for another, Seven Islands. May be it is not that evident, but it is there.

The other thing is the lack of coordination and resources that are available to resolve our problems. How often do we see one Department of government not even communicating with another Department of government, one citizens group not even communicating with another citizens group, all with the same objective : "We want to help the Indians, you poor Indians, we will help you." But one guy is doing this, one guy is doing that and one guy does not want to talk to that guy. Well, if it takes us to coordinate this, let us coordinate. Let us get you guys together so that we can resolve this problem, once and for all.

This is the Indian awakening. This is what I have heard from all the chiefs in Canada and all bands in Canada. In all honesty, the people got up, in some cases, and said : "That's what we want, our land, our people," because we encourage them to take a strong and a high stand. When we say our land, we did not say our land in the sense "our land." Right now the Indian people are saying our land ; we are all living here, let's do something about it. But you know people will take it and to the extreme. In many cases, they should take to the extreme, that is the only way you can get the other guy to listen. If I say the coat that you are wearing is my coat, you surely will react and, you know, sometimes we have to do that. So if we look at it in that perspective, we are all there to do something for this situation.

Another thing that bothers me a lot. Government thinks that we are a problem. That applies to the federal government and, in many cases, to provincial governments and private groups : they don't look at the positive side. Indian people here are an asset to this country and they could be used for the benefit of the whole society. But nobody thinks about that. It's a problem right away.

Today, I got a call from our representative at the Conference in Chicoutimi and I will refer to it. They're having a problem because the sociologists and economists have two different opinions about what should be done with Indian lands. Of course, the economists say : "The hell with Indians let's develop it," while the sociologists say : "Hold on, we have to consider." And it is true, you look at our leaders right across the country, each and every one is first man and standing next

to him is an economist. Maybe that's good, because you have to compete with the world's situation, inflation, and all this kind of things. But, let's push him aside a little bit and put in a sociologist (I am not pushing the sociologist. I'm just mentioning this idea.) Let's think of the people a little bit when we resolve this problem in that situation, because as I said, the Indians are awakened and they're prepared to do something. Now, the only alternative is that you can keep doing a cosmetic job, covering the things here and there. "OK, we'll give you so much for this many hours-that should shut up that guy for a year. We will give him so much for welfare-that should shut him up for a little while." As long as you keep doing that, the problems will get bigger and bigger. The next thing you will know is that Indians are going to be the welfare officers, because they cannot go any lower, they will have to be promoted and they will be handling your welfare. I refer to that I often find it funny, because I mentioned 791 personnel in the province of Quebec working, supposedly for Indian people, because Indians, after all, are the clients. I think that if we traded those jobs plus all the other jobs, we would have no unemployment among the Indians in Canada, because they could fill all these positions. So, if you want all Indians to become members of Indian Affairs, maybe that's the solution, but I don't think that's the right solution.

I would like to finish up by reminding you that there are two problems that we face and I'm being objective about this. We have to have the resources to make our people aware of how to do things, because of our experience. We have the background to do that, we know the downs and ins and outs. Then we have to convince the other people that they have to relinquish some of those things which were given to them under the terms of trusteeship. There has to be a definition at one point in time. Does the Minister retain the trusteeship over Indian lands where Indians live forever or does he return it back to the Indian people from which it was taken? Does the government, the Minister of Indian Affairs remain as trustee charged with the protection of Indian lands and Indian fights? At the same time, is he going to remain the individual with whom we are to negotiate with for these rights and these lands? I don't see this dual role. This will have to be resolved in the future. I would like to say thank you for the suit that I wear, the money that I have to travel because it comes out of your tax money. I say this because that's the impression that lots of people have and that is the impression that is being pushed by government. Every time, in the near past, you've heard the Minister of Indian

Affairs reply to us when we request some fund for programs : "I have to report to the tax-payers because that's where the money comes from." Well I say, baloney to that. I say if they admit, and there is no problem in admitting, that Indians have a right to this land and they have a right to the share of the products of this land, then the clothes that I wear, the money that I use to travel amongst the people and the money that they use, come as the rightful share of Indian person, especially by the fact that he is trying to raise the standards of the Indian people. Thank you very much.

Raphaël Picard : Merci, M. Delisle. Nous venons d'entendre une description brève des différentes composantes de cet éveil amérindien au Québec. Premièrement, M. Kurtness a étalé, disons, l'aboutissement possible de cet éveil vers la violence, tandis que M. Léonard Paul a essayé de décrire les groupes constituants de cet éveil, d'après son expérience, j'entends comme chef sur une réserve. M. Delisle a essayé d'exposer quelles peuvent être les orientations que peut prendre éventuellement cet éveil. Maintenant, nous allons passer à la période des questions, selon la longueur du temps disponible. Vous désignerez aussi à qui vous adressez la question. Approchez-vous au micro, s'il vous plaît.

Anonymous : I would like to ask Mr. Delisle a question. In your experiences do you see any alternative for monetary funding for Indian groups or bands other than taxes of the so-called dominant race or the master race? Do you see any alternative for Indians raising revenue, other than the tax?

Andrew Delisle : Yes, I certainly do, using the system that is already used. And, I think, there was some progress made in that direction through the Throne Speech where it was mentioned that now, the royalties on minerals and any resources that are taken from Indian lands would be going to the Indian people, as opposed to the Province which had controlled these resources, especially Quebec. The point I'm getting at is that the Province, with which we never had any contact or relationship, has been receiving the royalties. Even if Esso goes there, or I don't know what company, the Province is the first one to receive royalties on these things and after that a portion of this money should go to the Indian people as the

original owners of the land. That's the point I was trying to make when we made our statement on August 28th. The government, that is the Prime Minister, should make a statement concerning the fact that Indians don't live off tax-payers, they live off the normal products of the land. The excuse given is that we don't have the ability to set up a development corporation or that type of thing. Well, you look at Northern Quebec, for instance, who is the person that is developing it? Is it Quebec that is developing it, or does it bring its engineers from Belgium, from Japan or the United States? You can look at it in that same perspective and we don't have to be the ones that who are going over there to develop as long as we own part of it, if not all of it. Then, we have the fights to the resources and once we have this, we can decide how it will be spent, how it ought to be used for our own benefit.

Raphaël Picard : Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres questions?

Claude Fortier : Mr. Chairman, I was fascinated by the viewpoints expressed by your colleagues of the panel. I was especially impressed by some of the suggestions and conclusions drawn by Mr. Delisle with respect to the rightful role of the Indians in deciding about their own affairs. This being only part of the result of a concerted effort on their part to assume control of their affairs. I just wanted to bring some note of optimism to the situation, however, by assuming that some very marked progress had been made in that situation over the last decade. I don't know if this would be challenged, but this consciousness of the actual rights that serve the self-determination of the Indians as a group or as diverse groups, is being increasingly recognized, and the paternalistic attitudes, which are still the stand of many agencies dealing with Indian affairs, do not necessarily correspond with the consensus in this country. There is a growing awareness on our part to your right self-determination and self-management. The note of optimism goes farther than what you have mentioned as the possibilities of working through existing structures. There appears to be a great deal of wisdom in that, because there are worse systems, worse structures than our Canadian structures derived mostly from the British parliamentary system, where fair-play still has some meaning. This is contrary to the many latent situations in American countries where Indians

have been crushed and are still being crushed by a handful of oppressors. Well, whenever Canadians realize that they have defaulted in that respect and they have actually, either through ignorance or for other reasons, deviated from what they considered as fair-play (very right for that self-determination). They feel, at least, terribly uneasy and uncomfortable about it. This is one feeling you can derive from this gathering-the growing feeling of uneasiness at the failure of giving you the opportunity to decide and to take your own affairs in hand.

You also referred, Mr. Delisle, to the awareness of your group to the world-wide situation. Well this is worth further expanding upon to realize what a fortunate country we are as a whole. We are fortunate in having unbelievable resources and extensive lands and territory which is almost the equivalent of China, for what amounts to a handful of people 20 million Canadians altogether, in roughly the same area occupied by China with 700 million inhabitants. This leads to some of the world-wide problems which, very soon, in spite of our extremely privileged situation, we will have to face. I refer to the population explosion which incredibly enough has still not reached the consciousness of the layman, but which will eventually affect us, even us Canadians. We will have increased the population by roughly 10 million by the end of this century and up to 40 million by the year 2040. In terms of food supplies, our resources cannot, according to available technical knowledge, afford to supply or feed such an enormous population. And this leads to the matter of technology. You see, even your group cannot ignore, that in spite of its deleterious effect on your environment, mankind cannot expect to live without an increasingly sophisticated advanced technology in order to deal with such problems as the population explosion and the general famine which is becoming an increasingly distinct threat for the population of the world. One realizes that over 22% of the population of the world now is at the half starvation level. By the end of the century this will have reached roughly 40% of mankind ; and what about 50 years later?

Now, even if we have internal problems, which can be solved through the means you have outlined, still, we cannot be blind in the face of our own personal and immediate problems. You, as Amerindians of Quebec or B.C., cannot put aside the problems which presently threaten mankind and will increasingly do so. We will have to examine this sort of situation in a global context, and see how, we as Canadians, whether Indians, or of French or of English origins, can collectively

help to bring some sort of a solution to these problems, which may not be ours today, but which no doubt will be our children's or grandchildren's.

The optimistic side of these problems is the enormous resources we have at our disposal. Mr. Hamelin, in his fascinating talk this morning about the Northwest Territories, mentioned the wealth of the resources for a handful of people. I say, that if we cannot find a solution to the problems we have outlined over the last two days, then one would have to despair utterly of the faith in mankind, because in terms of material resources and of land, we are just about in the most favourable situation of the world. It's a matter of reaching that understanding and also of being aware of the privileged situation in which we are collectively and obviously every member of this audience would agree with the views presented, even if your group has still not acquired or claimed its rightful share of our common inheritance.

Éric Gourdeau : En entendant le Dr Fortier, ça me rappelait une phrase de ma mère lorsque nous étions jeunes et que nous étions très pauvres et que nous voyions des gens qui étaient très riches à côté de nous. Ma mère disait, au fond vous êtes dans une société extrêmement privilégiée et plus on aura de la misère, plus on sera sûr d'être heureux au ciel, alors que les riches ne le seront pas ! Je dis ça un peu en badinant parce que j'ai compris tout le bon sens que le Dr Fortier attachait à ses paroles. Mais je pense quand même que ce n'est pas notre sort, par comparaison à celui des moins bien favorisés, qui peut expliquer les inégalités ou l'absence de capacité à résoudre les problèmes qu'on peut avoir ici dans notre société. Justement parce qu'on est privilégiés, il faut essayer de trouver les façons de régler ces problèmes.

Je voudrais poser une question pour essayer de faire avancer un petit peu la discussion là-dessus. Puisque le président Delisle a déjà reçu des questions, je voudrais poser la question aux deux autres qui ont parlé. D'une part, on se rend compte que la question de la réserve pour les Indiens a été une formule imaginée d'après nos livres d'histoire (et je pense bien aussi que ça correspond à la réalité) à un moment donné pour protéger les Indiens contre les désirs rapaces de ceux qui venaient de s'emparer du pays, que ce soit les Anglais ou que ce soit les Français. On s'aperçoit que cette formule-là, la réserve, présente certains inconvénients dont

celui de faire des Indiens des mineurs qui ont un tuteur à Ottawa. Alors il y a un tas de choses que les Indiens ne peuvent pas faire parce qu'ils ne sont pas des majeurs dans le plein sens du mot. Par ailleurs, on se rend compte aussi que la réserve est nécessaire. À un moment donné, moi je trouvais que la réserve ça n'avait pas de sens et qu'éventuellement il fallait que ça disparaisse. Je me suis rendu compte que j'avais tort à cause des Indiens qui me disaient toujours : « On y tient quand même à la réserve. » Et je me suis rendu compte que c'était probablement une des seules sécurités qu'ils pouvaient trouver. Enfin, ils pouvaient retourner sur la réserve quand ils voulaient sans se faire poser de questions, sûrs de l'amitié des gens qui les entouraient. Éventuellement je me suis mis à penser que c'était peut-être un peu comme la paroisse a été pour nous autres les Canadiens français, même, si pour d'autres, ça avait l'air bien drôle qu'on soit attachés à la paroisse. À un moment donné, cela a représenté quand même un élément de sécurité et d'amitié, un élément où les relations ne dépendaient pas de toutes sortes de choses extérieures. Ça dépendait tout simplement des gens qui étaient là et de ce qu'ils étaient capables de fournir d'amitié. Mais quand même il y a la réserve qui crée des difficultés aux Indiens ; ça représente des avantages, mais ça crée des difficultés. Ça crée plusieurs « boss » comme on a dit, ça crée toutes sortes de hiérarchies, ça crée cette espèce de société dominante qui dirige la réserve à distance. Si les Indiens obtiennent l'ensemble de leurs revendications, en obtenant ce qui vous est dû, comment voyez-vous ce concept de réserve, dans l'avenir ? Est-ce que c'est une chose qui va durer, qui doit durer, à supposer que la société dominante voudrait régler à votre satisfaction en vous donnant un pouvoir réel, ce qui pour moi signifie une reconnaissance sur des terres, bien sûr, mais aussi de l'argent pour que vous arrêtiez d'aller quêter ? Est-ce que le concept de la réserve va quand même toujours devoir survivre, ou bien si c'est une chose sur laquelle vous n'avez pas actuellement pris position ou bien qui va disparaître d'après vous autres ?

Léonard Paul : On a souvent parlé de la notion de réserve. M. Dorion parlait de la réserve en terme de lieu privilégié. Ça devient un lieu privilégié pour notre culture, pour la langue montagnaise. Je me rappelle lorsque j'étudiais à l'extérieur, j'avais 13 ans à ce moment-là, j'apprenais le latin, le français, l'anglais, j'étais tout dépaycé. Alors, c'est l'impact réel que peut créer l'isolement de son milieu. À ce moment-là, ça devient un lieu privilégié. Alors durant les deux mois de vacances,

les deux mois d'été, j'avais hâte de retourner sur la réserve indienne afin de penser tel que j'étais, de parler le langage que je parlais. Mais en ce qui concerne la notion de réserve comme territoire politique (quand je parle de politique, je parle surtout de vouloir lutter pour des choses comme notre propre administration dans le sens que le président Delisle en parlait tout à l'heure), actuellement, on est considéré comme des mineurs au point de vue politique par la province ; c'est probablement pour ça qu'il y a une méfiance des Indiens à l'endroit de la province. Je pense que ça devient un ghetto à ce moment-là. Je pense que Bersimis, par exemple, à l'égard de la ville de Hauterive, est mis de côté. Il pourrait y avoir beaucoup de choses qu'on ferait en commun. Bersimis doit s'inscrire dans un ensemble de participation, soit au point de vue politique ou administratif. C'est dans ce sens-là que, personnellement, je trouve que ça devient un ghetto. Mais au point de vue culturel, peut-être que je suis très restrictif dans, ce que je pense, mais actuellement j'en suis rendu là, je suis rendu à penser comme ça.

Raphaël Picard : Pour répondre à ces questions-là, Jacques continuera la réponse.

Jacques Kurtness : Peut-être qu'il va falloir prendre avec réserve ce que je vais dire. La réserve indienne a été souvent considérée un peu comme une palissade psychologique, c'est-à-dire une place où tu es confiné, comme disait M. Dorion, une place où tu n'as plus de chance de sortir si tu veux, car quand tu en sors c'est parce que tu es ostracisé, une place où on ne veut plus de toi. Mais, comme disait aussi Henri Dorion dans toute sa sagesse, c'est aussi le symbole du développement des Amérindiens. Les grands leaders amérindiens sont nés sur des réserves. Les hommes qui ont pensé le futur des Indiens sont nés sur des réserves. Il ne faut jamais oublier ça comme tel. Quand on pensait au concept futur de réserve, j'ai l'impression que, pour revenir à ce que je disais au début, il va falloir arriver à un nouveau contrat social. Moi, je crois qu'il va falloir arriver à un Israël amérindien jusqu'à un certain point. Voici ce que je veux dire par un Israël amérindien. Il va falloir respecter un peu les ethnies, leur donner du territoire pour souffler, pour prendre de l'oxygène. Il faut leur donner une place où tu peux avoir, si tu veux, des Instituts de développement dans le domaine de l'éducation, dans le domaine

économique et dans le domaine social. Du moins c'est mon opinion. J'aimerais rappeler ce que quelqu'un a dit : « Si tu pars d'une place, tu as toujours un peu de terre en dessous de tes souliers. » La réserve, mon grand-père est là, mon père a été là ; mon grand-père a été 22 ans chef. La réserve, c'est chez nous. Mais aussi pour devenir homme des fois il faut sortir de chez eux, ça je l'admets. Il faut monter sur la montagne pour voir un peu plus loin. Mais je pense que ça fait du bien d'aller chez nous une fois de temps en temps.

Léonard Paul : Quand je parlais tout à l'heure d'une participation commune avec toute la société, c'est comme ça que je vois la solution dans un ensemble de participation. Ça peut sonner vide un peu, mais je pense que si on prend des exemples dans le Rapport Dorion, où on se réfère à la personnalité juridique des réserves, il y a peut-être ce fait qu'il faudrait mettre de l'avant pour qu'on devienne une personnalité juridique. Disons que c'est une communauté identifiée qui peut faire des actes qui lui sont propres. Je n'ai pas besoin de définir une municipalité, mais on n'a pas ça, nous, au niveau de la collectivité. C'est de ce que je parlais tout à l'heure quand je parlais d'ensemble de participation, c'est-à-dire que, à l'égard de Hauterive, on voudrait participer dans une commune action ou dans des activités de la région administrative numéro 9 qui est la Côte-Nord. On dit : « Est-ce que les Indiens sont compris dans ça ? On ne peut pas leur donner de subventions parce qu'ils ne sont pas des municipalités. » C'est dans ce sens-là que je parle ; dans le sens que l'on devrait avoir une bonne intégration, pas une intégration systématique des Indiens mais une intégration participative, une intégration où tout le monde, y compris l'Indien, a une personnalité. On doit respecter les personnalités. C'est dans ce sens-là que je parlais de participation commune. Je pense que ça ne peut pas sonner vide lorsqu'on accroche certaines réalités comme la personnalité juridique de la collectivité indienne. C'est important ces choses-là, je pense.

Andrew Delisle : I would like to answer both people. First, the gentleman who was talking about the realization of the world situation. I shall refer to that. I think we are quite aware of it. Eight percent of the world surface is available for production of food resources, and it's not very much for the population, as it is in-

creasing. But I think it is very difficult to explain that situation to a person on a reserve. We're aware of it, and I think the reason why I mention that, is that I think we should solve our problem amongst ourselves first, and then take the others into consideration. I think that's a normal process because we can't go and tell anybody else what to do if we haven't done it ourselves or experienced it ourselves. During Expo '67, I had the good fortune to walk through the Pavilion with the Queen. She made this remark when she was looking at the panels that we had which explained our situation. She said : "That's happening all over the world. " And I turned around and I said : "Don't you think that it's a good thing that we try to do something about it ourselves rather than letting somebody else do it for us." And she didn't say anything to that, but anyway I think it was a good answer.

To answer the question of the reserves. This question comes up quite often, and I'll give you an opinion which I have on that. Reserves are there and reserves, as far as my interpretation goes, are exactly in the same situation as a province is in Confederation. A reserve, if you recognize it and interpret all the responsibilities that it has, I mean its people, its council, its chief, should have the same autonomy and independency as a province within Canada. Now, you look at that closely and see if I'm not right. Why couldn't we start basing it on that? I say reserves should remain. We're strangers in our own land. Take people emigrating to Canada, what do you do to them? You take all the Italians, and you put them into a school, and you teach them English, you teach them how Canada works and all that type of stuff. Well, you don't have to do that to Indians. They are already on reserves. You build from there. We're there and we're ready to participate, but we have to have that independence and autonomy to evolve like anybody else, to make our house strong, and then our future generations will decide what is going to happen, whether reserves will remain or not. But I say, right now, they should remain, because that's our basis of existence as these people have said. And everything is tied into their potential to enable us to do something. We will have done that in the same manner as you would build a strong foundation for a house and then sell it to somebody else. I use that word sell only in that context of selling houses, not the reserve. You won't sell a house with a weak foundation ; the guy that's going to buy it won't accept that. This is what we have to do and I think we have the ingredients there ; we have the blocks, we have the bricks, we have everything there, and I think we have the bricklayers, the masons ; we have all these

people there. The reserve has to be there and it should be there for quite a while until such time as the people can really look at the situation and decide. I am one that believes that the reserve shouldn't be abolished at this point in time. For that matter, they should be expanded and given more freedom and leeway to develop. Indian people are like that, a lot of people say Indian people don't change, even Indian people themselves say : "We were hunters, we will remain hunters," and that's not true. Some Indians were hunters, some were planters, some were traders, some were warriors, they have their means of living. They didn't ride a horse before the Spanish brought it over ; yet they are identified as riding a horse. Indians are the best horse riders in the world. But I think if you look back, it's the Spanish people or Arabians. A lot of people are under the impression that Indians can't adapt. Well, the Indians are the best adapters. But the only thing we don't want them to adapt to is a welfare situation.

Claude Philippe : Mon nom est Claude Philippe et je suis Indien de la réserve de Pointe-Bleue et je fais partie des quelque 700 employés du ministère des Affaires indiennes. Je voudrais d'abord, parce que je n'ai pas eu l'occasion hier de le faire, féliciter M. Dorion, à qui on fait souvent allusion. J'étais fier en tout cas après son exposé et je suis encore plus fier aujourd'hui après l'exposé de M. Delisle, et de la présence également d'une tribune indienne à l'avant. Pour revenir au problème des réserves, je suis un peu en désaccord avec M. Delisle. Je me dis, et ici on va rejoindre un peu ce que M. Dorion a exposé hier, la réserve indienne c'est la première chose à laquelle il faut s'attaquer. C'est la première ligne de force de l'éveil amérindien. La réserve indienne a actuellement tous les droits, tous les privilèges que l'Indien, en tant que personne humaine, n'a pas et tant et aussi longtemps qu'on ne règlera pas ça, on ne peut pas parler d'autodétermination. Je pense évidemment que ce qui fait la force d'un peuple comme les Canadiens, ce qui fait la force d'un peuple comme les Chinois, c'est le fait qu'ils ont un territoire, pour reprendre l'expression de M. Dorion, un territoire avec des privilèges, des droits qui sont respectés évidemment par les nations qui les entourent, mais aussi avec un peuple à l'intérieur qui a aussi des privilèges et des droits. Moi, je pense qu'un Indien à Québec, pas au Village Huron, à Québec ou à Montréal, n'a aucun privilège et aucun droit quoi qu'il en dise. C'est justement pourquoi la place forte dont parlait M. Dorion hier, c'est une épée de Damoclès parce que pour pouvoir garan-

tir le fait d'être Indien, il faut retourner chez soi, comme disait Jacques, pour pouvoir bénéficier de ses droits et de ses privilèges. Alors je vous pose la question, est-ce que ça ne serait pas préférable d'abord, en tant que premier éveil, de s'attaquer à ce problème-là, de géopolitique au fond, et puis par la suite de faire en sorte que l'Indien, pour obtenir son autodétermination, ne quémande pas au système. Que ce soit un Indien qui le fasse ou un Ukrainien ou n'importe quelle autre race, le système est ce qu'il est avec ses défauts et puis si vous lui demandez : « Est-ce que ça vous dérange qu'on devienne autonome ? » vous risquez de travailler encore quelques centaines d'années. Je pense que vous aurez à régler d'abord un problème géopolitique pour pouvoir énoncer une politique qui va pouvoir sauvegarder la culture amérindienne. Le problème de l'autodétermination ne se posera plus parce que les Indiens auront à dire : « Nous sommes autonomes et nos conditions, les voici. » Sans parler de violence, vous pouvez imposer vos conditions. La question que je me pose à la fin, que je vous pose à vous autres les panelistes, est-ce que ce n'est pas préférable qu'on règle ce problème de territorialité avant de commencer à parler d'autodétermination, de financement et de sauvegarde de la culture amérindienne ?

Andrew Delisle : If I have the question right should we consider our territorial claims and so forth before anything else, I think I've always maintained that things should happen simultaneously because of the fact of these two objectives, these two problems that we have with our people ourselves, and the other people. With our people ourselves we have to really understand what this means. When I say really understand, we have to demonstrate immediately how we intend to control these situations and these resources. Just to show the other people that it can be done, because every time you do something in this society, you have to show your credibility. It's unfortunate or it's fortunate, you have to show it. I am prepared to accept that and even to our own people, we have to show that we are able to do something before they will accept us as representative of their thinking. If we keep that thing in mind, this will have to be done simultaneously and for that matter that's the approach that I always took on these matters.

Raphaël Picard : Je voudrais répondre à la question de M. Philippe. Il se pose la question : « Pourquoi ne pas régler un problème de territorialité, comme il dit, avant de régler la question d'autodétermination ? » Il y a eu une espèce d'entité qu'on appelle les Affaires indiennes. Ils nous ont donné une espèce d'éducation depuis quelques années. Ils nous ont enseigné l'éducation du dû, l'éducation de pouvoir quémander, de pouvoir quémander des suçons. Après ça, le problème du territoire, le problème de la réserve ou bien le problème spécifiquement géopolitique s'est posé. Qui était dans ces territoires-là, qui accède à ces territoires-là ? Moi je dis, il y a plusieurs années qu'on se pose la question du territoire. Pourquoi pas résoudre le problème de territorialité, puis après penser à l'autodétermination ? Moi je vois les Indiens à Saint-Augustin, ils sont 89 à peu près, qui sont dans une situation vraiment triste. Moi je dis que dès que tu as des pouvoirs de décision, dès que tu es capable de pouvoir dire ton mot, quand tu as à faire face à une entité, dès que tu es capable d'être un bon interlocuteur à un moment donné, la question de territorialité peut facilement se répondre après. Les besoins les plus pressants, c'est peut-être pas le territoire ou l'espace. Les problèmes les plus pressants, ce sont les problèmes les plus immédiats, les besoins d'habitation. L'entité qu'est les Affaires indiennes n'a jamais été capable de répondre. Le ministère des Affaires indiennes n'a répondu qu'à peu près, à moitié. Par rapport aux affaires d'éducation, de bien-être, tout ça, je dis que l'autodétermination tombe pile dans ça parce que s'il y a un problème de territoire, il y a aussi un problème de personnes. Les problèmes des personnes qui sont en cause sont la conséquence de l'éducation du dû qu'ils ont reçue d'une entité gouvernementale. Les questions de territoire, d'autodétermination, de culture, je pense qu'on est capable de réfléchir et de les aborder. Les Québécois ont un problème politique, un problème de culture. Dans tout cet aspect-là on est capable de répondre parallèlement à toutes ces questions-là. Répondre à un problème de territoire, se donner un territoire dans le contexte actuel, je pense que c'est difficile de l'aborder seul. C'est pour ça qu'il faut englober tout ça.

Gilles Pépin : My name is Gilles Pépin. I would like to ask this question to Mr. Delisle please. You are aware, Mr. Delisle, of the recent meeting between the executive Council of the N.I.B. with a group of Cabinet Ministers in Ottawa about two weeks ago. At that meeting, the major decision that was agreed upon was that

there should be a mechanism of consultation between Indian leaders and the government. I would like to have your views of how should we structure this mechanism of consultation and see if you have any details to communicate. I would like to say that I regret, being myself from Quebec, that I didn't see you there.

Andrew Delisle : The reason why I wasn't there was that the meeting was set for 4.00 p.m. and because I was busy here dealing with affairs of the provincial government, I got there late. But I got there just in time to find out that I was nominated to the committee to set up this structure. There again, I'm not bragging, but I already had a structure proposed because it's a structure that I proposed when I was the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties about three years prior to that and I felt it was the time to re-propose it and I'd like to say that it was accepted. The structure is basically that we will have direct contact with the Cabinet rather than through the Civil Service. In other words, regular meetings will be set up, time frame will be set up, but a regular schedule will be set up where we will be meeting with the Cabinet to discuss issues of importance and the secretariat is created which will be composed of both or something to that effect. I can't go into real details because it has to be approved by parties now. The part that we recommended is the one that we are proposing to government, but I suspect that it will be accepted because it was the same proposal and the people are aware of it. The only thing, I guess, is that I was about three years ahead of my time at that point. But there is one thing on which I would like to make a comment in that respect. I felt bad, and I didn't have a chance to speak to my associates at the national level, except to a few of them. I was disappointed in the sense that they didn't ask the answers to questions which had been asked to the government over the past three years, at least, when the government said we will be giving you a reply in the near future. And I think this was the time when they should have asked the government to state specifically what they were thinking about Indian rights, aboriginal rights, land selection. These were the points that we had to ask government and they have been delaying us, and I was disappointed that nobody asked for those answers. At least we would have had a starting point, now we'll have to wait another period. I really felt bad that I didn't participate in that meeting. I was late.

My interpretation of aboriginal rights is not necessarily the interpretation as given by the law books, whether it is English law or French law, but I think it falls into the same concept. The aboriginal rights of Indian people is that we were here first. They were the original habitants. That's the terminology of aboriginal. But the interpretation, as I said, is different. The fact is that Indian people were there first and that the three basic things were not fulfilled : the land was not sold, the land was not taken by conquest in many areas, and the land was not traded off ; therefore, the Indian has a basic right in the land which we identify to-day as Canada. Going even deeper than that, the aboriginal right of the Indian also implies the right of all other people of the world, what we call the land mass and the water mass of the world. Everybody has a right to live and exist in this land. So we have a right there as Indian people, we share in that. But also we have that extra right to have been here, to have owned this land and especially, this is the point that I like to say, we have more of a right as compared with what's his name, the Spanish conquerer, there's some man Vittorio that gave that legal opinion to the Queen of Spain. We have a right that goes beyond that, I think, because of the actual situation that happened in Canada, that the Indian people helped the non-Indian people establish themselves ; that's an extra thing that we have over other interpretations of aboriginal rights. So that gives us more of a right. We actually helped colonists to establish as brothers and as sharers of this, so we have these three levels I feel as Indians in Canada : first, that basic right as human beings to share in the world ; the second, the right to be the first and, also, to have helped you and your forefathers to establish here, and I am serious about that. If there was no cooperation at that point in time, I am thinking of the time prior to the Governor of New France and Peter Stuyvesant and all those guys. I am talking prior to that where our forefathers really helped you to establish, and that gives us a special right which I include in the interpretation of aboriginal rights for Indians in Canada.

Robert Williamson : Une intervention bien courte parce que je ne suis pas capable de manier la langue française avec toute la facilité que je voudrais. Je viens de l'est, comme professeur, comme Blanc, comme Anglais et, pire encore, comme anthropologue. Mais j'ai ma maison dans l'Arctique chez les Esquimaux et je sais que vous, les Indiens de Québec, vous avez bien aidé vos cousins là-haut. Hier soir, j'ai été extrêmement saisi par le discours étincelant du professeur Dorion et

encore une fois aujourd'hui, ce matin, par l'exposé scientifique, imaginatif et pratique de Louis-Edmond Hamelin. Mais maintenant ce soir pour moi c'est le moment de vérité parce que c'est la réalité ici que nous voyons maintenant. Je sens que nous sommes maintenant bien proches d'une situation de désespoir. Je désire vous demander, maintenant et spécialement pour les Esquimaux : « Est-ce qu'il est maintenant trop tard pour les Blancs, trop tard pour les Indiens, trop tard pour même les Esquimaux ? »

Andrew Delisle : No, I don't think so. And if you want me to give you reasons, I'll give you an example. Look at Canada. Canada is looking for survival by the references which you made to the famine that is taking place all over the world and we have to take that into consideration. But we have a chance as Indian people because you yourselves have not decided among yourselves what is Canadian. You still identify yourselves as being English Canadian, French Canadian, Italian Canadian, so we still have a chance, because if we are all looking towards the objective of being truly Canadian, then we all have a chance, it's not too late. That's the way I feel about it. We are looking at a country which is different and we don't want to be considered as a melting pot as our neighbouring country, if you'll excuse me for using the expression, where people are just thrown together and that type of thing. I think the awakening that I see is that people don't want that to happen and they're looking for a creation where the culture of one group is interwoven with the culture of another group. I think we did mention that at Expo'67. I refer to the problem in Quebec, the Québécois, and this is my personal interpretation of that. The Québécois who identifies himself as Québécois is really identifying himself as half Indian because his culture is half Indian culture. His songs are half Indian songs, and his manner which he calls Quebecois is something that he has mixed together from his origins-what he brought here-and what he was taken from the Indian inhabitants at that period in time. Look at the gigues and the square dances that take place. The only difference is the violin. The steps are pretty well like the Indian dance, and the beat and the music and this type of thing is really what I consider a mixture.

Léonard Paul : Je pense qu'on serait porté à s'incliner du côté du désespoir lorsqu'on parle de la situation des Indiens. Quand je parlais tout à l'heure de la violence et toutes ces choses-là, ce serait une réaction d'après moi qui serait normale à un certain moment donné. Mais de toute façon, depuis 1965 avec la création de l'Association des Indiens du Québec, je pense qu'ils ont fait un grand effort pour réunir tous les Indiens du Québec. Cet effort ne date que de quelques années : juste en 1965. Ça représente une grande réalisation d'essayer de réunir des gens, des groupes ethniques aussi divers que les Algonquins, les Montagnais, les Iroquois ; déjà au départ il y avait une difficulté. Je ne sais pas quel phénomène s'est passé durant toute la période avant de regrouper les forces des Indiens du Québec. Je pense qu'il y avait une force de se garder intact tel qu'on est, soit Montagnais. Il y a quelques années, on a pris une conscience formelle de ce qu'on était. Je parle, par exemple, ici des Montagnais de la Côte-Nord ; ça fait juste deux ans qu'on s'est regroupés ensemble pas pour prendre la panique mais pour essayer de voir quelle était notre situation au niveau de la région, pour essayer de s'intégrer ou de participer aux structures de l'Association, pour être une région qui soit forte et pour appuyer l'Association provinciale. Je sais qu'il y a eu un phénomène avant justement cette concrétisation formelle des groupes Indiens, ce qu'on appelle l'Association des Indiens du Québec. Je pense qu'il y aurait lieu de se poser des questions. Comment se fait-il que nous sommes demeurés des Montagnais, des Algonquins ? Je pense que c'est un phénomène qu'il faudrait examiner d'un peu plus près. En 1965 ce fut un regroupement officiel des Indiens. Mais il faudrait examiner ce qui s'est passé avant dans l'histoire des Indiens, dans la façon de lutter, de rester intacts, tels qu'ils étaient, de parler leur langue. Je pense que c'est tout un phénomène. Je pense qu'il ne faut pas oublier, non plus, lorsqu'on parle aujourd'hui en terme de désespoir, qu'on a un long passé de lutte et de persévérance. Je ne veux pas lancer des fleurs aux Indiens du Québec, mais je pense qu'il faut être réaliste, pour voir qu'est-ce qui s'est passé, pour voir qu'on a gardé notre langue, qu'on a gardé surtout notre personnalité indienne. Je pense qu'il ne faut pas oublier ça, même dans les heures de désespoir. Quand j'ai mentionné tout à l'heure de participer comme humain, à tout l'ensemble du Canada ou du pays, ça, ce n'est pas dans le domaine du désespoir.

Jacques Kurtness : Au sujet de ce qu'on appelle la survie culturelle des différentes ethnies, que ce soit les Montagnais, les Cris ou même les Inuit, comme M. Gourdeau et d'autres en parlaient, je crois que c'est un phénomène extraordinaire. De plus, comme le disait Léonard Paul, nous autres les Montagnais, ou les Cris, ou les Ojibwas, ou les Inuit, on est du drôle de monde. Moi quand je regarde mon grand-père, quand je regarde mon père, quand je regarde ma famille, quand je regarde mes amis, on est du drôle de monde. On est un genre de monde qui ne veut pas mourir couché ; on veut mourir debout. Si on veut nous tuer, il va falloir qu'on nous tue debout, en faisant quelque chose. Puis je pense que les Québécois veulent mourir debout aussi ; les Canadiens aussi. J'ai l'impression que, dans ce sens-là, on partage un peu l'idéal du pays. Nous, tout ce qu'on demande, c'est de donner quelque chose. On est écœurés de recevoir des affaires, j'ai l'impression. Moi, c'est mon « feeling », en visitant la baie d'Hudson, la baie d'Ungava puis la Côte-Nord et l'Abitibi. Les Indiens sont écoeurés de recevoir des affaires, on veut donner quelque chose. Puis, j'ai l'impression qu'un symposium comme ça, c'est une ouverture. On dit aux Indiens, vous n'êtes plus des perles rares, vous avez le droit de parler. Moi, je calcule que c'est miraculeux que 1% de la population puisse se faire entendre comme ça à un colloque. J'ai l'impression qu'il faut que ça fermente, que ça ne prend que deux oreilles et ce qu'il y a entre les deux oreilles, c'est quelqu'un que j'appelle Marc-Adéland Tremblay.

R.D. Sparham : Canada is formally a bilingual and bicultural State. And one of the formally recognized and accepted partners to this bilingual and bicultural State considers itself to have had a very tough time asserting that as a reality. I have been in Canada about 20 years and during the last 10, I have observed that one of the questions that has most irritated the French Canadians, which happily is now dying out or at least dying down, is the question asked by English-speaking Canadians : "What do you, French Canadians, want?" I'm sure all the French Canadians in the room will remember the intense irritation with which they always reacted to this question which seemed so eminently reasonable to all the English Canadians. In the end, they came around, as a matter of fact. One of the most distinguished leaders, at least most prominent, of this last 10 of 15 years, gave an answer : *Égalité ou Indépendance*. And the slogan of one of their most celebrated elections was : "Maîtres chez nous." If a powerful, sophisticated, relatively tech-

nologically-developed group of people, like the French in Canada, have had that kind of difficulty in identifying themselves and asserting themselves, and coming to feel (I'm not sure they yet feel it, they don't show all the signs of it) a reasonable security within that entity called Canada, given all those things : "What do Indians want?" As I understand the French Canadian he has said there is no such thing as a French Canadian without French ; that's the first thing he said, the most emphatic thing and the most uncompromising thing he said. He is still sticking deep tongs into the flesh of other Canadians right now, perhaps the most agonizing political issue in the country right now is a deep thorn called Bill 22, which says that French is absolutely essential to us and to our survival. We are not French without French. How are you going to be Indians without Cree? How are the Eskimos going to be Eskimos without Inuktituk? How is the constitution of the country, that everybody here is declaring he wants to belong to, and he believes in, how is it going to devise the structures? Where are the politics going to come from? Where is the good will for the policies going to come from to ensure, if I could say : "Maître chez nous", in Cree, I would say it at this point, or in Inuktituk, I can just say that, but I won't, for the Eskimos? These are the realities you know, for you as for the French Canadians. And fair talk of good will, while it's right, and I know the emotional desire is here amongst us, but these are the hard political realities, and they are so much harder for you than for the French. It's time somebody stated those realities.

Andrew Delisle : I'll try to reply to that question. Situations change. Looking at the situation of the French Canadians in Quebec, why did they say they want to speak French, I'll give you my personal opinion. It's because they realized, at one point in time, that the people living in the farms and the outlying areas spoke only French. I think this was one of the reasons why they wanted to speak French and they wanted the work to be done in French. Now this is a personal opinion that I have and I thought about it quite a bit. Because before you can get these people to accept new situations and new ideas, they have to understand them and, first of all, they have to understand the language that they are speaking. And I think this same thing applies with Indian people. I agree with you that it's going to be an impossibility to work in every language that exists amongst Indian people. But I think before we could go to explain to them the mechanisms that are required to

enable them to raise their standards, we have to speak their language. You may consider that as a technicality, but it has been at a point in time a very serious thing, and that's what happened in Quebec. And I am sure this was the basis of why they wanted to speak French, and they built this up to such an extent that they find that they could work in French. Good for them! I think the same situation applies with Indian people at this point in time ; the future will decide whether we'll all be talking a common language. I gave a personal opinion, I would like to have all Indian people speak German, Japanese, Chinese, Brooklynese if it were possible, because I think the more languages you know, the better off you are in understanding situations. So, the thing is to start in your own basic language and then develop from there. I tried to reply to your question but, basically, the reason why he wants to speak Montagnais on his reserve and we want our people to speak Mohawk on our reserve is because we have been raised for hundred of years in that situation and type of understanding. To enable us to cope with what is happening now, I think, we have to understand it in that context and then develop in other areas.

Raphaël Picard : Je remercie surtout la Société royale du Canada pour avoir donné la chance à certains Amérindiens de pouvoir participer à une tribune devant d'éminents personnages qui ont écouté d'une façon bien précise ce qui s'est dit. Je pense aussi que cette tribune a peut-être, dans une certaine mesure, répondu à certaines problématiques qui circulaient à l'intérieur de certains cerveaux et je considère que ces choses sont essentielles à la compréhension des gens tels qu'ils sont. Il y a aussi un autre aspect. Que ces mêmes choses, ces mêmes tribunes se répètent, mais à des niveaux plus inférieurs, mais inférieurs entre parenthèses. Que ce genre de colloque puisse se dérouler dans de petites écoles secondaires ou dans d'autres institutions. Je pense que cette initiative doit être répétée pour sensibiliser pas juste le problème des Indiens mais pour faire comprendre qu'il y a des gens qui sont là, qu'ils ont un certain sens de vivre ou un certain sens d'exister. Je pense que c'est sur cette note que je vais conclure cette tribune. Je vous remercie. De même, merci à M. Delisle, M. Kurtness et M. Paul.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

Cinquième session

Sous la présidence
de Monique Savoie

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Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.
Cinquième SESSION

L'Habitation contemporaine chez les Inuit : le cas des Puvirniturmiut

*Gilles LAROCHELLE **

ABSTRACT

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This paper is essentially oriented toward finding the ways to ease a real integration of the Inuit in the decision-making process leading to choosing their house design. The researchers were asked to explore concrete new avenues to solve housing problems at Puvirnituuq, the largest Inuit community in New Quebec. The research team has made a systematic attempt to take into account the various physical and human constraints as well as the expression on the part of the Inuit of housing needs and aspirations.

It was through the study of three distinctive levels of reality (descriptive, comprehensive, projective) that it became feasible to identify the conscious as well as the unconscious appropriation and settlement models of the domestic territory. These various analyses allowed us to determine that

* Coordonnateur du projet « Nunaturliq », dirigé par le Dr Bernard Saladin d'Anglure. Candidat au doctorat, département d'Anthropologie de l'université Laval.

the degradation of the housing structures was not primarily related to the negligence of its occupants but rather to the low quality of the building materials and to poor building techniques. At the same time it was noted that the Inuit have had to assimilate rapid social and economic changes, that in a few years' time they shifted from a nomadic to a sedentary mode of life in order to adjust to rigid housing structures. The impact of these changes and the levels of satisfaction have not Yet been measured.

Housing has been considered as a sub-system made of a composite of elements which interact on each other and give to the domestic group its specific identity. Some sub-areas within the house (storage and porch for instance) conceived as essential in traditional Inuit culture, are often insufficient or worse, inexistent. That is often related to errors of interpretation concerning anticipated space use and real space use.

The efficiency of Inuit housing is related to the capacity of form and space to fulfill domestic needs. In that respect the size of the house and the concept of space use, as it is translated into the low cost Inuit housing projects, come into contradiction with the expressed needs of the users. The available space, for instance, does not always correspond to the nature and size of the domestic group. The housing program should develop housing models of different size-which would be based upon the criterion of 135 feet square per individual as a minimum barem to avoid over-crowding.

Concerning space use the Inuit have clearly expressed their wish to fight against the uniformity and monotony of house models. The efficiency of space use is being increased when the interior design allows for flexibility, making it possible for the domestic group to give its house a special touch and identity. More interdisciplinary research efforts will have to be devoted in the years to come in order to construct house designs that will match Inuit needs and expectations.

L'objectif

Dans cette recherche ⁸⁷, nous étions mandatés pour explorer un certain nombre d'alternatives au problème de l'habitation et du logement chez les Inuit du Nouveau-Québec. Cet objectif majeur se réalise donc logiquement au terme de l'analyse détaillée des incidences de l'environnement physique et culturel sur l'habitation. Nous n'avons pas, bien sûr, la prétention de pouvoir offrir une solution unique et idéale au problème général de l'habitation chez les Inuit. Mais, tout au moins, nous pensons pouvoir faciliter aux administrateurs concernés la tâche de concevoir des mesures administratives peut-être plus conformes aux réalités du milieu physique et humain.

Dans cette recherche, nous avons couvert trois ensembles d'objectifs particuliers. Cette approche suppose une investigation de la réalité totale à partir de niveaux différentiels allant du plus accessible au moins apparent. À un premier niveau « descriptif », nous nous proposons de faire voir la réalité matérielle et socio-culturelle, l'habitation dans ses manifestations les plus apparentes. Ce travail doit alors consister à présenter un inventaire classifié et exhaustif des modèles d'habitations actuellement construits et mesurer leur état de dégradation.

En même temps, nous formulons les caractéristiques principales du milieu humain par le biais d'une analyse démographique. Ainsi, nous montrons brièvement le processus assez récent de la formation du village. En effet, nous croyons utile d'indiquer que le modèle contemporain de la vie collective n'est apparu que récemment avec l'introduction d'un concept nouveau d'habitation et aussi par l'implication du groupe dans un contexte différent de l'aménagement global du territoire.

Mais nous sommes aussi soucieux d'offrir une lecture plus « compréhensive » du phénomène habitation (second niveau). Suite à l'inventaire des compositions domestiques, nous jugeons nécessaire d'explicitier la nature du fait culturel de l'habitation. Un premier fait de ce type renvoie au cycle développemental des groupes domestiques. Il est certain qu'on ne peut tenir pour négligeables les mé-

⁸⁷ Inuksiutiit, « Projet Nunaturliq : phase 1 », tirage limité, 1973, 499 pages.

canismes par lesquels les unités domestiques se forment et se déforment dans le temps.

De la même manière, notre objet d'étude porte sur les « modèles d'occupation du territoire domestique ». La manière dont les Inuit se répartissent les sous-espaces et se les approprient à des degrés divers est affectée des modèles culturels partagés par l'ensemble des groupes domestiques.

Le troisième volet de l'étude porte sur une dimension « projective » du phénomène. L'objectif sur ce plan consiste à amener les Inuit à se projeter hors des contraintes actuelles de leur habitation pour mieux exprimer leur conception originale de la maison idéale. Dans une première tentative, nous n'imposons aucune contrainte à l'informateur, car nous cherchons à maximiser l'expression libre des besoins ressentis. Par contre, notre objectif général d'une recherche de solutions concrètes nous impose de nous situer au point de convergence entre des contraintes, les unes administratives, les autres socio-culturelles. Pour cette raison, nous avons comme objectif final de sélectionner trois groupes domestiques destinés à recevoir une habitation véritable. Dans ces derniers cas, nous allons toutefois limiter quelque peu la liberté d'expression quant à la surface de plancher autorisée pour chaque groupe domestique.

Le problème

Très rapidement, les Puvirniturmiut (habitants de Puvirnituuq) sont passés d'une phase d'habitation traditionnelle à une ère de construction de résidences rigides. Le transfert s'est opéré presque sans aucune transition. On abandonnait la maison de neige, un hiver, pour ne plus jamais y retourner. L'introduction d'une structure d'habitation rigide a donc propulsé les familles dans un univers complètement nouveau. Désormais, les groupes domestiques s'installaient en permanence dans une maison stable avec un certain nombre d'équipements domestiques, tels que le poêle à huile et la table qu'ils n'avaient à peu près pas expérimentés jusque-là.

Les formes de la maison et les aménagements différents de l'espace domestique entraînaient les familles dans le processus d'une socialisation à des phénomènes

nes nouveaux de résidence. En effet, il existe assez peu de traits communs entre la maison de neige, temporaire et circulaire, et l'habitation rigide, permanente et rectangulaire.

Cette première constatation précise le point de départ de l'exploration scientifique. Ainsi, la maison devra être perçue comme une entité physique avec les caractéristiques qui lui sont propres. Bien que la quasi-totalité de sa conception provienne d'initiatives extérieures à la culture inuit, la maison n'en demeure pas moins le lieu physique de l'activité du groupe domestique. Nous savons que la conception des formes et des espaces ainsi que le choix des matériaux utilisés sont d'inspiration étrangère aux Inuit. Nous savons également que le rythme des constructions n'a pratiquement pas été défini par les utilisateurs éventuels.

La maison n'est pas seulement le lieu physique occupé par des individus. Elle représente d'abord le centre nerveux de tous les rapports entretenus par les membres apparentés du groupe. Nous proposons sur ce plan d'accorder à la composition du groupe, aux espaces domestiques et à leurs utilisateurs, une priorité d'analyse qui permettra, croyons-nous, de reconstituer les éléments essentiels de la dynamique culturelle à l'intérieur de la maison.

La structure habitable est ici considérée comme un sous-système véritable composé d'éléments qui se conjuguent et interagissent les uns sur les autres pour conférer au groupe domestique son identité propre. Les principaux facteurs constituants du système sont représentés de la manière suivante. D'abord, la forme de la maison et la dimension de l'espace total constituent l'enveloppe du lieu physique. Il s'agit en quelque sorte du contenant à l'intérieur duquel l'action se déroule. Ensuite, à un niveau plus restreint, nous entrons dans le concept des sous-espaces qui précise davantage la nature et la fonction du « zonage » domestique. Les divisions intérieures deviennent à ce niveau les marques les plus évidentes du contrôle que le groupe définit quant à l'utilisation des lieux physiques. Au niveau microscopique, les détails d'aménagement dans la maison, indépendamment de l'existence ou non de cloisons intérieures, permettent de raffiner l'analyse et de fouiller le caractère plus intime de la vie du groupe.

La troisième composante majeure de l'habitation en tant que sous-système est déterminée par le volume du groupe domestique, par le détail de sa composition et par sa structure. Ces trois facteurs combinés permettent de mieux saisir l'ossature

humaine des rapports entretenus. Nous postulons ici qu'une dimension plus ou moins considérable du groupe de même que son caractère « nucléaire » ou plus étendu fera apparaître des traits distinctifs. Enfin, un dernier élément nous entraîne dans l'étude complexe de la dynamique interne des activités. Il nous apparaît possible d'en arriver à une approximation plus rigoureuse des mouvements apparemment inextricables et incohérents des individus ou du groupe dans la maison.

Nous rappelons le caractère d'interdépendance des différents éléments de la maison en tant que sous-système. Ceci implique qu'à des degrés variables la modification de chacun des éléments pourrait théoriquement affecter la nature de chacun des autres éléments. Il semble, en effet, plausible de postuler que la modification de la forme de la maison combinée avec une diminution de l'espace total affectera vraisemblablement la majorité sinon la totalité des autres éléments du sous-système.

Le fondement méthodologique

La stratégie des travaux fut élaborée conjointement par les architectes et les anthropologues du projet. Le principe général consiste à reconnaître que si les maisons sont utilisées par les groupes domestiques, il leur appartient en conséquence de définir eux-mêmes leur espace habitable. En terme d'efficacité, on définira alors qu'un modèle particulier de maison est adéquat et peut être évalué comme tel dans la mesure où il répond aux besoins exprimés par les utilisateurs véritables. Le jargon scientifique a nommé cette approche « the performance approach ». Dans un article publié en 1971, Wright conçoit que l'intérêt n'est pas tellement placé sur les matériaux de construction eux-mêmes ou encore sur le système de construction, mais plutôt sur la manière dont l'ensemble des sous-systèmes réagit. En d'autres termes, on reconnaît une « performance » satisfaisante de la structure habitable au degré de satisfaction des utilisateurs. Sur la base d'une identification et d'une analyse des besoins des Inuit, nous comptons faire dériver des concepts d'habitation appropriés. En conséquence, on peut postuler que les qualités techniques devront refléter les attributs de la « performance ».

Dans le passé, très peu d'anthropologues ont travaillé de pair avec des professionnels du « design » ou des architectes. Cette recherche allait donc devoir servir de cadre à une approche multidisciplinaire concernant les relations complexes entre les Inuit et leur milieu. En rapport avec la notion de « design », par exemple, nous avons estimé utile de ne pas dissocier les aspects culturels et physiques d'une intervention qui porte sur la conception de modèles d'habitation. Cette conception même doit chercher à s'harmoniser aussi bien avec les contraintes manifestées dans le milieu physique qu'avec les aspirations exprimées par les Inuit.

D'ailleurs, les uns et les autres (architectes et anthropologues) ont développé des intérêts complémentaires. Les premiers ont travaillé à innover davantage au niveau des systèmes de construction et à appliquer de façon concrète un certain nombre d'alternatives possibles à leurs théories. Pour leur part, les anthropologues se sont attachés d'abord à la formulation et à la vérification d'hypothèses de travail théoriquement soutenables qui évaluent les relations étroites que les Inuit entretiennent avec leurs espaces habitables. Dans cette perspective, nous avons voulu éviter le débat souvent futile d'une prépondérance de la forme sur la fonction des structures habitables ou l'inverse. Cependant, nous avons conjointement endossé ce principe qui veut qu'« un environnement idéal s'exprime à travers l'organisation spécifique de l'espace, ce qui est peut-être plus fondamental que la forme architecturale de la maison comme telle ⁸⁸ ».

La mise en chantier des programmes intensifs de construction d'habitations pour les Inuit rate l'objectif, si ceux-ci ne s'appuient pas d'abord sur une connaissance adéquate des besoins à satisfaire. Nonobstant certains préjugés, nous pensons que les Inuit, aussi bien que les Blancs, sont des créateurs, constructeurs et concepteurs de leur environnement. Dans ce sens, ils sont eux-mêmes leur propre environnement et doivent pouvoir le réaliser comme ils le souhaitent.

La recherche de modèles d'habitation qui définissent des espaces fonctionnels et représentatifs de la culture inuit ne termine pas notre travail. Nous n'ignorons pas que les Inuit de la région étudiée demeurent encore relativement peu familiers avec les modèles occidentaux d'habitation. Certains groupes domestiques n'ont expérimenté qu'un seul modèle d'habitation rigide. Il devient alors problématique

⁸⁸ Amos Rapoport, *Pour une anthropologie de la maison*. Paris, Dunod, 1972, p. 49.

non seulement de les amener à s'exprimer librement sur le type d'habitation qu'ils souhaiteraient posséder, mais aussi, dans certains cas, de saisir leurs « modèles » de répartition et d'utilisation de l'espace. Apparemment, certaines unités domestiques semblent se satisfaire de n'importe quel environnement spatial même s'il semble dysfonctionnel et inconfortable selon nos propres critères. Pourtant, il nous faut scruter bien au-delà des manifestations superficielles de l'insatisfaction et mettre en lumière des aspects d'une réalité pas toujours explicite pour les utilisateurs eux-mêmes.

Le bilan et l'insatisfaction

Bilan critique

Les reproches adressés à l'habitation contemporaine chez les Inuit sont de plusieurs ordres. D'abord la monotonie et l'inflexibilité des modèles construits. Tant dans leur forme que dans leur aménagement intérieur surtout, les habitations souffrent d'être semblables. Depuis quatre ans, c'est le même modèle d'habitation (modèle « 455 » qui est construit pour tous les groupes domestiques. De plus, c'est l'absence ou la dysfonctionnalité de certains espaces qui ont retenu l'attention des Inuit. Pour les premières générations d'habitations construites entre 1958 et 1965, on n'avait prévu aucune chambre froide ou « porche », devant servir également de corridor d'accès à l'intérieur de l'habitation. On constate aussi une absence significative d'espaces de rangement de sorte que souvent les habitations donnent l'allure de salles de débarras. Aussi, aucun atelier de travail n'est prévu alors que certaines activités de production (ex. sculpture) ont lieu dans la maison.

Une des principales critiques formulées à l'endroit de l'habitation concerne la disproportion entre l'espace intérieur disponible et la nature des groupes domestiques, qu'il s'agisse de leur « structure » ou de leur volume. La difficulté vient de ce qu'on n'a pas prévu d'ajuster la dimension des habitations à la nature de la composition du groupe domestique. Il en résulte dans de nombreux cas une nette insuffisance de l'espace total disponible.

Pour leur part, les nombreux problèmes techniques ont fait l'objet d'une étude minutieuse. Il nous est apparu que les résidences inuit manifestent de nombreuses lacunes dont les effets sont rapidement subis par les utilisateurs. Règle générale, les maisons sont instables car le plus souvent elles reposent sur un sol assez mal préparé pour recevoir un bâtiment. Les appuis de la maison sont déposés sur un tablier qui se désintègre sous l'action du vent et du drainage produit par l'eau. Un second problème technique majeur est celui de l'infiltration de l'eau, du vent et de la neige dans la maison. C'est la mauvaise conception des portes et fenêtres qui favorise surtout cette infiltration.

Sauf pour les modèles récents, l'isolation est le plus souvent inefficace. L'isolant se tasse dans le bas des panneaux éliminant une portion importante des propriétés thermiques de ceux-ci. L'absence d'une ventilation efficace s'observe fréquemment dans de nombreuses maisons. Il est difficile d'assurer une circulation de l'air de sorte que l'on puisse éviter la présence d'odeurs ou encore le surchauffage causé par la cuisson, par exemple.

La quincaillerie, enfin, témoigne de nombreuses imperfections techniques qui manifestent clairement que ceux qui ont conçu ces habitations se sont peu préoccupés des détails. C'est le cas, en particulier, du renvoi d'eau, des fenêtres et des portes. Mal localisé et mal conçu, le renvoi d'eau gèle en hiver et se bouche. À la fonte, la glace se transforme en eau et s'attaque au tablier des piliers. Les fenêtres, pour leur part, sont peu solides. Elles se brisent rapidement pour peu que le geste de les ouvrir et fermer soit brusque. Enfin, les pentures et poignées des portes sont trop faibles pour les exigences du milieu arctique. En effet l'accumulation de la neige et de la glace sur le seuil force les pentures et poignées en raison de l'effort rendu nécessaire pour fermer la porte.

Mesure de l'insatisfaction

La mesure du niveau de « rendement » de l'habitation ou, en d'autres termes, des degrés de satisfaction portera globalement sur les opinions exprimées par la population locale aussi bien que sur les gestes posés qui témoignent d'une certaine insatisfaction. La parole et le comportement demeurent dans cette perspective les deux niveaux privilégiés par où passe l'insatisfaction. Certaines familles nous ont

exprimé plus librement que d'autres les problèmes rencontrés dans l'utilisation de l'espace habitable. D'autres, par contre, révèlent leurs attitudes à travers les diverses modifications apportées à la maison.

Cette recherche ne permet pourtant pas de mettre en lumière toutes les règles normatives qui définiraient les conditions requises pour une habitation mieux adaptée aux besoins de la population. Une des premières difficultés provient du fait que l'expérimentation des structures habitables rigides est relativement récente. De nombreux groupes domestiques n'ont encore vécu que dans une seule ou deux maisons; c'est le cas de près de 70% des groupes domestiques de l'échantillon. Dans ces conditions, ils peuvent plus difficilement évaluer les avantages comparatifs des différents types de logement. Mais il y a une dimension du problème qui semble plus significative encore : les modèles d'habitation ont été imposés à la population sans que celle-ci ait eu beaucoup à dire au niveau de leur conception. Nous avons pu constater que certains Inuit ont développé une attitude passive par laquelle ils remettent aux concepteurs blancs toute initiative dans le domaine de l'habitation. Certains disent que tout ce qui importe vraiment, c'est d'obtenir une habitation un peu plus confortable. Quant aux détails de la conception, certains groupes semblaient s'en désintéresser, croyant sans doute qu'il s'agit là de prérogatives exclusives des Blancs.

Bien sûr, l'habitation n'est pas le simple produit de matériaux assemblés à partir de plans et devis. Il s'agit tout autant d'une structure dont les formes et espaces sont plus ou moins habilités à satisfaire les besoins des individus et des groupes domestiques. Contentons-nous, dans le cadre de ce texte, de mieux faire voir deux des principales sources d'insatisfaction parmi les plus fréquentes.

1) Dimension de l'habitation

Même s'ils ont parfois exprimé maladroitement leurs insatisfactions, ces Inuit nous ont très clairement laissé entendre que la situation du logement qui leur est faite diffère à de nombreux égards de celle qui est faite aux Blancs vivant dans leur village. Nous avons cherché à connaître leurs choix préférentiels par rapport aux habitations déjà existantes à Puvirnituuq. Même si nous leur imposions de choisir la maison la plus adéquate pour eux, dans l'ensemble des maisons déjà

habitées par les Inuit seulement, la majorité a tenu à spécifier qu'elle désirait une habitation du genre de celles des Blancs vivant au village. Sur 18 réponses, 5 ont opté pour les maisons du gouvernement provincial, 3 pour les maisons du gouvernement fédéral, et 3 enfin ont révélé qu'ils voulaient une maison différente de toutes celles qui existaient à Puvirnituq. Sauf dans un seul cas, nos informateurs n'avaient pas choisi leur propre maison. Ils s'en disaient tous insatisfaits à des degrés divers.

Nous avons facilité l'expression des doléances en nous attachant particulièrement à connaître leurs réactions face à la dimension de l'espace global. À l'occasion d'une entrevue avec plusieurs familles de l'échantillon, nous leur demandions s'ils estimaient avoir des problèmes de superficie dans leur maison. Même si plus de la moitié de nos informateurs vivaient déjà dans les plus récents modèles, dont la surface totale couvre 720 pieds carrés, près de 75% de ces derniers nous ont affirmé qu'ils étaient trop à l'étroit. Tandis que la majorité se plaignait d'avoir une maison trop petite, 4 sur 26 précisaient que les chambres étaient de dimension trop restreinte.

Afin de mieux mesurer cette insatisfaction relative, nous leur demandions s'ils croyaient que dans l'avenir, ils connaîtraient des problèmes reliés à la superficie de leur maison. Presque tous nous ont répondu dans l'affirmative. Ils mentionnaient souvent que les problèmes d'espace vont s'accroître à mesure que les enfants grandiront. Selon eux, les adolescents requièrent habituellement plus d'espace que de jeunes enfants. Par leurs activités et par leur sens plus développé de l'appropriation de l'espace, ils développent le besoin d'un espace accru. D'autres informateurs nous ont également signalé qu'ils se sentiront plus à l'étroit quand un de leurs enfants se mariera et qu'il viendra demeurer avec eux, accroissant ainsi le volume du groupe.

Il était aussi utile de savoir laquelle des solutions semble dominante dans l'esprit de ces Inuit. Si le choix était possible, opteraient-ils pour une habitation plus réduite qui contienne moins de membres ou pour une maison plus grande qui en contiendrait davantage ? Les attitudes à ce niveau sont beaucoup plus nuancées. Les réflexions portent à la fois sur le nombre idéal d'enfants qu'ils aimeraient avoir, et sur le statut résidentiel des jeunes couples et de leurs enfants. Puisque dans l'ensemble du village, on trouve 46 jeunes couples, avec ou sans enfant, qui vivent avec d'autres unités nucléaires, il nous a semblé qu'il s'agissait là d'un phé-

nomène suffisamment étendu pour générer des commentaires de la part des personnes intéressées. Pour les parents, le modèle semble très évident. Dans la majorité des cas, ils préfèrent qu'un de leurs enfants mariés vive avec eux après son mariage, mais ils pensent également qu'ils auront des problèmes en terme d'espace disponible. Les nuances d'un groupe domestique à l'autre s'expriment de la manière suivante. Les couples plus jeunes, particulièrement s'ils ont des enfants, semblent préférer vivre dans leur propre maison. Cela correspond sans doute, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, à un changement d'attitude des jeunes couples qui souhaitent mener une existence plus indépendante de leurs parents. Mais aussi, cette attitude traduit leur réaction face à la réalité contraignante des espaces dans l'habitation. En d'autres termes, nous pourrions croire que certains jeunes couples choisiraient de demeurer avec leurs parents pourvu qu'ils ne se sentent pas dans un état de surpopulation.

Par ailleurs, il est très difficile de déterminer de façon précise le seuil de surpopulation pour les Inuit de Puvirnituuq. Ce qui paraît intolérable à certains groupes domestiques peut bien ne pas l'être pour d'autres. Dans certaines circonstances, les groupes s'accommodent facilement d'un certain degré de surpopulation. Un groupe domestique nous affirme avoir résidé pendant plus de deux semaines, à 10 personnes dans une surface habitable de 288 pieds carrés. Des visiteurs de l'extérieur étaient en effet venus habiter chez eux durant la période de Noël. Cet état de surpopulation ne semblait pas les avoir particulièrement incommodés.

À notre avis il est essentiel de favoriser l'élaboration d'un concept flexible d'habitation en termes de surfaces habitables. Nous avons déjà noté que les concepts plus récents d'habitation présentent une très grande uniformité dans l'espace total alloué au groupe domestique. Les modèles «455 » ne présentent malheureusement pas cette flexibilité souhaitable qui permettrait aux groupes domestiques d'obtenir une maison à la mesure de leur volume respectif.

La plupart des spécialistes du logement s'entendent pour reconnaître qu'il existe un certain nombre de seuils au delà desquels la satisfaction assurée par le logement varie brutalement. On observe, en effet, en Occident moderne qu'à partir de 144 pieds carrés par personne, il est rare de trouver un mécontentement des occupants. Dans une conférence portant sur « les politiques de besoins et de bien-être social », le Dr Jean Maynaud affirmait qu'on s'approche des comportements pathologiques lorsqu'on diminue cette surface à 81 pieds carrés par personne. Et il

ajoute que « dès que l'on descend en dessous de 135 pieds carrés par personne, les êtres sont plus menacés dans leur équilibre psychologique et commencent à donner des signes médicalement inquiétants ». Nous ne saurions préciser le seuil minimal au-dessous duquel le comportement inuit présente des anomalies. Pourtant nous croyons que cette norme de 135 pieds carrés constitue un véritable minimum que nous devrions respecter pour les populations inuit. Présentement, dans l'ensemble du village, la surface disponible par personne se situe autour de 95 à 100 pieds carrés. Il nous apparaît nécessaire de relever cette norme à 135 pieds carrés par personne même si le contexte culturel est très différent.

Donc, il y a nécessité de développer des modèles d'habitation à dimensions variables et adaptées au volume des diverses unités. Le seuil de surface disponible devrait se fixer, dans des conditions minimales, autour de 135 pieds carrés par personne.

2) Sous-espaces intérieurs

Nos informateurs ont manifesté quelque peu d'insatisfaction à l'endroit de la définition des espaces. Bien qu'il soit très difficile d'interroger les données à ce niveau, il est possible de reconnaître deux types de doléances principales, soit celles qui portent sur le nombre de pièces à l'intérieur de la maison, et celles qui portent sur l'aptitude de celles-ci à remplir toutes leurs fonctions. Nous nous contentons ici de relever certains problèmes de l'aménagement intérieur qui semblent faire l'unanimité chez les informateurs. Quant à l'existence de divisions intérieures proprement dites, les Inuit de Puvirnituq s'accordent pour indiquer qu'elles sont essentielles. S'ils n'ont pas connu ce principe architectural dans le passé, c'est tout simplement, selon eux, que les matériaux utilisés (neige et peaux) se prêtaient mal à ce type d'aménagement.

Mais aujourd'hui qu'ils ont la possibilité d'occuper des maisons construites de matériaux s'y prêtant, ils n'hésitent pas à les préférer. Pour les nombreuses familles vivant encore dans des habitations sans division, la situation n'est donc pas idéale. On souhaite obtenir le plus tôt possible une maison qui comporte des divisions. La majorité d'entre elles ont fait des demandes répétées au gouvernement fédéral puis au conseil du village afin d'être choisies pour occuper les nouvelles

maisons. Si l'on ajoute au problème de l'aménagement les nombreuses déficiences techniques de ces vieux modèles, on saisit rapidement leurs insatisfactions.

Une des manifestations plus subtiles de l'insatisfaction se perçoit au niveau de l'uniformité des formes et des espaces. Les Inuit de Puvirnituq, comme la plupart des autres Inuit, n'ont pas été formés à devenir des concepteurs de formes et d'espaces. Mais compte tenu de l'importance considérable qu'ils attachent à leur univers domestique, nous avons pu observer qu'ils étaient devenus sensibles au caractère d'uniformité et de relative monotonie de l'habitation. Sans que cela soit une réaction généralisée, nous avons pu identifier chez eux le besoin d'une habitation différenciée et plus personnalisée. Ils expriment très clairement leur identité propre au niveau des aménagements intérieurs, mais ils ne se permettent pas de modifier la structure fixe des modèles récents. Quel que soit le volume du groupe et sa personnalité singulière, rien ne permet de différencier les habitations les unes des autres. La forme est la même et les espaces intérieurs sont identiques.

Bien conscients qu'il s'agit là d'un programme national d'habitation dont les coûts doivent être scrupuleusement contrôlés, les Inuit hésitent, semble-t-il, à formuler des exigences individuelles plus précises. Mais cela ne les empêche toutefois pas de souhaiter rompre la monotonie de leurs habitations. De fait, peu d'entre eux sont familiers avec les possibilités architecturales de la technologie nouvelle. Les jeux de simulation auxquels certains d'entre eux ont participé témoignent pourtant de l'originalité qu'ils arrivent à traduire. Il ne faut sans doute pas exagérer démesurément leur insatisfaction face à cette monotonie de l'habitation, car pour beaucoup d'adultes qui se rappellent les temps difficiles de la maison de neige, les habitations rigides représentent une acquisition très positive.

Le degré d'insatisfaction semble s'accroître davantage dans les groupes qui ne bénéficient pas encore d'une habitation nouvelle. Non seulement expriment-ils verbalement leurs problèmes, mais encore ils réagissent en apportant des modifications à certains détails de la finition et même à la structure comme telle. Les modifications majeures portent habituellement sur une correction du caractère inadéquat des espaces, soit que l'on ajoute un porche là où il n'y en avait pas, soit qu'on agrandisse la maison pour ajouter une pièce ou soit que l'on fixe une division intérieure pour isoler les espaces.

Dans le cas précis du porche, la constatation du problème est très nette. Toutes les maisons de la première génération, au nombre de 50, n'étaient pas dotées de porche initialement. Mais dans tous les cas, cet espace fut ajouté. Selon nous, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une réaction à l'étroitesse des lieux, mais aussi à l'absence d'une zone perçue comme partie intégrante du concept même de l'habitation. Les dimensions du porche et l'orientation des portes varient d'un groupe domestique à l'autre en fonction des besoins propres et de la localisation de la maison. En effet, l'orientation de la porte dépend essentiellement de la direction des vents, de manière à éviter les accumulations importantes de neige devant celle-ci.

Sur un échantillon de 17 maisons de types « Murdock 319 » et « Match Box 370 », 8 ont été modifiées, soit, à l'intérieur, par l'addition d'un mur qui définit une chambre à coucher, soit par l'agrandissement de la maison pour y ajouter une chambre à coucher. Dans des conditions plus idéales, nous avons la certitude que de nombreux autres groupes effectueraient de telles modifications. Mais la quantité des matériaux disponibles pour le faire semble très limitée sur le site. De plus, les Inuit espèrent, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, obtenir une des nouvelles maisons de type « 455 ». C'est pourquoi, semble-t-il, ils hésitent à faire les changements qui s'imposent. Sans l'aide technique et financière de la communauté et du gouvernement fédéral, certains groupes sont incapables d'exécuter ces modifications à la structure habitable.

Il ne semble pas y avoir de risques à affirmer que les Inuit du village préfèrent l'existence de divisions à l'intérieur de la maison. Au moins quatre de ces sous-espaces sont facilement identifiables. Ce sont la (les) chambre(s) à coucher, la salle de séjour-cuisine, la salle de bain et enfin le porche. Quant à la dimension et à l'orientation de chacun des lieux, on devrait sans doute l'établir en relation directe avec la totalité de l'espace disponible pour chaque unité domestique. S'il existe une corrélation plus étroite entre le volume du groupe et la surface minimale requise pour les chambres à coucher, on constate qu'il n'y a pas de telle progression arithmétique pour les trois autres espaces. Ainsi, si le groupe domestique s'accroît de 4 à 8 membres, cela ne signifie pas que les surfaces cuisine-salle de séjour, salle de bain et porche devront doubler. Nous croyons plutôt que la progression sur ce plan doit être curvilinéaire puisque le même espace sert à de multiples fonctions, pour des personnes différentes et à des moments distincts.

Il n'apparaît pas souhaitable de développer une conception uniforme de l'orientation des sous-espaces. Au contraire, nous croyons préférable de permettre une plus grande flexibilité des aménagements intérieurs. Les unités devraient pouvoir s'exprimer plus librement en fonction des priorités particulières qu'elles se donnent.

Donc, il y a nécessité de rendre plus flexible l'aménagement des sous-espaces intérieurs en tenant compte des contraintes budgétaires.

Conclusion

Nous aimerions terminer ce bref exposé en soulignant la nécessité de poursuivre les études déjà entreprises. Même si nous avons tenté de concevoir les corrélations existant entre les nombreuses coordonnées de l'habitation, il nous apparaît maintenant très évident qu'il faut préciser davantage les modèles culturels qui authentifient le caractère inuit de l'habitation. Expérimentant eux-mêmes des changements profonds de leurs façons d'être et de vivre, les Inuit éprouvent des malaises quelquefois apparents à effectuer des choix entre une tradition qui les différencie et un modernisme qui les assimile. Malgré tout, le rôle du chercheur dans un tel contexte consiste à reconstituer les principes régulateurs dominants d'un type d'habitation convenant aux besoins de la clientèle inuit.

Nous ne croyons pas possible d'en arriver à concevoir un prototype idéal d'habitation convenant à tous les Inuit. Il y a une marge entre réaliser en laboratoire les conditions optimales du rendement de l'habitation et la réalité des utilisateurs. Nous croyons pourtant possible d'en arriver à une conception générique de l'habitation par laquelle les besoins spécifiques des groupes domestiques s'intègrent à l'intérieur d'un organigramme cohérent des besoins de l'ensemble de la collectivité inuit. Nous pensons qu'une politique de l'habitation doit s'articuler autour d'un programme de construction qui permette d'assurer une plus grande souplesse et flexibilité des modèles construits. Une telle attitude ne veut pas dire que chaque groupe domestique pourra inventer son propre prototype d'habitation. En fait, un tel programme suppose que la connaissance des comportements culturels et des besoins inuit est déjà acquise et que l'état de leur variabilité a été fixé. De cette

façon, chaque groupe domestique pourrait indiquer ces choix préférentiels à l'intérieur des contraintes imposées quant à certaines composantes de l'habitation, telles que la forme, les espaces intérieurs et la localisation.

DISCUSSION

Lucien Laforest : Dans votre intéressant exposé vous avez surtout parlé des habitations unifamiliales. Personnellement j'aurais aimé que vous fassiez un peu d'histoire. J'aimerais savoir si traditionnellement les Inuit avaient une préférence entre la vie dans une famille étendue ou la vie dans une famille nucléaire et s'il y avait un type d'habitation qui correspondait à cette préférence ? Je pense à l'habitation en commune, « kibboutz » Deuxièmement, avez-vous aussi pris en considération les habitations qui tireraient avantage de l'aménagement de la maison de type japonais où on déplace des murs de façon à agrandir les espaces dans lesquels on vit durant la journée ou durant la nuit ?

Gilles Larochelle : Je dois avouer que je ne suis pas tout à fait en mesure de répondre de façon très précise et articulée aux deux questions que vous avez formulées. La raison c'est que nous nous proposons de poursuivre la recherche dans une deuxième phase qui va nous conduire à l'étude de l'établissement plus général que constitue le village et, à l'occasion d'une étude comme celle-là, il sera possible d'évaluer de quelle façon les Inuit sont intéressés à vivre dans l'espace du village. Valorisent-ils, par exemple, exclusivement la notion d'unités unifamiliales ? D'ailleurs cette notion est assez inappropriée dans le contexte des Inuit puisqu'à Puvirnituq, par exemple, environ le tiers des habitations est occupé par plus d'un groupe nucléaire. D'ailleurs, dans la majorité des cas, les parents vont définir comme une valeur essentielle que leurs enfants, même une année avant ou après leur mariage, puissent résider avec eux dans la même habitation. Ainsi définie, au niveau du village, l'étude permettrait de découvrir non seulement la forme mais aussi le type d'aménagement d'espace qui devraient être privilégiés pour les Inuit. Est-ce que les Inuit, par exemple, sont intéressés à s'établir dans des habitations regroupées en forme de grappe, ce qu'on appelle en anglais les « clusters », ou

s'ils sont beaucoup plus intéressés à vivre dans des maisons en rangées ? On sait que traditionnellement les Inuit valorisaient certains types d'établissements dans leurs campements, tout particulièrement au niveau de l'igloo. Il était possible, par exemple, de retrouver quatre ou cinq igloos reliés par des tunnels, permettant aux groupes nucléaires de communiquer facilement entre eux et de s'entraider. Mais aujourd'hui une contrainte extrêmement simple, extrêmement élémentaire vient contrecarrer les efforts dans ce sens-là. Il y a une norme de la Société centrale d'hypothèque et de logement qui définit que, pour une habitation de bois, il est nécessaire d'avoir une distance de 45 pieds entre les habitations. Si on veut favoriser un type d'aménagement de l'espace qui permette une communication organique entre les unités domestiques, il faut absolument développer un type de structure habitable qui utilise des matériaux différents. Je pense que nous sommes en présence d'un problème très complexe. Je suis d'avis que les Inuit, et c'est une hypothèse qui demeure à vérifier, sont possiblement intéressés à définir des types d'habitations en grappes à l'intérieur de leur communauté.

Maintenant, quant à votre deuxième question concernant les cloisons intérieures, les architectes qui ont participé à cette étude ont manifesté le désir d'entrer beaucoup plus à fond dans l'étude de ce problème avant d'en arriver à une position ferme sur ce point. Présentement, dans certains pays nordiques, cette pratique est employée. Il y a des méthodes architecturales qui permettent, par exemple, le déplacement des cloisons à l'intérieur de la maison une fois que la maison est construite. C'est un déplacement relativement simple qui s'effectue par l'utilisateur de la maison lui-même, de sorte que la technique est à point, je pense, sur ce plan-là. Il s'agirait de savoir si les Inuit sont intéressés à utiliser ce genre de maison. À partir de nos connaissances, je pense qu'ils seraient intéressés à le faire. Les Inuit n'ont pas l'habitude de considérer leur habitation d'une manière très statique. Plusieurs Inuit, et leur nombre va en s'accroissant, ont conservé l'habitude de se déplacer. Près de la moitié des Inuit du village de Puvirnituq avaient fermé l'été dernier leur maison et s'étaient déplacés sur les campements. Il y a un retour très important, semble-t-il, à la vie de campement, de sorte que la sédentarisation n'est pas encore complètement passée dans les mœurs. Alors il est sûr que l'habitation pour eux n'a pas le même sens que pour nous. Nous, on valorise sans doute un caractère beaucoup plus rigide : une maison est construite pour demeurer comme elle est et quand elle ne fait plus l'affaire on la vend et on se déplace. Vance Pac-

kard aurait étudié le phénomène des Américains dans un volume récent qui étudie justement cette mobilité du Nord-Américain qui arrive difficilement à s'accrocher à son patelin ou à son territoire. Mais chez les Inuit, la situation est très différente de ce côté-là. Ils se déplacent, mais conservent des racines profondes partout. Au niveau de l'habitation, je pense que l'Inuit est intéressé à pouvoir modifier, selon ses besoins, la grandeur de sa maison ou la dimension de sa chambre à coucher ou la dimension de son *Pularviq*, selon que ses enfants vieillissent, selon qu'un nouveau couple vient de se marier et vient résider avec lui, selon qu'il y a un départ ou une mortalité. Enfin, comme vous voyez, il y a toute une série de facteurs qui peuvent influencer la dimension relative des espaces à l'intérieur de la maison.

Otto Schaeffer : I would like to make some observations which may complement the excellent exposé of Mr. Larochelle. The observation what the Inuit would really have done themselves if they were left to build their own houses ? We could see what they did in Resolute Bay in 1955 when a group of Inuit from Port Harrison were moved with the help of R.C.M.P. and Northern Affairs to Resolute Bay and in Great Harbour in 1954 and 1955. I had the occasion to visit Resolute Bay a number of years later and saw what those people arriving first putting the tent up did. They used scrap material from the nearby big airport or imported from the nearby Dew Line. It might be of interest to you, Mr. Larochelle, that your observation was confirmed. Despite our notion that the Eskimos would prefer a one-room house, they really built from that scrap material that they could find around relatively small houses but multi-faceted houses, that is, there were many little sub-divisions in it. I have taken photographs of these houses because that very fact impressed me so much since it was against my own expectations. And what you observed that they really are striving for privacy was certainly one factor in it. And in regard to your observation that now they want the toilet room closed, but this has even a precedence in the time of the igloo and tent habitation. If you look in Franz Boas' book, or at other observations about the Central Arctic, there is the outline of the large and complex family igloo. The *anarviq* was an extension near the outlet, near the main entrance to the different partitions of igloos, so there was actually privacy observed in the old time and is certainly more so observed now. So I think your observations are very valid and I hope your paper will be read by the people in charge of building houses in the North.

William Dunning : Mr. Larochelle, you mentioned one or two items. You indicated that, if I can use the word timid, that the Inuit were apparently not interested and not willing to express too much of their own feelings about the matter of housing. And yet, you did indicate at one point that they rejected the suggestion of a round type structure. Could you give any indication of the kind of communication that exists between Inuit and government as far as their input is concerned with housing, their wishes or their interests, or is there very much attempt at this?

Gilles Larochelle : Non, je pense qu'il faut reconnaître d'une façon très honnête que les relations entre le gouvernement fédéral et les populations concernées, touchant l'habitation, ont été très déficientes dans le passé. Pourtant depuis quelques années, on constate un réveil très significatif des Inuit par rapport à leur habitation. De plus en plus certaines familles vont manifester leur opposition à certains types de structures, ou à certains types d'aménagement, même s'ils éprouvent malgré tout une certaine difficulté pour le faire puisque, comme je l'ai signalé, ils ont relativement peu expérimenté le type d'habitation rigide. Toutefois, dans le contexte de notre recherche, nous avons voulu leur donner la première voix. C'est-à-dire que nous avons évité, dans la mesure du possible, d'intervenir directement dans leurs choix et nous nous sommes efforcés de bien les informer. L'utilisation de maquettes nous a précisément permis d'accéder à une information librement exprimée par les individus. Sans que nous ayons à leur suggérer quoi que ce soit ils ont réfléchi pendant quelques jours pour faire le dessin de l'habitation qu'ils souhaiteraient avoir et ensuite l'ont réalisé au niveau du jeu de simulation. Les résultats de ces observations ont été entièrement analysés afin d'en dégager un certain nombre de principes régulateurs dans l'élaboration du concept d'habitation. Nous en sommes malheureusement encore à un stade préliminaire dans la définition de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un concept générique d'habitation pour les Inuit. J'évite l'utilisation du terme « prototype » parce que, à mon avis, il ne s'applique pas dans ce contexte. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse utiliser un prototype d'habitation, c'est-à-dire un seul modèle de maison, qui puisse servir à toute une population.

À la suite des résultats de cette enquête, on a pu identifier un certain nombre de principes régulateurs au niveau de la conception de l'habitation. Nous avons exercé des pressions auprès du gouvernement fédéral -pour obtenir les budgets suffisants pour expérimenter la construction de maisons dans ce village. Fort heureusement nous avons pu obtenir les crédits nécessaires pour construire trois maisons expérimentales à Puvirnituq. Les trois maisons dont il est question ici ont été presque entièrement conçues par les trois groupes domestiques qui ont été choisis par le conseil du village. Pour récolter les idées nécessaires à la conception de ces trois maisons il a fallu conduire des entrevues intensives s'étalant sur des périodes de 12 à 15 heures auprès de chacun des trois groupes domestiques - utilisant les maquettes pour les amener à définir différents types d'habitation. On leur a imposé, par exemple, dans une entrevue la réalisation d'une maison circulaire; on leur a imposé la réalisation d'une maison rectangulaire ou carrée et également la réalisation d'une maison à plus d'un étage ou du type « split-level ». Au terme de cette étude avec chacune des familles, nous avons réalisé les plans de chacune de ces maisons et sommes ensuite retournés auprès des familles et leur avons demandé laquelle de ces habitations ils souhaitaient posséder. Ils effectuaient leur choix. Ensuite, on modifiait un certain nombre d'éléments dans la maison avec eux tout en leur expliquant les contraintes techniques et les contraintes de l'architecture. Il fallait leur mentionner que ces problèmes existaient afin de n'effectuer que les modifications possibles avec lesquelles ils étaient d'accord. Nous avons modifié légèrement certains détails d'aménagement, mais pour l'essentiel la maison demeure la même. Ces trois habitations sont présentement en construction dans le village.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.
Cinquième SESSION

Indian Health in the North

David STYMEIST *

RÉSUMÉ

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L'auteur a effectué des travaux sur le terrain dans la zone de Sioux Lookout en 1971-1972. Les maladies qui affectent le plus les Indigènes de cette zone sont des maladies de pauvreté, c'est-à-dire d'un système de pauvreté. Les maladies « des Blancs », d'origine européenne sont traitées avec succès par les médecins européens tandis que les maladies dites « indiennes » sont traitées avec efficacité par le shamane. Les médecins européens n'ont sur elles aucune emprise. Les services bureaucratiques par lesquels on obtient l'hospitalisation et les soins de la médecine « blanche » inhibent l'acceptation de ces services par les Indigènes. Deux rôles professionnels doivent être renforcés : le travailleur communautaire de la santé (Community Health Worker) et l'aide communautaire de la santé (Community Health Aide). Ces nouveaux rôles sauront promouvoir l'humanisation des soins médicaux et favoriser la reconnaissance de la médecine indigène traditionnelle. Dans les circonstances actuelles, le peu d'information donnée au patient requiert de lui un acte de foi et l'oblige à se confier aveuglément à des mains étrangères. Les procédures administratives d'admission de même que l'ambiguïté de la relation thérapeutique représentent des expériences cliniques très pénibles pour le patient.

* Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba.

L'auteur souligne également les difficultés de communication qui existent entre l'infirmière, le médecin traitant et le patient. Les rôles professionnels du médecin et de l'infirmière de même que la routine journalière de l'hôpital sont examinés afin de faire ressortir ce qu'ils ont de déconcertant pour le patient.

Le système des soins pourrait être amélioré et le rôle de l'hôpital, élargi. L'accent est placé sur les rôles du travailleur communautaire de la santé et de l'aide communautaire de la santé. Il est nécessaire, par exemple, de rendre leur rôle plus efficace en s'assurant que ces travailleurs autochtones seront mieux rémunérés. Le travailleur communautaire de la santé agit au niveau de la détection des problèmes, de la mise en oeuvre des programmes sanitaires et de l'éducation. L'aide communautaire de la santé intervient surtout durant l'hospitalisation et à l'occasion d'un acte médical. Ces professionnels de la santé sont des intermédiaires entre le système de prestation des soins médicaux et la population.

Les recommandations de cette étude d'anthropologie médicale sont claires et concises. Elles apparaissent en conclusion :

- 1) effort à fournir pour comprendre le système médical indigène;
- 2) des notions sur la médecine traditionnelle indigène doivent faire partie de la formation du personnel médical;
- 3) effort soutenu en vue de personnaliser l'acte médical, d'humaniser le système hospitalier et d'améliorer la qualité des services connexes; et
- 4) renforcement des statuts professionnels des travailleurs communautaires de la santé et des aides communautaires de la santé.

PREFACE

This paper is not intended to be a survey of the health of northern native people. Nor is it necessary to provide statistics detailing the incidence of certain disease categories by communities as well as the actual and recommended days of service for the Sioux Lookout Zone, the Zone within which I did fieldwork in 1971-1972.

The existing statistics for the Sioux Lookout Zone speak for themselves. They can be best approached within the perspective of similar statistics tabulated for all the Indian people of Canada. As compared with all Canadians, disease incidence is higher in many categories and life expectancy generally lower among native people. The Booz-Allen *Report* states in this regard:

"The incidence of many causes of death for Indians is two or more times greater than the rate for all Canadians. These causes include the following diseases: diseases of the respiratory system, accidents, diseases of early infancy, diseases of the digestive system, infective and parasitic diseases, senility and ill-defined diseases. On the other hand, the following diseases cause death at approximately half the rate among Indians as compared to non-Indians. This lower incidence may, in fact, not exist but may reflect a failure to diagnose fully these diseases among the Indian people: diseases of the circulatory system, neoplasms, diseases of the nervous system, allergic, endocrine, and blood diseases." ⁸⁹

Hospital morbidity for Indians, similarly, has been found to be approximately twice the rate of other Canadians. ⁹⁰

Thus a detailed examination of the medical statistics from the Sioux Lookout Zone might be potentially interesting but politically useless. Such an examination will not be attempted here. In a real sense, the "facts" are already in. In many ways the health of native Canadians is poorer than that of the non-native population. In some ways it may be superior. The diseases towards which northern In-

⁸⁹ Booz-Allen, 1969, p. 10.

⁹⁰ *Idem*, Exhibit VI, VII.

dian people are prone are largely diseases of poverty (i.e. diseases of the respiratory system). Certain of the disorders to which they are apparently more resistant (i.e. diseases of the circulatory and endocrine systems) may well be stress-related diseases of adaptation. ⁹¹

This paper is also not an examination of the traditional medicine of the Cree and Ojibwa who live within the Zone. Certain information along these lines exists elsewhere. ⁹² While I will argue for the active pursuit of such information, not just by anthropologists but by psychologists, pharmacologists, and members of the medical profession as well, I am here interested more in the form of Ojibwa and Cree medicine than in its techniques and pharmacology.

In the course of fieldwork a paradox emerged which will be the point of departure. In talking with people about health and sickness it became clear that certain diseases and disease categories were thought to be of European origin; they were "white diseases." But certain other diseases were regarded as being due to different causes (taboo violation, witchcraft, etc.) and these were roughly "Indian diseases." Adrian Tanner (1971) has written of this for the Zone in question, and I will not belabor the point.

However, it was often the case that the people who categorized disease as "white" or "Indian" stated that as "white diseases" were of European origin, they could be best treated by European doctors; but that European doctors had no power over "Indian sickness." Further, it seemed from observation and the interviewing of medical personnel in the Zone hospital, that there was a high rate of acceptance for certain drugs (i.e. penicillin) and therapeutic procedures (i.e. suturing, bone setting) but a lower rate of acceptance for others. Finally, it -was the case that many people with "pathological" conditions not only failed to seek out but actively avoided western medical treatment for varying lengths of time. They did this in some cases because they felt the sickness involved was "Indian" and could be cured only by an Indian doctor. But in many other instances contact with Medical Services was avoided even though the condition was regarded to be of "white" origin.

⁹¹ Selye, 1956.

⁹² Beardsley, 1941; Holmes, 1884; and Densmore, 1927.

A paradox thus emerged. Certain diseases were "white" in origin. These diseases, it was thought, could be best treated by Euro-Canadian medicine. Europeans were ultimately responsible for these diseases; the provision of "white" medical services was thus a right and not a privilege. But treatment was avoided. Euro-Canadian medicine was rejected not just because of a cultural prejudice against that medicine but, apparently, for other reasons as well.

This paradox might be one only to the Euro-Canadian. To the native person who must deal for his or her health through the Medical Services bureaucracy, a conceptual solution would not, I feel, be difficult. Such solution might well involve allusion to the quality of interpersonal relations pertaining between the patient, potential or actual, and the representatives of Medical Services. Such allusions were, in fact, made.

In the first section of this paper, therefore, I will attempt to examine some aspects of the social system of hospitalization as observed in 1971-1972. It is my contention that the social organization of the delivery of "white" medical services inhibits, in many cases, the acceptance of that service. In short, that native people are often treated as less than responsible human beings in the hospital setting.⁹³ It is largely this treatment rather than some hypothetical "dead weight of cultural traditionalism" that prevents the full acceptance of western bio-medical science by the Indian people of the Sioux Lookout Zone.

One central anthropological viewpoint on the question of the acceptance of western medicine by the peoples of "traditional" societies has been to the effect that such acceptance is hindered by "native culture." Thus, Cassel (1955) in inves-

⁹³ To the objection that what is true of the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital may be equally true of southern Canadian hospitals, I would respond by pointing out that the problems inherent in "impersonal" medical delivery systems are particularly acute in Sioux Lookout Zone. Most of the patients of the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital come from societies in which a traditional "personal" medicine is practised. (cf. Jones, 1972.) One would tend to expect, therefore, a greater negative reaction to an impersonal, technological medicine among such people.

Secondly, it is likely that similar avoidance of medical treatment occurs at a significant, but perhaps reduced rate, for sectors of the non-Indian population. Friedson's (1961) work is particularly important in this context as is the account of Dr. X (1965).

tigating health and sickness among the Zulu found, in part, that a "cultural prohibition" prevented the introduction of whole milk into the diets of expectant and nursing Zulu mothers, but that powdered milk was accepted into Zulu diets because it was categorized as "meal" rather than as milk. It was, in a sense, the "irrationality of culture" that prohibited "rational" changes in health behaviour.

I believe that the emphasis of this and similar studies has been insidious. Although this viewpoint has come under attack, its success as an interpretation has not been reduced. The Booz-Allen *Report*, for example, states:

Many Indians have little understanding of the meaning of good health because of cultural differences and education deficiencies.

"Indians exhibit little awareness of what is meant by good health and because of this lack of awareness there is a tendency to both over and under-utilize health services.

"This lack of awareness and tendency to misuse health services partly results from the aboriginal culture of the Indians, which reflects basic differences in the concept and value of such things as time, nature, material accumulation, and preservation of assets." ⁹⁴

My objections to this point of view are relatively simple. Such perspective has, as an implicit assumption, the supposition that western bio-medical science exists in a state of perfection. The problem, again, is with "them" and not at all with ourselves. I will argue, through the material presented here, that the antithesis of this supposition deserves more than cursory examination.

The second section of the paper will deal, not with hospitalization as such, but with two positions in the Medical Services bureaucracy that could be crucial in improving the effectiveness of the delivery of medical services to the people of the North. The positions are those of Community Health Worker and Community Health Aide. These positions are at the interface of traditional and Euro-Canadian medical systems. But while being thus of immediate anthropological interest, the positions themselves presently allow roles that partially mediate between the two medical systems. Such roles are invaluable. Their elaboration could facilitate the development of a climate of trust and respect such that free borrowing of elements

⁹⁴ Booz-Allen, 1969, p. 13.

of both medical traditions could take place. It has long been felt (Joseph, 1942; Shiloh, 1965) that *this borrowing would be of mutual benefit*.

But, far from being strengthened, these roles and the positions to which they relate are presently neglected by Medical Services. The active development of the roles of Community Health Workers and Community Health Aides is not encouraged. Instead the roles are constricted so as to fit smoothly within the existing bureaucracy. I will argue for the expansion and recognition of these roles as a means to the recognition of Ojibwa and Cree medicine and possibly to the greater humanization of Euro-Canadian medical delivery systems as well.

Such development, however, is unlikely to take place. A brief history of Medical Services will perhaps illuminate some of my doubts as to the likelihood of (spontaneous) change. Here, I will quote extensively from an article by Dr. McKinney on the Sioux Lookout Medical Program:

"Without treaty obligations [only one treaty specifically mentioned the provision of a "Medicine Chest"], the Indians were dependent on individual physicians, missionary enterprises, and traders for health services. With piecemeal medical care, their health had drastically deteriorated by the turn of the century. In 1905, public concern about the danger of Indians transmitting disease to other people forced the Department of Indian Affairs to appoint a Medical Superintendent, Dr. P. Bryce.

"Five years later, Dr. Bryce was dismissed. His pressure for drastic changes and expensive action annoyed the Department. Seventeen years passed before a new Medical Superintendent, Colonel E. L. Stone, was hired and he moved cautiously." ⁹⁵

"Cautiously" could be perhaps more accurately read as "very slowly indeed." Apparently, the motivation for the extension of western medical services to Canadian Indian groups was, in its genesis, far from altruistic. This pattern has continued. Again from Dr. McKinney:

"Progress in the delivery of health services was understandably slow but in 1969 a crisis was reached. At that time the medical program called

⁹⁵ Wayne McKinney, "The Sioux Lookout Medical Programs," *The Beaver*, 303, 1973, p. 52.

for a physician as Zone Director, three medical field officers and a dentist; the federal government had been able to recruit only one doctor and one dentist for the entire area... each Nursing station was budgeted for two nurses but many stations had only one. The hospital required twenty-one nurses but had only fourteen. In February, 1969, the government asked the faculties of medicine and dentistry of the University of Toronto to help. After three years of collaboration, the University's Sioux Lookout Project is considered a model for other underdoctored areas." ⁹⁶

This all sounds very good, but one may well wonder to what ends the program may ultimately serve if the following is considered:

"In recent issue of the Journal of the Canadian Medical Association, Dr. Bain (Chairman of the Department of Paediatrics, University of Toronto) suggested that doctors who have spent one year in general practice, especially in an area like Sioux Lookout, should be given some priority into acceptance into university post-graduate medical programs." ⁹⁷

All of this, I feel, should be clear. The provision of medical services to native people is not completely altruistic (if it is altruistic at all), but instrumental as well. It is unfortunate, but I believe realistic, to expect that as the strengthening of the roles of Community Health Worker and Community Health Aide would not be instrumental to the medical establishment, that establishment would not be willing to undertake the active recognition of those roles.

It seems likely, however, that without such recognition there will be less than optimal improvement in mutual trust and acceptance of Euro-Canadian Medical Services. The problems of communication between the people of the Zone and Medical Services personnel are not just problems of communication. In their effects, they are "medical problems" as well; they have implications for the health or sickness of people living in the Zone. A solution to those problems would be, in part at least, a solution to the present high incidence of sickness in the North. Such improvement is the expressed goal of Medical Services. But it is of no less importance that as western medicine still may have things to learn from native

⁹⁶ Idem, p. 53.

⁹⁷ Idem, p. 57.

Canadian medicine ⁹⁸, failure to actively pursue such understanding will be to "our" detriment as well as to "theirs."

SECTION 1: THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF HOSPITALIZATION

THE HOSPITAL

At the edge of town, its back pressing against the surrounding forests, the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital exists as something of a separate entity. The entire complex of grounds, residences, and hospital is clearly demarcated. It is announced by a plain white sign stating: Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, Department of National Health and Welfare. However, in the town and among outlying communities it is known simply as the "Indian Hospital."

The hospital itself is only the nucleus of a much wider operation, an operation that extends to Hudson Bay to the north, a line east of Pickle Crow to the east, the Ontario Manitoba border to the west, and the Canadian National Railroad tracks to the south. Although the zone director has responsibility for the health of the inhabitants of this territory, the vast majority of the hospital's patients are Indian people. In fact, the hospital draws Indian patients from an area larger than its designated territory; from the Eagle Lake and Wabigoon reserves, for example,

⁹⁸ I will not argue the case for the effectiveness of "native medicine," but refer the reader to the literature, particularly: Ackerknecht, 1971; Kiev, 1972; Harley, 1941; and Jones, 1972. Yet, apart from the question of the overall effectiveness of that medicine, the form of its delivery is an important consideration. Certain experimental evidence (Glass & Singer, 1972) suggests that stress is greater in situations of bureaucratic rather than personal irresponsibility. If this is the case, it is likely that as stress can cause and/or facilitate disease conditions (cf. Selye, 1956; Henry and Cassel, 1969, etc.), stressful situations may be in many ways inimical to the restoration of health. A medicine that is "personal" in that it consciously attempts to reduce stress would seem to be, at least in that way, superior to a technological medicine that is "impersonally" bureaucratic in its delivery.

south on the Trans-Canada highway. The hospital itself, like the majority of its patients, possesses a definite ethnic identity.

An adequate portrayal of the social structure and cultural orientations of the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital would be far too complex for presentation here. The hospital, as a somewhat distinct institution, is much more than a complex of doctors, nurses and patients. Instead, it is a very complex, task orientated institution. It is not a single social space, for it is cross-cut by and engenders a multitude of interlocking social spaces. To properly understand the nature of the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, one would have to include an analysis of the development and functioning of a massive government bureaucracy, the development and practice of western medicine and nursing, and the functioning of supportive spheres of knowledge and technique, each of which tends to result in what could be called occupational "micro-cultures."

Physically, the hospital is an irregularly shaped, three story structure set on a small hill in the centre of radiating grounds. It is flanked on the east by a parking lot and a series of staff residences. The first floor is devoted to a kitchen, furnace room, laboratories, and a dining hall; and the third to administrative offices, library, and the offices of administrative medical personnel. It is on the second floor that the medical business of the hospital takes place. This floor is given over to two wards, an out-patient clinic, an X-ray, dental, and operating room, and a radio and transport office.

This spatial arrangement is symbolic of a more significant operational system. The two wards, the O.P.D., O.R., X-ray, and dental offices are at the very core of the hospital's functioning. Similarly, the hospital itself is the nexus for the operation of medical services in the Zone. It exists as a point of exchange between field nursing stations and other hospitals and between these and regional offices of the Department of National Health and Welfare in Ottawa.

It should be pointed out, however, that the hospital exists not for the patient as a total person, but for his or her sickness. For many of the patients, hospitalization is a resort of a secondary or tertiary order. There, specialized medical treatment is available, and from there referral to other institutions can be made. It is the patient's sickness that is exchanged from point to point. The ultimate concern is for a rather abstract ideal of health and ultimately for the general welfare of the people

of the Zone. But the hospital's jurisdiction is severely limited in this. A good deal of the sickness treated at the hospital can be directly or indirectly traced to inadequate economic resources, insufficient housing, polluted water, and-in some cases-social disorganization. It is not, however, within the hospital's terms of reference to deal directly with all of these problems. For the Indian people of the Zone, the hospital dispenses medical care without expectation or demand of payment, and this free medical care can be viewed as a form of patronage. But other specialized bureaucratic agencies, particularly Indian Affairs, are responsible for other areas of "care and administration." In the Sioux Lookout Zone as elsewhere, the old generalized patronage of Hudson Bay Company or mission has broken down into the specialized patronage of separate bureaucratic structures. The hospital and zone operation presently exist as one of several major channels of contact with white society.

To the Indian people of the Zone, the hospital is a clearly recognized institution. In some sense it is regarded as "theirs," as an "Indian" hospital, as it is so defined by the majority of the townspeople. But in another sense it is thought to be an alien place, a place of the white man with wrist watch, white coat and chart. This ambiguity has periodically resulted in a certain amount of ideological and political tension. Within the perspective of this report, however, the salient fact is that the patient, as patient, is clearly a member of a discernible ethnic category. The patients are almost without exception Indian people. The patient is not simply a person seeking medical help. By the very fact of being a patient, he or she is an identifiable member of a minority group. The temporary status is that of «patient,» but the more permanent identity is that of "Indian." These two identities are often in conflict, especially at the medical and nursing care level. For while it is the expressed duty of medical personnel to serve the patient, it is often thought in the larger society that it is the duty of the Indian to be subservient to the White. In hospital, this latter assumption is reinforced by the fact that most Indian employees work on the housekeeping, kitchen, and maintenance staffs. Often, it is the patient's more general identity as an Indian that structures interaction between him or her and the predominantly white staff.

Because very little information is given to the patient, the process of hospitalization is essentially an act of faith. The patient puts himself, usually voluntarily, into the hands of aliens; and while the various medical procedures that are per-

formed can be useful or at times vital, it is perceived that they could also be used to injure or kill. The patient often has little or no knowledge of what is being done to him or why, of what is expected of him or what he should expect. This combination of factors results in apparent apathy, lack of communication and apprehension in hospital and, in the field, to mistrust and withdrawal as well.

In certain ways, however, white medicine is regarded as being effective. People do come to the hospital to be cured, and they view the hospital more as a place of curing than as a hotel or jail. But at an ideological level, white medicine is often rejected. It is seen to be fallible; it attempts to treat certain forms of sickness without understanding initial causes, it ignores Indian medicine and beliefs, and it is, for some categories of sickness, utterly help less. Secondly, although the hospital is felt to have a definite therapeutic role, it is perceived to lack a satisfactory social environment. These two aspects of healing are not often separated. In the minds of the patients, the vision of the hospital as a cold, somber, strange place colors the perception of it as a place of healing. It is often this total perception of the hospital and of the moral stature of its personnel that influences the willingness of people to seek hospitalization.

The Process of Hospitalization

The paths to hospital differ from individual to individual and from community to community. For some, hospitalization is an immediate first resort; for others, it is the end result of a series of processes; and for a few it is a periodic occurrence as they come to hospital, are discharged, and return each time without undergoing complete cure. This is especially true for those persons suffering from chronic ailments and in cases of emotional or mental instability.

From an admissions point of view, however, there are two major categories of patients. The first consists of those patients coming from either those communities that possess a nursing station staffed by one or more field nurses or those satellite communities that are served periodically by field nursing staff. In the Zone, there are nursing stations at Big Trout Lake, Pikangikum, Fort Hope, New Osnaburgh, Sandy Lake, and Round Lake. These stations are each responsible for the health

of one or more satellite communities such as Cat Lake, Kasibonika, Poplar Hill, North Spirit Lake, Rat Dam, etc. In all of these, access to hospital is usually directly controlled by the field nurse. For most, if not all of the patients from these areas, the nurse is the first agent of white medicine to be consulted in time of sickness. She dispenses medicines, makes preliminary diagnoses, assists in public health, and acts as a general safeguard of the health of the communities under her jurisdiction. Nurses hold clinics both in their base communities and in the satellites. There, they care for immediate cases, undertake immunization programs, visit schools and houses, and assist and accompany doctors and dentists on their periodic tours through the Zone.

However, one of the additional major functions of the field nurse is to act as a screen for the hospitalization of patients. Under the present arrangement, the hospital assumes responsibility for transportation costs if a qualified representative of the hospital authorizes the removal of the patient to hospital. Individuals who attempt to seek hospitalization on their own must assume responsibility for their own transportation.

In many cases the cost of air transport from some of the more outlying communities is prohibitive. The field nurse must therefore judge not only what is wrong with a patient, but if his or her malady can be successfully treated at home or at the nursing station, or if hospitalization is necessary. This is by no means an easy task in ail cases and it imposes a far heavier burden upon field nurses than that which exists for hospital nursing staff.

The nurses' role as a gatekeeper and resident agent of the hospital, moreover, results in different and more pervasive pressures. The people residing in northern communities clearly understand that she is not a doctor and that more expert medical help is available in the hospital. The judgments and actions of the nurse are thus suspect in ways in which those of the doctor are not. Because the approval of the nurse greatly facilitates transportation, she is seen to control access to the hospital. Ultimately there are times when this control is resented and challenged. Patients have, from time to time, attempted to override a nurse's decision and seek hospitalization on their own. Yet beneath the surface of personal problems and conflicts, there is a far deeper and more widespread tension.

The people of these communities have a well defined idealized role for the field nurse; the hospital administration has another. In many cases these expectations coincide and overlap. Both parties expect the nurse to give good medical attention to sick people. But in other areas, the two sets of expectations are in latent if not actual opposition. In the various reserve communities of the Zone one feels the expectation is often that the nurse should serve the people of the community directly, that she should treat illness and make referral upon request. From the hospital's point of view, it is felt that the nurse should serve the community as an agent of the hospital, that she should treat illness and make referral to hospital upon the basis of her training and judgment. To illustrate, the following is an editorial that appeared in the February, 1971 edition of *Kitiwin*, the newspaper of Sandy Lake:

"I resent the fact the majority of our sick people are sent out to hospital immediately if they are sick. We have to wait until people are just about to die before we rush around looking for some transportation to ship them out... Most people complain constantly about the service at the nursing station. They say that the nurses are uncaring about their ailments. We at *Kitiwin* know that the nurses are doing their best in their job and we cannot expect miracles instantly..."

Heavy demands are often placed upon a field nurse's time and resources and mistakes are, more often than not, attributed to incompetence or indifference. Ultimately, the overall image of the field nurse suffers.

For some of the hospital's patients, a similar conflict exists at another level. Some patients seek hospitalization on their own. Most live in areas not served by field nursing stations, the Lac Seul, Eagle Lake, and Wabigoon reserves, west and south of Sioux Lookout, and the mixed or reserve settlements east along the CNR tracks. The costs of transportation from these areas are lower, and transportation is usually arranged by the individual patient or members of his or her family. Access to the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital may be direct or take a variety of paths. One patient claimed that she was sent to Sioux Lookout on the recommendation of a nurse stationed at a Canadian Forces base near her home. Many other patients simply arrive at the hospital's out-patient clinic requesting hospitalization. There, they are examined by a doctor and either admitted or rejected.

Two main categories of patients are hospitalized in the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital: those who are sick or injured and those who are admitted prior to giving birth. Spatially, one ward (A ward) is largely devoted to maternity cases, while the other ward (B ward) is given over to the sick or injured. Sick women, however, are often placed in A ward and men in B ward so that the two wards correspond to a sexual segregation.

Many women in the Zone now come to the hospital to have their children. More and more this is becoming the accepted pattern; and native midwives, while still active in some areas, are said to be in decline. The period of time spent in hospital varies from a matter of days to a month or more. A few maternity cases stated that they were happy to be hospitalized for this length of time. Most, however, were bored or worried about their families at home. Many felt that it was more difficult to have children in hospital and particularly objected to the use of obstetrical stirrups, a practice that has now been largely discontinued. Others felt that it was good to be in the hospital "in case something went wrong."

The process of hospitalization was not fully understood for these patients. For some it appeared to be completely voluntary, but for others, and especially for those who believed it to be easier to have children at home, the recommendations and urgings of the field nursing personnel played an important role. Field nurses are understandably reluctant to undertake the delivery of children without assistance at the nursing station or in the mother's home, and they are unwilling or without authority to work closely with existing native midwives. One woman stated that she had given birth to two children in the hospital and two at home. She said that it was harder to have babies in hospital, that it was more embarrassing because of the doctor, and that it was better to have the midwife at home: "Some people say that they don't want to go to the hospital because they are scared and afraid of a caesarean operation. The nurse sent me. I didn't want to come, but the nurse forced me to come. The nurse said that I would be better off. I didn't go on the first plane, but when the second plane came, I went."

For non-maternity cases, the process of hospitalization is equally complex. Generally, hospitalization begins with the recognition of disorder; with the perception of pain, injury, irregularity in the functioning of certain physiological systems, of "bizarre behaviour," or of infection. Coupled with this is the necessarily concomitant feeling that the services of white medical personnel will cure or re-

lieve the perceived condition. The connection from A to B is far from simple. Certain ailments that are considered by white medicine to be deserving of treatment, are not so considered by some afflicted persons. Such ailments are seen instead to be ordinary facts of life. Dental caries and abscesses, unless unusually painful, are likely to be ignored as are mild cases of diarrhea or chronic ear infections. One man, for example, was admitted to hospital complaining of an ulcer on the inside of his cheek. Upon examination it was found that the majority of his teeth were severely decayed and abscessed requiring extraction of the diseased teeth and excision of considerable bone tissue.

There is, however, a definite urgency felt for pain due to injury. Broken bones, cuts, burns, etc., are thought to be ailments that can be treated effectively by white medicine; and white medical help is usually sought immediately in such cases. Yet many chronic complaints, whether or not accompanied by pain, are more often thought to be beyond the pale of white medicine. While medical help is sought from time to time, expectations of satisfactory cure are not always in evidence.

In the Sioux Lookout Zone, the connection between a state of disorder and the seeking of treatment was not necessarily linear. Several of the doctors at the hospital stated that although they saw the same sorts of disorders in Sioux Lookout as were found in the South, the cases presented for treatment were usually far more advanced. Cultural and environmental factors influence the perception of disorder; and social, ideological, and factors of experience influence the willingness and desire to seek white medical help. Many patients stated that although they had been aware of the existence of a certain condition for a considerable length of time, they sought hospitalization only upon the specific urging of a field doctor or nurse. An existing disorder may or may not be perceived. Once perceived, however, the individual may follow or have recommended to him by his family or community several paths. (See diagram page following.)

He may ignore the perception of disorder, adopting a "wait and see" attitude. He may undertake to have his sins, and sickness, washed away. He may try home remedies, patent medicine, or consult native medical practitioners; or, he may seek white medical help and hospitalization. Yet, if a complete cure is not obtained at hospital, the cycle may begin again at any point, taking perhaps a slightly different course. For a time, he may not recognize the still present disorder as

disorder, or if so recognized, he may seek help in any of the enumerated forms. Hospitalization, then, is only one of the many paths that a person can take if he or she is sick and is aware of the sickness. But, because hospitalization is an alternative of a high order (a proverbial last chance in many cases), the process and experience of hospitalization influence the structuring of other paths of cure for a person. If the total hospital experience is positive, if a satisfactory cure is achieved in an environment that is socially and psychologically fulfilling, the linear path from disorder to perception to the seeking of white medical advice and hospitalization widens. It, however, the process of hospitalization is alienating, clinically unsuccessful and filled with tension and fear, then the linear path from disorder to hospitalization itself constricts. To illustrate, the following is a letter written by a patient to her doctor:

Dear Sir:

This is to inform you that I will never want to do anything with the Sioux Indian Hospital again. You call me anything, rascal, animal, dumb, etc., etc. I might be a rascal, dummy yesterday but not ahead of me! I'll tell the nurses here (at home) if I get this again that I don't want to go back there. If you get the pains I'm getting you would probably burst. From now on my doctor won't be Dr...

What is significant here is not the question of whether or not the allegations contained in the letter were true or false, but the fact that the patient's perception of the totality of his/her hospital experience has resulted in an apparent rejection of the hospital as a therapeutic institution. In some ways this is an extreme case, for although outright refusal to accept hospitalization occurs periodically, it is in fact rare. More common is a reluctance to undergo hospitalization; a reluctance that reflects a persistent ambiguity about the role of the hospital and white medicine in general.

It is my purpose in the remainder of this section to examine the social system of hospitalization at the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, and to comment upon some ways in which hospitalization and treatment are perceived and incorporated into a more general conceptual system of health and sickness.

Admission

Hospitalization begins with the process of admission. For many of the patients at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital this begins with the boarding of an air plane in their home communities and the flight into Sioux Lookout. There, they are met by an ambulance or hospital car and driven to the hospital grounds. Doors are opened and the patients are carried directly into the hospital or, if ambulatory, are led through a side door into an out-patient waiting room. Name, band and personal numbers are obtained, which are later transferred to plastic identity bands that are securely fixed around one of the patient's wrists. It is to these bands that the pa-

tients usually point when asked who they are. Thus arrayed, those patients who are not in immediate distress wait on the wooden benches for the arrival of the examining doctor. He appears, takes the assembled patients one at a time into an examining room, gives a rather thorough physical examination and makes a preliminary diagnosis. If the patient is judged ill enough to be hospitalized, he or she is given pyjamas, a pair of hospital slippers and a traditional blue or chartreuse robe. The patient's clothes are taken and his personal belongings recorded and stored. The patient is then taken to one of the wards and given a bed.

From the time of the arrival of the plane, the language of communication is English. Patients are told "get in the car," "follow me," "sit down and wait," etc. Although interpreters are often used in the doctor's examination, the patient clearly perceives that he is now in an alien environment, over which he has little control. Virtually all patients interviewed agreed that no information is given the patient regarding hospital hours, procedures, the nature of his illness, or the period of time he will likely remain in hospital. When asked what they were told on coming to hospital, most stated simply that they were told nothing at all: "They didn't say anything. They just examined me and sent me here. Nobody said anything. When I got here they gave me pyjamas and took my clothes and said nothing else."

After examination and admission the actual hospitalization begins; the patient begins to participate in the hospital routine and undergoes individual patterns of treatment. But it is equally clear that from this point the patient has, in the eyes of the hospital and perhaps in his own eyes as well, given himself over to the hospital's care. That care, although it embraces many different processes, is essentially medical in nature, and is epitomized by the person and the role of the doctor.

The Doctor

The role of doctor at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital is similar in many respects to the role of doctor in other hospitals throughout the world. The doctor functions to fulfill his role as a healer, a specialist in disease, injury and cure. His is a rather clearly defined occupational category, and he participates in a clearly understood, if informal, occupational "culture." Doctors have, along with their knowledge,

their own jargon, jokes, and disagreements; all of which are understood poorly, if at all, by the masses of non-medically trained or orientated people. In Euro-Canadian society the doctor's specialized training and skills and the often indispensable nature of his services have given him a position of prominence and respect, if not one of adulation bordering upon an ambivalent worship. As a result, a highly charged pattern of interaction has developed between doctor and patient, a paired role relationship that has also been an acknowledged part of the physician's occupational life. Ideally, the patient comes to the doctor, seeks his advice, tells him the details of his personal malady, and waits upon him for a cure. The patient, in this set of role expectations, should trust (and confide in) his physician, and assist in his own treatment; while the doctor should reassure the patient, be quiet in his confidence, diagnose, and treat.

In the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital these role expectations are not as easily fulfilled as they may be in other situations. The patients are not always aware of what they should expect or what is expected of them. While they are familiar with the existence of the role "doctor" in white society and while they may have had occasion to be treated by white medical personnel, white medicine is not yet an intimate part of their lives. Many simply do not know the rules of the patient-physician game.

From the point of view of several of the doctors working at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, this has occasioned a considerable amount of difficulty in treating patients. Most of the doctors offered the information that there was a serious communication problem which hampered their effectiveness. This communication problem begins with the difference in language (universally the doctors at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital do not speak Cree or Ojibwa and most of the patients speak English only as a second language), but does not end there. There are problems caused by differing perceptions of time, of quantity, of degree, of consistency, and of understood intent. Doctors have told me that a patient might simply say "I have pain here" and be unable or unwilling to state precisely when the pain started, its severity, character (dull, sharp, aching, intense, etc.), or whether it was constant or intermittent. Alternatively the patient might answer "yes" to every probe the doctor made, trying desperately to be cooperative and to do what was expected. One doctor stated: "If a patient is asked: 'Do you have chest pains?' the answer might be: 'yes,' even though that person has been free of chest pain for

over ten years." According to another doctor one woman, when asked if she suffered from diarrhea, answered: « yes » and immediately afterward answered in the affirmative to the question: "Are you constipated?"

Such responses are viewed by doctors as a sign of shyness, tension, or "simple ignorance," but they are more likely indicative of mutual misunderstanding; as the woman in question may have suffered from both ailments at different times. In addition, doctors have stated that a patient arriving with multiple complaints, does not rank his or her complaints on a scale of relative seriousness. This, it is claimed, can result in an overly broad diagnosis or in no diagnosis at all. The overall result was that the doctors at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital functioned, in many cases, without a history or with a patently inadequate history.

All of these factors have bearing upon the practice of medicine at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, for although the medical service provided by the hospital is technically sophisticated, the ultimate results of such technical skill are not always satisfactory. Often, a doctor's advice concerning medication and diet is not followed when patients return to their home communities. Many doctors, while working in the hospital or in the field, feel that they are unable to achieve a sufficient level of rapport to undertake the dissemination of public health knowledge; they feel that they are passively or actively mistrusted.

In light of this, the patient's perception of the role of the doctor is crucial. Most of the patients at the hospital seemed not to have a single, clear-cut attitude towards the doctors. They, like patients everywhere, were active in judging different doctors but they did so rather passively, never issuing blanket condemnations or by calling specific doctors frauds or "quacks." As one patient stated: "Some doctors are better than others. Some don't bother to explain things when the person doesn't understand." Most patients did not know who their doctor was, did not know his name and claimed that they saw him only occasionally. An undercurrent of bitterness seemed to exist, and a few of the patients expressed open complaints that the doctor was doing nothing for them, and that he had seen them only once or twice in a period of a week or more.

Generally, there was a dual expectations: 1) that the doctor should treat his patients by offering pills, injections, surgery, or other physical action, and 2) that he should, in the words of one patient, "come around every so often to see what the

patients are like." Many doctors were themselves aware of these expectations and stated that in the hospital and especially in the field, they felt a great deal of pressure from the patients to offer direct and tangible treatment. As one doctor stated: "They want pills actively, but injections are even better. You feel that you have to prescribe something... even aspirin. You can't really explain that white medicine can't cure everything."

Those few patients who stated that they did not know their doctor's name also stated that their doctor was "doing a good job." But they often phrased their praise or acceptance of the physician in non-medical terms: "Dr... is my doctor. He asks me what's wrong and listens too." A "good" doctor, in the eyes of these patients, seemed to be a doctor who attempted to build some manner of informal, non-authoritarian relationship with his patients while actively treating them.

After a period of time this expectation had also become clear to some of the hospital's medical staff. One doctor put it this way: "Here, the great white father act doesn't work. The patients get defensive and clam up. You have to be a little more informal than in the South. " In spite of this expressed need for informality, the exalted position of the doctor in the hospital hierarchy was communicated to the patients. Virtually all patients stated that doctors were more important than nurses. It was obvious to most of the patients interviewed that doctors were not simply white men, but that they were white men of power and importance.

The Nurse

The role of the nurse as a complex of actions and identities, complements and is in many ways subservient to the role of doctor. Their major function in the hospital can be conveniently summed up in the term "patient care." While the doctor is instrumental in diagnosis and the development of a plan of treatment, and while he functions largely in a decision making capacity, the nurse's orientation is more to the implementation of decision, towards the execution of doctor's orders. She administers medicines, observes the patient at frequent intervals, assists or oversees the processes of treatment, and is in more constant contact with the patient than is the doctor. This role is historic and dates from the very beginning of nursing. For Florence Nightingale, nursing signified: «... little more than the admi-

nistration of medicines and the application of poultices... » A more contemporary definition of nursing expands this: "The unique function of the nurse is to assist the individual, sick or well, in the performance of those activities contributing to health or its recovery (or to peaceful death) that he would perform unaided if he had the necessary strength, will, or knowledge..." (Beland, 1970, 1.) As many have noted, this role consists of two parts. The first is what could be called the therapeutic or instrumental role, and the second the expressive or "mother surrogate" role. In her therapeutic role the nurse administers or assists in treatment, but in her expressive role she attempts to create, in the words of Beland, ". . . an environment in which the patient feels comforted, protected, cared for, and supported." (1970, 5.)

The salient fact of nursing at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital is that this second aspect is often lacking. Nursing at the hospital is task oriented rather than patient orientated team nursing. On each of the wards during each of the daily three eight-hour shifts, there is one nurse in charge who is responsible for nursing care upon that ward. Various routine functions must be performed and specific tasks carried out. One nurse, for example, may give prescribed medicine, another takes temperature and blood pressure readings, while a third is responsible for preparing and changing dressings. In all of these cases each nurse may, in a limited sector of action, be responsible for all of the patients on a ward. Consequently, she seldom becomes closely associated with any of them. As a result, the problems of communication experienced by doctors are not ameliorated at the nursing care level.

If anything, they are augmented. Although all the nurses interviewed claimed that there was no real problem in the acceptance of most therapeutic measures, they either stated or presented evidence to the effect that there were significant problems in communication between patients and nursing staff. These are some typical statements: "A lot of girls hesitate to talk or complain of pains or ask for anything"; "The women don't like a lot of fuss and bother during labour. Sometimes they won't come and tell a nurse that they are in labour until the time of delivery"; "I always have trouble in getting information out of the patients. It slows you down a lot; you can't accomplish much when most of the patients are scared to death."

From the patient's point of view, nursing care and the duties and responsibilities of nurses are subjects that are shrouded in mystery. Again, as in the case of

the doctors, the names of individual nurses were not usually known; and while faces were recognized, few of the patients seemed to have developed a close relationship with any of the nurses who attended the wards. The overwhelming response to the question: "What is the job of the nurse," was a simple, almost apologetic: "I don't know." One of the few speculations on this subject came from a middle-aged man who said: "The job of the nurse is to come in every so often."

On the surface the patients generally had a favorable impression of the hospital nurses and the quality of hospital nursing care. Two thirds replied that they felt that the nurses were "OK" or "good," some by explicitly stating that the nurses in hospital were better than the field nurses stationed in their home communities. One third had somewhat mixed feelings: "Some nurses are better than others"; "One nurse treats people not too good; she's just mean"; "Some really pay attention to patients, some they don't really care"; "I can never tell the nurse what's happening." In all the interviews, however, I seldom felt that the patient's real or complete feelings for either doctors or nurses emerged. As one can imagine, this was a rather highly charged subject, and more often than not I was identified as working directly for the hospital.

For their part, however, the nurses' true feelings about the patients were seldom revealed either. Many claimed at first to "really enjoy working with Indian people" and few seemed to be bitter or openly prejudiced. But their enjoyment in working at Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital did not rest upon any deep or pervading sense of rapport with the patients. In fact, many of the nurses complained that they seldom got to know the patients well and that the patients rarely offered or expressed gratitude. The enjoyment of working with Indian patients came, as it was often explained, from the view that "...working with these people is so much easier than working with white people." One well-established nurse summed up the sentiments of the nursing staff in this way: "Most of the nurses and the rest of the staff are against integration. They like working with Indian patients; that's why they are here. Many don't like working with white patients. Indian patients are so much easier to take care of. They don't make so much fuss and there are no relatives around to bug us."

It is not really surprising, therefore, to find that in many cases the patients are not treated as responsible, intelligent individuals. Often they are not addressed at all but given simple curt demands: "Take this medicine"; "No smoking in bed. Put

that cigarette out"; "Drink this water now because you can't have any more until tomorrow morning." When actively addressed, however, they are usually called by their first names: Bill or Connie X rather than Mr. or Mrs. X. As one of the orderlies commented: "A lot of the nurses treat the patients as if they were children." Given the symbolic recapitulation of the patriarchal family in the relationship between the almost exclusively male doctors and the exclusively female nurses and the often expressed role of the nurse as a "mother surrogate," this is hardly unexpected. However, this attitude here "and perhaps elsewhere as well" seemed to slide now and then into the depersonalization and objectification of the patient. The patient became, for some of the staff, little more than a medical problem to be solved. This was never made more clear to me than one night when a nurse came onto one of the wards carrying a child, of 2 or 3 years of age, saying: "I just brought this back from Winnipeg for you," to which another nurse replied: "I'm afraid we will have to put it on the other ward."

Daily Routine

For the staff, the hospital is a place of employment, a place where the family relationships and, in some instances, friendships are periodically interrupted and replaced by the hierarchy and interaction of work. For the patients, however, the hospital is a place of temporary residence, a place where their usual social relationships are totally suspended and replaced by others. Yet, both groups coexist in the same general space both wearing the uniforms of their respective stations: the patients the pyjamas and robe; the nurses and doctors the uniforms or white coats. Similarly, there are definite spaces in the hospital and on the wards for each group. The patients are usually limited by custom or regulation to the wards; the nurses, while stationed on the wards, may move from ward to ward or into the out-patient department or radio room; while the doctors may travel at will throughout the entire hospital. On the wards themselves there are even finer distinctions. The area immediately around the nurses' desk is clearly the territory and home base of the nursing staff. If not occupied with patient care, nurses will sit and talk or do paper work. Immediately down the hall there is a space created around the ward's single television set. There patients will sit and watch television, an activi-

ty in which they are rarely joined or disturbed by doctors or nurses. The halls themselves are disputed territory, for all groups must walk them. They seem, however, to belong more to the staff than to the patients; the nurses attempt to keep patients from wandering the halls during the day. The patients' rooms have a somewhat reverse status, belonging more to the patients than to the hospital staff. The patients will read, talk or simply sit or lie, while nurses enter to perform some function and exit hurriedly.

Into this environment there is imposed a set daily routine. The patients are awakened at 6:00 a.m.; temperatures are taken, and many are given baths. Breakfast is served at 8:00 and lunch at 11:30. The period from 12:00 until 2:00 p.m. is a rest period during which all patients are supposed to be in bed. Supper is served to the patients at 4:30 and a light snack at 8:00. The patients begin to retire at 9:00 and by 11:00 most are in bed and asleep. This daily routine varies from patient to patient as individuals are given different patterns of care, but for most patients the days seemed overly long. When asked what they did during the day many said that they did "nothing." Others were more descriptive but communicated the same message: "I just walk around most of the day"; "I walk around, watch T.V."; "I stand and sit. I never go outside"; "I sit around. "Only one patient claimed that she thought that she was "getting a good rest." But most said explicitly that they were bored or lonesome. Others were more enigmatic saying that they "...tried not to be lonesome..." that they "tried to keep busy", etc. Generally, the patients were left to their own resources. There was little or no communication with their family or friends, and in their absence new relationships were often established with people from other areas. There was, nevertheless, an observed tendency for people from the same community to form very fluid cliques within the ward, to sit next to each other when watching television and to visit back and forth. Some women occupied themselves by sewing and making beaded articles to be sold to the hospital staff or to be offered for sale at the town's public library. For the men, however, there was little comparable activity.

All patients interviewed answered in the affirmative when asked if they thought that the hospital should establish some recreational facilities for the patients. Most of the women stated that they would again like to have a sewing room where they could sit and work together. Similarly, the men said that they would

enjoy a games room where they could play cards, checkers, table tennis, or pool. Both sexes stated that they would like to be able to see films occasionally.

Hospital Rounds

The daily routine of the hospital was interrupted periodically by the ritual of general hospital rounds. This ritual included all three major segments of the population of the hospital; the doctors, the nurses, and the patients. The doctors played a major role, while the patients were generally very passive. The doctors would walk en masse down the hall, accompanied by the nurse in charge. They would enter the patient's room, examining each patient, conferring with each other, and generally reviewing diagnosis, pattern of treatment, and patient progress. Usually, this was done directly in front of the patient, and occasionally rather personal matters such as family background, individual habits or appearance were openly discussed. Often the patient was not even addressed and he/she was seldom talked to for any length of time. On one occasion, as the doctors were examining a man with a chronic ailment, the nurse in charge offered the information that she knew the patient in question: "He comes in and out of here all the time. He's always drunk when he comes in, and when he gets out he gets drunk again and then gets sick. " And to the patient: "Isn't that right? " and then immediately to the doctors: "It's true; he's just a drunk. " The patient opened his mouth, perhaps to defend himself, and then, staring at the faces of the white coated doctors, withdrew and remained silent. At another time the doctors were examining a woman who was admitted to hospital because she had been unable to conceive and bear a child. During the course of her examination, her doctor mentioned the fact that the patient's husband had been to the hospital for tests and was found to be completely normal. The suggestion was made that perhaps "...we should try him out on another girl," to a response of muted laughter. The woman remained impassive, and except for looking away, betrayed no emotion. Later, I talked briefly to both of these patients and it was clear that they both understood and spoke English.

Although these are admittedly dramatic and, in some sense, extreme examples, they do reflect the general pattern of hospital rounds. As might be expected, many patients actively objected to general rounds, most by saying: "I don't like it

much," or "I don't like them such. They don't speak to me; they should speak to me more." About a third stated that they didn't mind rounds, but were unwilling to further discuss the subject. Others, however, claimed not to object to general rounds but then proceeded to amplify their statements in a somewhat contradictory manner: "Rounds are O.K., but they just stand around and don't tell me anything"; "Rounds don't bother me much. They stand around and talk to themselves and not to the patients. They should talk to the patients"; "I think that it would be nice if it's one doctor that goes around rather than all. Some of the people are scared. I understand the rounds, but that's the way that I feel."

Departure

Eventually, between treatments, examinations rounds and the progression of days the patient is cured or delivered, referred to other hospitals or sent home. The patient is given back his clothes; and, in the case of children, tagged with large squares of paper stating their destinations. Assembled, they are driven to the planes and flown home, some to relatives with whom they have not been in contact for months. Again, until they depart from the planes in their home communities, they are clearly under the jurisdiction of the hospital. As one nurse remembered: "Once a woman and baby girl were sent to New Osnaburgh when they were supposed to go on a different flight to someplace up North. She sat there until somebody asked her what she was doing. She said that the Sioux Lookout Indian Hospital had sent her there. That just shows you that they don't question anything. They do as they are told."

Perceptions of Sickness and Treatment

It is difficult in a few pages to outline the contemporary concepts and ideologies of sickness and treatment held by the Indian people of the Zone. Although it would be tempting to suggest that present-day beliefs about sickness and health are in some way a simple syncretic blend of aboriginal and western European beliefs and assumptions, such a suggestion would ultimately be false. Unfortuna-

tely, there is no single or even prevalent pattern. Instead, among the patients interviewed, there was little agreement on what causes or constitutes sickness or how it can best be cured. Not only did responses vary from community to community, but they varied from age group to age group and from individual to individual. However, most people interviewed felt that there was more sickness in the present than had existed in the past. A few claimed that there was the same amount of sickness at both points in time. As one man stated: "A long time ago there was no sickness at all, but since the white man came along there has been more and more sickness. A long time ago women have babies outside ... no trouble... now, they got to be sterile and have doctors."

Many people offered a contagion theory for this perceived increase in sickness. Put simply, this theory holds that, directionally, sickness originates in the south or southeast and is carried to northern reserve settlements by white visitors, including doctors and nurses: "It is the nurses and visitors that carry sickness around"; "We get a lot of colds in the winter. It's the white people who bring sickness"; "White people carry the germs"; "We get most sickness in the winter. It starts with a cold. The white man brings the sickness. We weren't sick before the white man came."

Parallel to this theory, and in some cases combined with it, is what could be called the "pollution theory" of the origin of sickness. Although a few people said that both the food and the water were "still O.K.," most others claimed that the water, in particular, was polluted. This pollution also dated from the arrival of the white man: "The white man pollutes the water. It was better before than it is now. The white man is polluting more and more land"; "The water is bad. They send samples away. The water causes sickness, but they don't do anything about it. It wasn't polluted before the white man"; "The water is polluted by the white people who live there-nursing station, school, church, Indian Affairs. They aren't doing anything about pollution"; "Even fish and wild food is not the same. We even find wild animals dying"; "The food is still good, but the water is polluted by gas from the planes."

Finally, as a third explanation, "change in the way of life" was offered either as an independent hypothesis or combined variously with either or both of the previous explanations. Usually, this hypothesis centered on the comparatively recent changes in food habits, the decline of game, and of the quality of everyday

life: "A lot of people get sick from the way that they live. Some keep their houses clean, but some don't"; "Now is a big change from 40 years ago. The food now is half wild and half from the store. People don't know how to cook it"; "Many people are hungry in the winter. Then they get sick. The moose are going down. Too many Americans come in and kill the moose"; "People are sick now because of too much hard work. There's not enough money for food, and most people have to buy their food"; "It's the white man who gives the Indian sickness through canned foods."

The pollution theory was mentioned Most often as the prime cause of contemporary sickness. It was not often combined with the contagion theory which was second in importance, but the "change in the way of life" hypothesis was freely combined with either of the two major explanations. All of these are, in a real sense, "rational" explanations: the water is polluted in many northern reserves, colds and other infections do seem to spread into the North from southern population centres, and inadequate and poorly balanced diets are real factors in the development of sickness. More significant, however, is the fact that in the conceptual system of the majority of the people of the Zone, these causes of sickness, and the resultant sickness itself, date from the advent of the white man. To the vast majority of the patients it is the white man who is responsible for most contemporary sickness in the North, and it is he who bears a moral if not legal obligation to treat the sickness that he has caused. Medical service, then, is expected as a right, and acceptance of that service is (occasionally) seen as an act of moral and political equivalence that helps "even the score." The white man has caused sickness and it is he who must be forced to treat sickness if the Indian is not to be again placed in a position of powerless dependence. A sick individual may therefore accept hospitalization and treatment but reserve his right to judge the quality of that treatment and even to reject it at an ideological level.

Many members of the hospital staff, however, do not share the same assumptions. To them, the provision of medical services is a privilege that has been extended free of charge to the Indian people of the Zone. They feel no direct responsibility for causing sickness. When these two sets of assumption are placed in juxtaposition, a considerable amount of bitterness may result. One nurse expressed herself this way: "These people have no respect at all for the nurses. They don't listen to you, they don't keep appointments and they take everything that we

do for them for granted. Most are on welfare; they are given too much and don't realize the value of anything. If they had to work, they would learn a little."

It would not be wise to underestimate the effects of such feelings upon the patients, for when people are placed in hospital they are clearly under the jurisdiction of the hospital staff and often made to feel dependent and inferior. In turn, this reinforces the patients' pre-existing ambivalence about the quality of white medical care. In many cases that care is rejected, avoided, or delayed because the social context of its delivery is openly or covertly hostile and humiliating. Certain persons in the Zone thus avoided Euro-Canadian medical attention for over a year after obvious symptoms of tuberculosis had appeared. They or their relatives stated simply that this was the case because the afflicted person was "afraid of going to the hospital. " Many other persons, similarly, received treatment only long after the onset of symptoms of various other maladies. These persons do not necessarily appear in medical statistics, but they did exist in the Zone. They avoided white medical treatment, in many cases, not because of their "culture," but because of their experience.

It is not likely that Indian people will soon totally refuse to accept hospitalization. But it is obvious that an atmosphere of sufficient mutual trust for the establishment of a successful program of general health education does not presently exist. There are certain simple measures that could be taken to ameliorate this situation: communication between the patient and his family could be improved, the patient could be given more information on coming to hospital, he could be provided with some opportunity to amuse or occupy himself, and more effort could be expended in making hospitalization less traumatic. But many of the factors contributing to the present situation are not immediately under the hospital's control. Problems such as pollution and poverty wait upon a more general and total solution than that which the hospital as an institution with limited jurisdiction and resources could ever possibly provide. Similarly, as the greater "personalization" of Euro-Canadian medical delivery systems depends, in part, upon improvements in methods of financing, training and equipping medical personnel, that change must also take place outside the Sioux Lookout Zone.

SECTION II

THE COMMUNITY HEALTH WORKER AND THE COMMUNITY HEALTH AIDE

The following report is based upon the interviewing and observation of Community Health Workers and Community Health Aides in the summer of 1972.

There are six Community Health Workers and some 17 Community Health Aides in the Sioux Lookout Zone. The former are exclusively male and are located in the larger communities: Big Trout Lake, Sandy Lake, Round Lake, New Osnaburgh, Fort Hope, and Lac Seul. With the exception of Lac Seul, these are communities that are equipped with a nursing station staffed by two or more full-time, resident nurses. In addition to the settlements listed above, Pikangikum also possesses such a nursing station but is presently without a Community Health Worker. Although a person is continually sought to fill the post at Pikangikum, to date it has been most difficult to find anyone willing to accept the position.

The Community Health Aides, on the other hand, are almost exclusively women and are stationed in those smaller communities that do not possess either a nursing station or a resident nursing staff: Sachigo, Bearskin Lake, Angling Lake, Kasibonika, Fort Severn, Wunnuman Lake, Kingfisher Lake, Rat Dam, Deer Lake, North Spirit Lake, Cat Lake, Slate Falls, Ogoki, Webique, Wabigoon, and Eagle Lake. These communities range in size from 50 to 200 people. Generally, they are more isolated satellites of larger settlements. Popular Hill, a satellite of Pikangikum, is such a community, but it, like Pikangikum itself, is presently without the services of Community Health Aide.

A general division thus exists between the two jobs: the male Community Health Workers exist in the larger, central settlements while the female Community Health Aides work in the smaller, more isolated satellite villages. In addition, there are great differences in respective terms of reference, responsibilities, specific job-orientated knowledge, and orientations. However, the salient fact about both of these positions, and the one characteristic that seems to unite them, is that

both are field positions staffed predominantly by Indian people. As such they are sensitive positions inasmuch as the individuals who fill them must act as mediators between the hierarchy and personnel of Medical Services and the people of those settlements in which they serve and reside.

The positions of Community Health Worker and Community Health Aide are, therefore, quite different from the other jobs (jobs of caretaker or maid) offered by Medical Services on various reserves and settlements. The Community Health Workers and the Community Health Aides operate towards different ends and under a different and more pervasive set of incentives and constraints. They are, in short, important "middle-men" between the hospital, the nurses, white medicine in general, and the people of the North. Their roles thus have several important implications.

Conununity Health Aides

As outlined by the Department of National Health and Welfare, the terms of reference for Community Health Aides are as follows:

- 1) Each day the Community Aide will set aside a time when he will see people who need help;
- 2) the Community Aide will find out as much as he can about the patient's illness or injury and report this information to the nurse or doctor by radio/telephone;
- 3) the Community Aide will carry out instructions on treatment given by the doctor or nurse;
- 4) the Community Aide will use first aid and home nursing measures to help people when it is impossible to reach a doctor or nurse;
- 5) the Community Aide will assist the doctor or nurse when they visit the community;

- 6) the Community Aide will help the community to learn simple first aid and home nursing and how to prevent disease by improving health and sanitation habits.

Each Community Health Aide has available to her a clinic building, a radio/telephone, and a small stock of medicine. Within the terms of the job description, she is supposed to work only for part of the day-seeing patients in clinics and helping nurses and doctors when they visit her community. Clinics are usually held from 9:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. on week-day mornings. The Community Health Aide is paid the minimum wage only for these hours. However, she is often called upon to work for greater lengths of time. When people are sick or injured, they may ask her to visit them or appear at her door after clinic hours. When nurses, doctors, or dentists arrive in the community, the Community Health Aide is responsible for assembling patients, assisting in therapy, and acting as an interpreter. She must also greet patients returning from the hospital, prepare patients for departure to hospital, keep records, carry on correspondence, clean and heat the clinic, and store medicine and equipment. All of this work is time consuming; much of it must be accomplished in addition to regular attendance at clinics, and most is done without pay. Although the job of Community Health Aide is considered by Medical Services to be a part-time position, in reality it approaches a full-time job.

The Community Health Aides I talked to were fully aware of this discrepancy. Almost without exception they felt that they should be paid more for their work-not in an absolute sense, but in relation to the additional hours worked. Some even said that they were prepared to quit unless the pay was so increased as to correspond to the time actually spent on the job.

Although some are untrained, most Community Health Aides have attended a training course at which they were taught: fundamental first aid skills, how to treat colds and diarrhea, cuts and burns, the art of resuscitation, and the stages of pregnancy and childbirth. Thus they are regarded by both the nurses and the people of their communities as part-time medical personnel. That is, their ostensible role is conceived as one of emergency medical treatment and the administration of continued therapy.

All Community Health Aides are severely limited in this role. The terms of reference for Community Health Aides state:

"Only cough medicine, aspirin, liniment, D.D.T. powder and impetigo medication may be given without directions from the nurse or doctor."

All other medicine is under the control of the nurse or doctor and may be administered only under their instructions.

The Community Health Aides thus perform: 1) routine administration of relatively innocuous medicines, 2) certain forms of emergency treatment, 3) temporary therapy for more serious cases under the verbal direction of a nurse or doctor, and 4) communication with the nurses or hospital staff concerning various cases. Their role as medical personnel is greatly overshadowed by that of the doctor or nurse.

This is fully recognized by white medical personnel, by the people of the various northern communities, and by the Community Health Aides themselves. Nurses and doctors tend to think of the Community Health Aides not as full partners, but rather as forward observers. One staff doctor said in this regard:

"Most Community Aides are all right I suppose; for what they can do that is. I don't really trust their judgement, but then what can you do. They're there and you're not. Often it's better if they don't do anything at all, because if they try to do too much they can' really foul things up."

Several nurses repeated this in somewhat similar terms. For example, when one field nurse was asked if she thought that Community Health Aides should get more money, she said:

"What for? They don't really do much you know, They don't have much training. They help us by telling us what's wrong out there, but that's about it."

All of this exists in spite of friendly and often very close working relationships between Community Health Aides and various doctors and nurses. It was, however, a sentiment echoed by many of the members of the Community Health Aides' own settlements. In informal conversation one woman stated:

"Our Community Health Aide tries to do a good job and people like her, but we all know that she can't do too much- not like a doctor or a nurse."

And one man added:

"She (the Community Health Aide) isn't like a doctor; she can't do what a doctor can do, but she does what she can."

This sense of limitation is implicitly or explicitly stated by the Community Health Aides themselves. All do not feel medically competent and are sensitive to the responsibility of their job. They see the job as a burden and are often extremely conscientious, working to the best of their abilities. One Community Health Aide, for example, visits people periodically to remind them to take their medicine. If a person has been recently discharged from the hospital with instructions to take a certain medicine at 4 to 6 hour intervals, the Community Health Aide will call on that person at those intervals and ask him or her to take the medicine. This is something that few nurses in the Zone are either willing or able to do.

In a greater sense, however, the definition of the Community Health Aide as a medical resource person is largely countered by the severe limitations placed on her by both the lack of full medical or nursing training and by the strict supervision of her activities by Medical Services personnel. The ostensible recognized role has built into it a series of expectations combined with, and somewhat contradicted by, a series of limitations and constraints. It has responsibility without the technical expertise to meet that responsibility. Demands are made upon the Community Health Aide by both doctors, nurses and the settlement's population, but there is often little recognition of the Community Health Aide's attempts to meet those demands. All of this engenders, in most Community Health Aides, a definite but perhaps periodic frustration. As it presently exists, the job tends to create double-bind situations. (cf. Bateson et al., 1956; Lang, 1961.)

In spite of the fact that there are few jobs on the reserves and in the various northern settlements, many Community Health Aides stated that there were times when they felt like quitting or "tried to quit." Most Community Health Aides do keep their jobs for comparatively long periods of time and much of this is due to pressure from their communities. Several Community Health Aides told me of times when they tried to quit but were "forced" or "talked into staying" by the

band's chief or councillors. The Community Health Aide is, in the first instance, selected by the community rather than by Medical Services; and although doctors or nurses may approach a person and ask her to become the Community Health Aide, the decision lies with the community. As a suffix to this, however, it should be noted that in a few communities (presently two) the position of Community Health Aide is filled by a white missionary. These people, for one reason or another, more or less "assumed" the job or "inherited" it from a former missionary. Recently one such missionary Community Health Aide was forced from her position by a dissatisfied community.

The second major role of the Community Health Aide is perhaps of greater importance than her primary role as a medical resource person. Although this second role is recognized implicitly, it is not often explicitly voiced. Briefly, this role rests on the observable fact that the Community Health Aides form a major point of contact between the non-native nurses and doctors and the people of the various settlements. Community Health Aides are extensively used for interpreting purposes whenever nurses, doctors, or dentists visit the satellite communities. However, their job does not end there; they also provide these medical specialists with information that they could not freely obtain on their own. Much of this relates to the medical history of the patient and is more than slightly useful in diagnosis and treatment. While an ophthalmologist was examining the eyes of a group of patients in one of the satellites, the following dialogue took place:

- Doctor: I notice that one eyelid of this boy hangs down a little bit. Is this something recent?
- Community Aide: No, when he was little, he got burned in the face by some hot fat.
- Doctor: How old was he when this happened?
- Community Aide: He was about 3 1/2 years then.
- Doctor: Does it bother him?
- Community Aide: He says that it doesn't bother him.

Doctor: Well, I was thinking of sending him in (to the hospital), but if it's an old injury and doesn't bother him, we'll let it ride for now."

Community Health Aides are able to provide such information essentially because they have lived in a certain settlement for most of their lives and are quite familiar with the individual histories and medical problems of the people of that settlement. In that regard, moreover, they are able to seek out specific patients to see the various doctors and nurses, convince these patients to go to the hospital when necessary, and provide doctors and nurses with immediate information whenever any person becomes sick.

People in the settlements are much less reluctant to go to the Community Health Aide than they are to see the doctor or nurse directly. The usual pattern is one in which the patient first seeks treatment from the Community Health Aide. If the case is not a serious emergency but is beyond the competence of the Community Health Aide, the person in question will be asked to see a nurse or doctor at the first opportunity.

In many instances it is unlikely that this second visit would ever take place without the Community Health Aide's efforts in urging those people who had previously asked for treatment to go to the clinic on a certain day and at a certain time.

Similarly, Community Health Aides, because of their membership in the local community, are not adverse to utilizing the indigenous medical services of that community. This does not necessarily apply to the services of "medicine men," Even though few Community Health Aides regard such services as being useless, they are usually arranged in other ways. It applies more directly to the services of native midwives. In cases of childbirth in the settlement, midwives are often contacted by Community Health Aides. But it is usually the Community Health Aide who assists the midwife rather than the reverse. One Aide, for example, demanded the fitting of glasses for her village's midwife:

"I got the midwife a pair of glasses so that she could see-just to be on the safe side."

In addition, some Community Health Aides prepare and take home-made medicines which are regarded as useful although limited in effectiveness.

The practical importance of these beliefs and actions cannot be overemphasized. Generally, the Community Health Aides do not present Euro-Canadian medicine as an "all or nothing" system demanding total and unswerving allegiance. Instead, they consciously or unconsciously attempt to combine and reconcile aspects of white and Indian medicine. As a result they can create for themselves positions of general trust such that all sectors of the reserve's population feel free to come to them for help and advice. People who would not normally seek out white medical treatment on their own will visit their Community Health Aide. In turn, they may be directly referred to doctors and nurses for further treatment.

Community Health Workers

The terms of reference for Community Health Workers are significantly different from those of Community Health Aides. The position of Community Health Worker is, unlike the latter position, a full-time job. As the name implies, it is a position primarily concerned with the improvement of the general health of a community or set of communities. The improvement sought is not in the actual treatment of sick people, but rather in reference to programs of health education, sanitation, and safety. Thus *The Community Health Worker*, a publication of the Department of National Health and Welfare, states:

"The Community Health Worker program is an attempt by Medical Services, National Health and Welfare, to increase the amount and effectiveness of Health teaching done among Indian and Eskimo people." (1970)

The emphasis is upon teaching, the ideal being the effective communication of solutions to public health problems so that the people of various northern communities will spontaneously work towards those solutions. As may be imagined, this is no small task, and the present terms of reference may be unrealistic.

As an expectation, this task involves the Community Health Worker establishing himself as a cultural innovator. He may be asked to attempt to change the dietary, sanitation, reproductive, or child-care patterns of his people. The pro-

blems implicit in such attempts are manifold, One Community Health Worker, for example, stated his difficulties in convincing the people of a settlement to drink chlorinated water.

The water of many northern lakes on which reserve settlements are situated is usually highly polluted by run-off from the settlement. Water pollution is accordingly one of the central problems faced by Community Health Workers in the Zone. As a solution to this problem, the Department of National Health and Welfare encourages the people of the settlements to purify their drinking water either by the addition of 2 or 3 drops of chlorine bleach or by boiling the water for 15 minutes. However, many people find it too difficult to boil all of their drinking water, or dislike the taste of the bleach in the water. One Community Health Worker commented in this regard:

"At first, before Indian Affairs put in the water supply with the chlorinator, I tried to get the people to put Javex in the water. You know, it's poison if you drink too much of it, and people don't like the idea of it in the water. But then when Indian Affairs put in the chlorinator I thought that everything would be O.K. But people will go get that water (piped chlorinated water) and use it to wash their clothes. But they still won't drink it. They say: "Bleach is to wash clothes, not to drink." ⁹⁹

A second and closely associated aspect of this difficult role is that many Community Health Workers find themselves in a bind between the demands of Medical Services staff and pressure from the chief and band councillors. Because their job is in the first instance one of the few full-time salaried jobs available on many reserves, it is highly sensitive to the kinship-related processes of local politics. Several Community Health Workers who were appointed under the auspices of one band administration find themselves in difficulties with succeeding administrations. Although they cannot be directly removed by the chief or band council, certain factions may engage in a low grade war of attrition with the Community Health Worker. On one reserve, for example, the Community Health Worker received a call from the chief instructing him to shoot all the stray dogs on the

⁹⁹ However, the Community Health Worker in question agreed with the people of his community that there are more effective ways of dealing with water pollution than the chlorination of the water supply.

reserve. Although there was an apparent problem with a large number of dogs running freely in packs, such action was clearly outside the terms of reference of the Community Health Worker. More significantly, the suggested course of action was one that would have possibly engendered a great deal of personal antagonism. The Community Health Worker refused to shoot the dogs and was subsequently charged by the chief with failing to properly do his job. Here it is important to note that the chief was of one large family group that led one political faction, while the Community Health Worker was of another large kin group associated with an opposing political faction. Such strife seems endemic in Community Health Worker-band Council relations. One Community Health Worker stated, for example, that if the chief and council had power to fire Community Health Workers he wouldn't last a week; he was seconded in this by several others.

Yet there is a deeper and more pervasive difficulty in the community's interpretation of the role of the Community Health Worker. Many people in the various settlements apparently think of the Community Health Worker as a *worker*. That is, they expect him to personally do the work that he advocates. This is true for virtually every community staffed by a Community Health Worker. In one community, for example, a man complained bitterly and at length about the garbage and refuse scattered about the reserve:

"Look at all that junk lying around. That's not right, and that... our Community Health Worker, he doesn't do anything about it. He should pick up all of that. I'm going to tell him to pick up all the garbage. That's his job."

This interpretation of the role of Community Health Worker, although inaccurate, is familiar to all Community Health Workers in the Zone. All feel certain pressure from their communities to actually do the work that they recommend. One Community Health Worker stated in this regard that he thought it was important that the name of the job be changed from Community Health Worker to Community Health Advisor, so that the people won't expect you to do the work."

Community Health Workers are also under great pressure from nurses and other members of Medical Services. Much of this is due to the fact that the terms of reference for Community Health Worker are ambiguous and flexible. In addi-

tion to acting as health educators they are also expected to do the following things:

- 1) Encourages people to adopt and practice health measures;
- 2) explains Medical Services' programs to the Indian and Eskimo people;
- 3) stimulates people to work out solutions to their problems;
- 4) improves the acceptance of the nurse through helping to explain the nurse's role;
- 5) helps in maintaining good liaison between all agencies and the people;
- 6) improves communication with the people through his understanding of Medical Services' aims and programs and his ability to speak the native language." (Department of National Health and Welfare, 1970.)

Field nurses are the immediate supervisors of Community Health Workers. They keep records of the hours worked by Community Health Workers and authorize the Community Health Worker's monthly reports. Most Community Health Workers are expected to be in the nursing station by 8:30 a.m. There they act as interpreters, assisting the nurses with clinics and with various other tasks. One Community Health Worker complained of this:

"Nurses some places expect us to be at the station at 8:30 in the morning or they say that we aren't working. A lot of our job is talking to people so sometimes we can't be around the station that early in the morning."

Many nurses prefer to see the job of the Community Health Worker performed directly in front of them. They expect tangible results, success or failure, "some sort of action." Yet because the problems with which the Community Health Worker must deal are multifarious and deeply rooted, immediate action, much less an immediate solution, is often virtually impossible. Many members of the hospital's field medical and nursing staff do not seem to be fully aware of this. Overall, they tend to have a fairly low opinion of the value and effectiveness of the Community Health Worker. This opinion is not often verbally expressed, although occasionally one will hear how the Community Health Workers are "lazy"

or "virtually useless." It is more often subtly communicated through an air of open condescension. Field nurses in particular feel that they must keep a close rein on their Community Health Worker. Many feel it essential that they require the Community Health Worker to do certain things to keep him from doing nothing.

Under such conflicting demands, the Community Health Worker's job is often made very difficult indeed. Both his community and the hospital encourage him to do specific things and not to do other things. When the interests of these two groups clash the Community Health Worker is caught in the middle. Several Community Health Workers commented on this:

"Sometimes the job can be pretty tough, especially when the nurses want you to do one thing and the people don't want that thing to be done."

"I used to have a lot of trouble with the job. The Chief would tell me to do this and the nurses would tell me to do something different."

The essential characteristic of the role of the Community Health Worker is that he, like the Community Health Aide, is a person situated between two clearly defined groups. His overall position is uncertain, and special rules may be applied to him even in his home community. One Community Health Worker put it this way:

"Ever since I got this job I've had to pay for everything-for carpentry work on my house or if I wanted some wild meat. I had to pay for it all."

Conclusion

Several similarities pertain to the two roles. Both rest on a technical base that does not meet the expectations associated with the role. The Community Health Aide is regarded as a healer of the sick and a dispenser of medicines. However, she is unsufficiently trained to fully meet the medical needs of her community and is prevented, by the terms of reference, from doing anything other than simple first aid. The Community Health Worker is expected to be a health educator and planner, but he is prevented from fully accomplishing the tasks that are set for

him by bureaucratic and financial constraints and by the close, and occasionally demanding, supervision of Medical Services staff.

Secondly, both the Community Health Worker and the Community Health Aide occupy "middle-man" positions. They exist as mediators between Medical Services and the people of various reserves and settlements. This is regarded as merely a secondary role by Medical Services. It is more fully recognized for the Community Health Worker than it is for the Community Health Aide. But in each case it is a role of unique value and great personal frustration. While there is always the possibility of successful and effective communication between the two groups, the continual possibility of tension and conflict exists. Much of the latter may be directly focussed upon the person of the Community Health Aide or the Community Health Worker. The Community Health Aide and the Community Health Worker occupy sensitive positions that may be focal points for conflict between various communities and Medical Services.

Finally, both jobs are jobs in which the full measure of contribution cannot be easily assessed. The value of the Community Health Aide is not limited to her direct medical contribution. If she gives aspirin to a patient and refers her patient to a doctor or nurse, it might be thought that she has done little unless it is realized that the patient may not have sought out a white doctor or nurse on his own. Similarly, if more and more people of a settlement are convinced of the present necessity to purify drinking water and carefully dispose of refuse, the contribution of the Community Health Worker may be easily overlooked because the change in health attitudes is not easily seen or measured.

A central part of the folk "mythology" of medicine revolves about the "drama of cure": a patient is snatched from death by the skill of the surgeon, a clinician's cautious but brilliant diagnosis, or the astute observation and quick action of a nurse. Doctors and nurses are not always immune to the romance of this mythology. They are often less interested in the more prosaic aspects of preventative medicine; the slow, unspectacular increases in trust and health knowledge that are essential in the delivery of medical services to areas such as the Sioux Lookout Zone. The positions of Community Health Aide and Community Health Worker, while they lack drama, can greatly facilitate the development of such public health knowledge and trust. Community Health Aides and Community Health Workers thus act out essential although still partially unrecognized roles. Unless

these roles are fully recognized for their present and potential importance and are accordingly strengthened and encouraged, the effectiveness of the delivery of health care to the North may fail to significantly improve even as its medical practice becomes more specialized.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The major point of this paper is that certain problems in the delivery of health care to the people of the Sioux Lookout Zone are rooted, not in the traditional culture of those people, but in the structure and organization of Euro-Canadian medical delivery systems. If this is the case ¹⁰⁰, improvements in existing delivery systems would indicate a decline in the high incidence of sickness in the North. The material on the roles of Community Health Worker and Community Health Aide suggests that proposed changes, if they are to be effective, should be in the direction of indigenous medical systems; they should involve, as an initial step, the recognition of such systems.

This is a neglected suggestion. In 1942, Dr. Joseph wrote:

"Our success, that is, the success of white medicine, will largely depend, not upon a passive surrender by the Indians of their old traditions

¹⁰⁰ It is difficult to "prove" that this is the case. Persons who avoid medical treatment do not appear in medical statistics for at least as long as they avoid treatment. However, as Badgley (1971,5) has written: "... in the comprehensive survey of *The Health of American Indians* in 1957, it was found that 73% of the Indians on five reservations had disease conditions which: "in the opinion of the examining physician were sufficient to warrant medical attention during the past year. A much smaller percentage (59%) recognized the presence of illness to the extent of reporting one or more symptoms, but only 41% reported having obtained professional attention for one or more of their symptoms." (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1957.)" Demand, then, reflects the tip of the iceberg of disease in a population. And an increase in the use of health facilities, or in the lowering of rates for specific conditions treated by physicians or at hospitals, cannot be taken as an accurate index of improved health for the population or as a necessary yardstick of success in measuring the effectiveness of a given program.

and beliefs, but upon the white physician's capacity for, let me say, moral perspective and for making practical application of that perspective in his relation with his Indian patients." (1942, 6.)

And Shiloh in 1965:

"In summary it may be said that the interaction between different systems of medicine can be of a peaceful nature with a positive blending of practices. The dynamics of the interaction depend primarily upon the introducing agent, the western practitioner. The degree to which he is willing to learn and is able to adapt is crucial to the success of the program." (1965,147.)

If pursued, this perspective might lead, not just to some small improvement in the health of native people, but to a more general awareness of their present situation as well. As the health of the people of the North directly depends upon their economic circumstances, such awareness (and appropriate action) is also essential. While impersonal treatment in hospital can result in the perpetuation of sickness, bureaucratic and economic exploitation often creates conditions favoring the development of sickness. The health of Canadian Indians is not, thus, a subject that exists apart from the context of their political and economic subjugation.

However, at this point certain minor recommendations would seem to be in order:

- 1) Effort should be made to approach and understand indigenous medical systems with reference to their form and structure as well as to their contents;
- 2) this understanding, once achieved, should be a part of the training of all doctors and nurses;
- 3) the greater personalization of Euro-Canadian medical delivery systems should then be attempted in the light of this understanding;
- 4) as a general and immediate step towards these ends, the positions of Community Health Aide and Community Health Worker should be strengthened in every possible way. The position of Community Aide should be-

come a full-time, salaried job. It is most unlikely, however, that any of this will spontaneously occur.

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Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.
Cinquième SESSION

Socio-Cultural Change and Health in Canadian Inuit

*Dr. O. SCHAEFFER, M.D.**

RÉSUMÉ

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Un nombre de plus en plus grand de professionnels de la santé reconnaissent l'importance des changements techniques et sociaux sur la santé. Le dernier symposium international sur la santé dans les régions circum-polaires a été placé sous le thème : « L'impact de la modernité sur la santé physique, mentale et sociale des populations autochtones du Nord. » Chez les Indigènes nordiques, les Inuit sont probablement ceux qui ont subi les changements les plus profonds et les plus rapides au cours des deux dernières décennies. Les changements socio-culturels produisent de nombreuses repercussions sur l'état de santé. L'exposé abordera successivement : a) l'état de santé et les conditions sanitaires chez les Inuit canadiens à différentes périodes de leur histoire; b) l'effet des changements sur la personna-

* Northern Medical Research Unit, Medical Services, Health and Welfare Canada, Charles Camshell Hospital, Edmonton. The author wishes to thank the organizers of this symposium and the Medical Services for giving him the opportunity to speak at a multidisciplinary symposium. The author used slides to accompany his presentation.

lité et la culture esquimaudes; et c) les conséquences des changements socio-culturels sur l'état de santé des Inuit.

La période de contact avec les populations blanches est caractérisée par l'apparition des maladies à microbe et à virus (la tuberculose, par exemple) sous forme épidémique -lesquelles ont provoqué une baisse marquée de la population en suscitant une mort prématurée des adultes et en provoquant un taux élevé de mortalité infantile. L'accroissement du nombre et de la qualité des services de santé dans le Nord a freiné dans une certaine mesure ces manifestations pathologiques. Toutefois pour bien comprendre le rendement limité des politiques et mesures sanitaires des Blancs, il faut se référer aux nombreuses transformations qui sont apparues dans la culture esquimaude depuis une vingtaine d'années.

Pour mieux saisir la nature de ces changements, il faut comparer la personnalité et la société esquimaudes d'hier à celles d'aujourd'hui. Ces comparaisons s'expriment sous forme de tableaux synthétiques qui examinent les rôles des divers membres de la famille nucléaire ainsi que les systèmes de valeurs et les attitudes dans la société traditionnelle et dans la société moderne. Les résultats sont chargés de signification. La famille étendue qui était à la base de la structure sociale esquimaude et qui avait permis la survie dans un milieu écologique difficile est remplacée par la famille nucléaire. Ce bouleversement disloque la famille, rend les vieux tristes et songeurs, les jeunes, oisifs, frustrés et revendicateurs. Les chefs de famille en cessant d'être les chasseurs et les pourvoyeurs de viande se sentent démunis, deviennent hostiles et agressifs. La femme-mère a perdu l'intimité avec son enfant et ne peut plus remplir ses fonctions traditionnelles, si importantes pour l'équilibre familial. Les enfants ne reçoivent plus de leurs parents l'affection nécessaire et sont souvent mal nourris. Ils apprennent à ne plus respecter leurs parents.

Les changements dans l'alimentation des enfants, par suite de l'abandon de l'allaitement, ont entraîné une forte explosion démographique. Mentionnons aussi que les enfants nourris au sein ont une meilleure survie durant les premières années de leur vie. Les maladies vénériennes, l'alcoolisme et la violence sont intimement reliés à la détérioration psychosociale de l'Esquimaux d'aujourd'hui. Les accidents de toutes sortes, les suicides,

les homicides et l'empoisonnement représentent les causes les plus importantes de décès. Les Esquimaux sont devenus victimes des « maladies de civilisation » à un degré de virulence très élevé.

There has been in medical circles, particularly in our department, an increasing awareness and acceptance of the role of social and cultural factors on the physical and mental health of individuals and groups. The century dominated by bacteriological discoveries, when medical men discussed diseases almost exclusively in terms of numbers and routes of invading bacilli, is slowly coming to an end. Indeed, I was even able to put our last International Symposium on Circumpolar Health under the theme: "The impact of modern change on the physical, mental and social health of northern native populations."

There are actually very few, if any, people who experienced such rapid and drastic changes in their social structure, lifestyle and culture as the Canadian Inuit. Their changing health picture, as it unfolded before our eyes during the last two decades, gives us a splendid occasion to record the close interrelation between changes in the health picture and changes in socio-cultural factors.

In order to demonstrate some of the most obvious interrelationships between these, I intend to review briefly the health picture of the Canadian Inuit at various periods up to the present; to discuss the most fundamental socio-cultural changes in their society; and to document the kinds of interrelations which exist between health and socio-cultural changes in using specific examples.

THE HEALTH PICTURE

In Traditional Times

Our knowledge of Canadian Eskimos in earlier times concerning the health picture is very spotty. Even the basic demographic figures that we have are quite uncertain. As a matter of fact the range of accepted estimates has varied widely, even in the 22 years since I have been involved with Northern Health Services. In

the Annual Report of the Department of National Health and Welfare for 1945-1946 (published in 1947) the number of Eskimos living then in the Canadian Arctic was estimated at 7,700. This figure was judged to be static at that time after having decreased over the foregoing decades (presumably since the turn of the century) from an estimated maximum of 10,000 to 12,000 in pre-contact times. This is perhaps too low an estimate and recently a maximum figure of 18,000 people has been discussed.

Fluctuations in regional population density as well as shifts in Eskimo inhabited land north and southwards are attributed in Eskimo folklore, in public opinion and in stories elicited from old Eskimos to changes in game prevalence, in migration routes and in adverse weather conditions rather than epidemics. Archaeological and climatological evidences tend to confirm Eskimo tales in this respect.

American and Scottish whalers brought continuous contacts with white civilization to the Beaufort Sea from the west and to Cumberland Sound, Pond's Inlet, Hudson Bay and Fox Basin from the east around the turn of the century up to World War 1. The ensuing epidemics and drinking patterns almost wiped out the North Alaskan and Mackenzie Delta Eskimos and decimated the Eastern Arctic Eskimos in contact with whalers, while the less accessible cariboo-- or Inland Eskimos of the Barren Grounds and their neighbours on the Arctic coasts to the north and northwest, the Netchilgmiut and Copper Eskimos, escaped massive contact, and subsequent epidemics of acute and chronic infections until the fur trade invaded their country between the two World Wars. Then, in a rapid succession waves of measles and other viral diseases followed often by tuberculosis wiped out entire camps and left the rest weakened and with smoldering disease. The demographic impact of these post-contact epidemics was so drastic in most Canadian Eskimo groups that even nowadays one can deduce their contact history from looking at the indentations of population pyramids of the Eskimos living beginning of 1965 in the Coppermine-Holman Island, Frobisher Bay and Cumberland Sound districts. The sharp indentation and small numbers of men and women of the age group 35-39 in the Copper Eskimos reflect clearly the post-contact epidemics recorded in the late 20ies in that district which reduced birth rate and killed many infants born in the preceeding two or three years.

The much earlier massive whaler contact in the Eastern Arctic (first decade of this century) was barely still noticeable in 1965 in the 55-59 years old group cons-

triction in the Pangnirtung population, while a more recent epidemic of typhoid fever, which raged from 1940-1942 in Cumberland Sound and killed 12% of the population and led to the almost complete loss of a 2 years baby crop, is quite clearly reflected in the age group 20-24 years shrunken to half its expected size.

The next population pyramid demonstrates the overwhelming role tuberculosis played for the decades following contact when I found every Eskimo from 6 years on and many small children tested in the early and mid-1950 with tuberculin skin tests positive, i.e. infected with tuberculosis and on X-Ray we even now find the majority of adults with signs of calcified disease.

The death rate for tuberculosis for all inhabitants of the Northwest Territories in 1947 was about 7 per 1,000 and for the Eskimos it was more than twice that rate. The prevalence of sick people with tuberculosis was naturally a multiple of the death rate and for example in these Eskimos from Sugluk in Arctic Quebec I found in 1955, 12% with far advanced disease evacuated to the sanatorium in that year alone! and could skim off only the tip of the iceberg!

Things have improved markedly with more intensive case finding and treatment programs but still we found in 1960 the new case rate in Eskimos roughly being 40 times and in Indians 20 times the national average.

A final solution of the problem is made difficult by the now longer survival of old people, a long time ago infected and difficult to cure or even treat as they don't want prolonged hospitalization which is more feared by them than physical death, and who do not take their drugs at home and keep spitting their infectious phlem all over-while not coming for X-raying or providing sputum samples for examination.

Another much publicized problem of our Northern Health Services, and one medical doctors are often too narrow-mindedly discussing in terms of fighting infections and delivering easier and faster medical care only, is the high infant mortality rates of native children in the North.

Our Service likes to show that much was achieved by bringing the rate in Eskimo infants down from 250 in 1956 to just under 100 in 1964, and attributes this to our rapid expansion of Medical Services in the North which was started in the late 50ies. We should, however, go a bit further back and must realize that the infant mortality rate was in traditional times not as high as in 1956 and that im-

portant socio-cultural factors have to be taken into consideration or we will bang our heads fruitlessly against the wall and do neither understand nor change the fact that from 1964-1971, despite a massive further expenditure in money, facilities and personnel and much faster evacuation and hospitalization procedures the infant mortality rate has budged very little. The last two years however have seen a marked fall of infant mortality but it is much too early to know if this is a lasting breakthrough. I have tried to compile and correlate some of the factors I believe most important in this context. Some of these ideas have found their way in a large scale infant morbidity and mortality study undertaken by Medical Services in the Northwest Territories at present.

Culture Patterns Today

Perhaps before proceeding with the discussion of specific socio-cultural factors and their effect on the health picture I should in general terms describe the socio-cultural picture in the "traditional" and "modern" Eskimo society as I saw it change in the last two decades in most parts of the Canadian Arctic.

Someone who worked in the Canadian Arctic some 20 years ago and returns there now just can't believe his eyes. There are very few people who have seen such drastic changes in less than a generation than the Canadian Eskimos, in particular in the Central and Eastern Arctic, while the transition started a bit earlier and proceeded, therefore, at a more protracted pace in the more accessible Western Arctic. If it was not for the familiar shapes of the land and sea one would doubt if one returned to the same place. Where there were tents and igloos there are now three-bedrooms houses, large schools and stores and instead of dog teams and kayaks unobtrusive and gracefully enlivening the quiet and serene land and sea, noisy motorsleds, trucks and motorboats sputter around. But I am less concerned here with these superficial outward trappings, the change of which is so obvious and impressive to the casual visitor though perhaps I should in passing mention the increasingly noticeable nerve-deafness secondary to prolonged skidoo driving in Eskimo men. But my concern here shall be with the effect of socio-cultural change on the Eskimo personality and social structure, and how this is related to change in his physical, mental and social health.

I have made a schematic tabulation of this change on Eskimo personality and society by contrasting the position and values, attitudes and practices of the members of the nuclear family "Yesterday," in traditional times, and "Today" or in modern Eskimo society.

It has been said that no people in the world developed such a fierce individualism as the Eskimo. This is only partly true. Certainly Eskimos did not, for obvious reasons in their hostile environment with limited food resources, develop much of a tribal culture or any stratified social structures and therefore the individual family was much on its own. But within that family group the individual person was much more totally responsive in all his or her actions and even final fate involving life and death (priority of eating in times of famine) to the sake of the family group than is the case in our society or for that matter in all more complex civilizations.

Western man has moved far away from such total identification of the individual with the interest and welfare of the family, and in modern society this process of either individual or state interests infringing upon and displacing the priority of the family has reached an extreme which, when suddenly transferred and imposed on people still geared and accustomed to the protective pluralism of the extended family such as the Eskimo, leaves the individual insecure, lonely, directionless and meaningless.

Now, let us look at the basic social structure as it existed in traditional times and contrast that with conditions prevailing now using as examples members of the nuclear family. The following scheme in which we contrast the positions and role of family members and values, attitudes and practices in the traditional and modern Eskimo society is based on notes from Father Métayer, amended and added to from my own experience. This form of tabulation is naturally far too generalized and simplified and freezes a living continuum of great dynamic complexity and with great local variations into an exaggerated and polarized still picture which, however, may allow us to see more clearly some of the most important cultural and sociological trends having such an impact on physical, mental and social health of today's Eskimo society.

Perhaps I should add here that the trends depicted here on the example of Eskimo society are naturally not a unique phenomenon restricted to them. You will

easily be reminded of other observations in various American Indian societies and other cultural minorities subjected to acculturation and even in our own western civilization, although perhaps the picture is more impressive in the case of the Eskimos as the impact of acculturation was more recent, more sudden and involving greater cultural and sociological differences in the original cultures subjected to interaction. In that sense then, our scheme may contribute something to the understanding of the sociological and personal identity problems of our own modern civilization.

ESKIMO PERSONALITY AND SOCIETY, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Eskimos retained in the hostile Central Arctic a primordial social organization based on the extended family, i.e. two brothers with their wives and children and perhaps one or two of their parents. There is no tribal chief; wisest men were listened to and followed but without compulsion.

Members of the Nuclear Eskimo Family

<i>In the Past</i>	<i>Now</i>
<p>Father: Highly respected</p> <p>The provider of food, on whose hunting skill life of every member of the family depended. To be known as a good food provider for own family, elderly and neighbours in need was a source of greatest pride and satisfaction.</p>	<p>Father: Feeling useless and worthless</p> <p>Eskimo men lost the independence of the traditional hunter. Works often for and under non-Eskimo agent, doing menial, despised and degrading jobs or-even worse-shamed into status of Welfare recipient. Finds transient emotional redress from feelings of frustration, idleness, dependance and hurt pride in drinking. Alcohol unmasks pent up hostility feelings-violence. Hangover remorse-suicidal behaviour.</p>
<p>Mother: Loved and needed</p> <p>Preparer of shelter, food and clothing. Indispensable centre of family, always busy making and repairing fur clothing, tents and utensils, tending day and night seal oil lamps, nursing, training and playing with children. Giving and receiving stimulation and satisfaction in intense interaction with child carried skin to skin for three years on her back or breast.</p>	<p>Mother: Lost central family role; feeling dispensible and idle</p> <p>Clothing and food bought in store. Infants bottlefed and deposited with siblings, grandparents or left unattended in corner of bed. Idleness while away for movies, dances, bars and "friends." Becoming impatient and punitive with less well understood and less well trained children.</p>

I would like to show you now a picture of primitive style Eskimo carving of mother and child by Celina of Repulse Bay. Celina, an elderly Eskimo lady, recreated in this carving her image of the natural and ideal mother-child relation, emphasizing the infant's *central* role in the mother's life. Anyone who has seen Eskimo children carried on their mother's back knows that children may peek over the right or left shoulder of their mother, but here the infant's head sits right

in the centre of the mother's shoulders and there is no doubt the mother figuratively adjusts her head and whole personality to the centre of her attention: her child!

Contrast now that carving with this one from Inujuak (Pt. Harrison, Arctic Quebec) which pictures how the mother-child relation has developed. A woman is loaded down by two small children on her back where there is place for only one. Burdened by a population explosion in the 1960s, traditional Inuit were not accustomed to—caused by the way, as the Eskimos as keen observers had never any doubt about even if it took us "learned" scientists much longer to confirm, by bottle-feeding replacing their traditional prolonged breast-feeding, as you see the artist here indicated. This woman, in the transitional society of some six to eight years ago when this carving was made, is literally bent down to the ground by too many children, feels overburdened and has lost that close and accommodating relation to her children which Celina in the foregoing carving so well depicted. After having shown how Eskimo artists saw their women's role and conceive the change in maternal-infant relations, I want to show you a couple of pictures which show the intensity of mother-child relation in the traditional society and its effect on children's development and education.

See, for instance, a young mother nursing her baby inside of her *amauti* (woman's parka, with room to carry baby on back or breast): I saw this beautiful young mother a few days after she had delivered in this igloo in Pelly Bay her first baby. Note how she is completely absorbed in her main task, satisfying physically and emotionally her baby, oblivious to any distractions the intruder with his camera and flashlights otherwise would have provided.

Look, now, at this Eskimo mother taking naked infant out of the *amauti* after nursing to void. You notice that only a small piece of Cariboo fur is placed at the anus to give some protection against soiling of the mother's parka by feces while naturally giving little or no protection against wetting the *amauti* by urine. When I questioned the mother about this, she shook her head in disbelief of such silly questions: "I am not so dumb. A mother feels and knows when her baby wants to void." What she meant and indicated by imitated movements to me was that an infant resting in the *amauti* with legs usually abducted on the mother's back makes spasmodic abduction movements with the thighs when the bladder is full and before the sphincter is opened. The interaction and understanding between the naked baby carried on the naked back of the mother is so intense and complete that eve-

ry urge of the infant is attended to immediately, insuring optimal physical and emotional satisfaction and preventing build-up of feelings of frustration. Enuresis or bed-wetting in later childhood, a common paediatric problem in our society, significantly increased in the Skolt Lapps troubled by acculturation problems, was practically unknown in a society whose infants were toilet-trained practically from birth and with no signs of the alleged psychological trauma that paediatric psychologists in our neurotic society warn us would be induced by too early attempted toilet training.

<p>Children: Loved and cared for feeling secure and satisfied with ideal image of parents to five up to Grew up on mothers back first three years in intimate contact, receiving response and satisfaction to every urge, motion and demand in sheltered and secure position, allowing participation in mother's and family's activities and progressing from playful imitation to useful participation of parent's chores.</p>	<p>Children: Intimate infant-mother interaction and understanding lost</p> <p>Less secure shelter, inferior nourishment. Emotional and sensory deprivation when left to stare listless at empty ceiling or screaming frustrated in soggy diapers. Later: Loss of parents' ideal image and respect. Feeling useless and frustrated, having lost functional role in Eskimo world while unable to realize desires awakened by school and movies. Become confused and rebellious.</p>
<p>Interaction in Family: Very close, complete and unquestioned interdependence but with extreme personal tolerance</p>	<p>Interaction in Family: Drifting apart</p> <p>Not needing each other so much. Expression of anger and intolerance: wife and child beatings. Children rebelling against elders.</p>

Social Values, Attitudes and Practices

<i>In the Past</i>	<i>Now</i>
<p>Personal qualities not possessions counted</p> <p>Skill, endurance and deftness marked the man as a likely good food provider and desirable family father. Cloth making ability ranked highest in social attributes of Eskimo women. (Quote Eskimo proverbs about role of wife in hunter's prowess and endurance, and role of wife in regard to guarding against burning down of tent.)</p>	<p>Imitation of materialistic expression of success in modern world</p> <p><i>Big</i> salary, <i>Big</i> house, <i>Big</i> motorboat, <i>Big</i> motorsled are aspired to now and regarded as measure of social success by the young Eskimo men. Getting a well paid position allowing to buy fancy clothes not to make them, by the Eskimo girls.</p>
<p>Sharing* of the hunter's kill or catch was observed in all Eskimo groups, but most generously in the Central Arctic where sharing more than storing insured survival of a maximum number of people in the face of unpredictable and often shifting migration routes of game. The unlucky hunter did not starve as long as a luckier neighbour could be reached.</p> <p><i>'The Inuit, like other hunting and food gathering societies did not develop a material hoarding culture in contrast to agricultural peoples who learned to store food as insurance against the biblical lean seven years.'</i></p>	<p>Native meat and fish are still in the Eskimo's mind to be shared, while money derived from trapping, wage employment or social benefits and amenities bought with this money were as "white man's" money or tools never subjected to this sharing concept. The desire to acquire more of the imagined white man's materialistic success tends to destroy and even pervert the vestiges of the sharing concept: native meat and fish is often surreptitiously sold to Whites to circumvent compulsion to share them with Eskimos. Everybody for himself.</p>
<p>Education</p> <p>Was continuous from infancy on without sharp break by imitating and working with parents. Persuasion to help willingly. No overt coercion. Emphasis on restraining anger and violent behaviour.</p>	<p>Education</p> <p>School took place of parents with less respect for personality and more impersonal conformity. Parents lose respect and authority. Expression of anger and violence prominent in movies. Emphasis on: "Do not hide your anger, speak up."</p>

To Conclude

We have seen then that the basic elements of the traditional Eskimo society, his tightly-knit family structure and the personal values, attitudes, and practices which were shaped by and allowed a successful life in his harsh environment are falling apart. The older generation feels numbed and bewildered and saddened, while the younger is idle, frustrated and rebellious.

Men feel deprived of their traditional role of meat providers, emasculated and powerless; relief from feelings of worthlessness and frustration and the temporary illusion of power is sought with the help of alcohol, which in turn unleashes pent up feelings of hostility and aggression-violence. Hangover remorse thereafter often leads to suicidal behaviour.

Women lost their indispensable central role in the family, their intimate and intense interaction with children. They suffer even more from idleness than the men.

Children are deprived nutritionally and emotionally from infancy on, lose the ideal image of their parents, do not learn anymore to become useful by imitating actions of parents, often feel misunderstood, useless, rebellious.

The only social institution of major importance in Eskimo life, the family, is falling apart and there has been nothing yet to take its place, leaving the individual lonely, frightened, without direction and full of anxiety.

Perhaps my picture is too gloomy for the present and too rosy for the past.

THE EFFECT OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE ON THE HEALTH PICTURE IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

The immediate effect of changing patterns of infant nutrition was a tremendous population explosion. While it was the custom to nurse an infant 3 years and the interval between births averaged about 3L years, this shrunk to around 1 year when bottle-feeding soon after birth was introduced. I was impressed in 1955 in Pangnirtung when making a demographic and health status survey of all camps, Cumberland Sound and Davis Strait, that the interval between children in the various camps appeared directly related to distance and difficulty of travelling to the trading post, the intervals in the outlying camps being quite regular with a mean of 3-3 1/2 years and became shorter and less regular in the nearer camps, and was shortest in the Eskimo families residing right at the trading post. I made similar observations in 1964 and in 1965 when travelling across the entire Western and Eastern Arctic and Professor Hildes and I could verify this in a more systematic investigation of the relation of conception intervals and lactation. There was an almost *explosive* increase in the Eskimo birth rate between the early 1950s when it was just under 40 per 1,000 and the mid 1960s when it reached its peak at 64 per 1,000 and 80 per 1,000 at Inuvik. An increase of over 60% in that decade of Dew line and village construction.

It is difficult to understand but a fact that, in the discussion on the population explosion, in particular in the so-called under-developed nations, which became so obvious during the last two or three decades and is rightly now regarded as the most pressing problem of humanity, nobody ever mentions the perhaps most important factor in this relatively recent explosive acceleration of population growth: namely, the shortening or complete abandonment of breastfeeding with the introduction of bottle-feeding and the consequent shortening of conception intervals.

But, we in Medical Services, concern ourselves primarily with health and disease problems and I should spend most of my time discussing these and their relation to socio-cultural changes.

I mentioned already earlier in my talk the high infant mortality in our native children and hinted at socio-cultural factors. I was impressed when practicing for 2 years each in the Western, the Eastern Arctic and later in the Yukon Territory that bottle-fed children had a much higher chance to die than breast-fed children, and suggested to our Department in 1961 that a systematic study should be done to verify or refute this claim. Dr. Graham-Cummings collected data on 5,500 Indian infants born during 1962 and followed for 12 months or until their death, and there was indeed a very significant statistical difference found! Bottle-fed babies having a 36-56% greater chance to die during the first year of life.

Eskimo and Northern Indian differences are even greater than these figures collected from all Canadian Indian reserves would indicate as living and medical care conditions in many Southern Canadian Indians approach those of surrounding Whites whose infants naturally grow up in such protected and almost sterile environments that the poorer infection protection of bottle-feeding becomes less evident.

But even greater differences than in mortality, we can demonstrate in morbidity rates of breast and bottle-fed infants: *Otitis media*, the curse of Indian and Eskimo children particularly in the North, is a good example of this. I demonstrated in this study a striking relationship of bottle-feedings and chronic otitis. This, by the way, has been confirmed by Dr. Hildes of Winnipeg in a later study in Igloolik, while so far all other investigators (from Alaska alone, more than a dozen papers on otitis were published) overlooked completely this factor.

I noted already on occasion the effect of changing nursing patterns on the population explosion the peculiar tendency to overlook or deny any such obvious relations. The same becomes obvious when we study the literature on breast cancer, the most frequent female cancer form in societies where breastfeeding is not or little practiced, and here in relation to otitis and respiratory, gastro-intestinal, allergic and a number of other diseases. Our modern society has been so brainwashed to regard the female breast as nothing but a sex organ that we shy away from noting nature's punishment inflicted on mother or child for frustrating that organ's original function.

While not necessarily all my colleagues share my interpretation of sociocultural factors in the conditions just mentioned, there is no doubt in regard to venereal

diseases, which sky-rocketed in the North over the last two decades and have reached the highest rates recorded not only in Canada but, to my knowledge, anywhere in the world.

Venereal disease, alcoholism and violence are closely interrelated and when discussing "Eskimo Personality and Society, Yesterday and Today" a moment ago I referred to some of the factors contributing to the frightening increase of these quite obvious "social diseases" such as breakdown of family order and other cultural restraints, the loss of the individual's functional role and economic usefulness and consequent loss of self esteem and identity, and build-up of feelings of frustration, loneliness and hostility.

Death and disease due to violence, accidents, homicide and suicide and poisoning have dramatically increased in all native populations in Canada and Alaska, and are the leading cause of death for those in the Yukon since some 15 years and in the Northwest Territories since some 6 years. Alcohol is involved in the majority of these cases.

After having stressed the socio-cultural and psychological factors favouring alcohol abuse, I should also mention that there may be also some physiological reasons why alcohol presents a greater danger for Eskimos and Indians than for Caucasians even if this is not a very popular and, in our time when factual statement of certain racial characteristics is anathema, almost suppressed fact.

We should not forget that there are very significant differences in other drug metabolism, e.g. INH, and in regard to physiological effects of alcohol. It may be of interest that Mongoloids, in particular Chinese and Japanese, have much greater vasodilation after equivalent alcohol dosage than Caucasians, so I don't think we need to be too up-tight about our findings of a lower alcohol metabolism in Indians and Eskimos even if attacked by some people who wrongly seem to equate virility with the ability to "hold ones liquor."

Much less obvious but perhaps scientifically of much greater interest and also of considerable potential practical importance I feel are the striking changes seen in cancer frequency and changes in cancer type prevalence observed and described recently by myself in Canadian Eskimos.

That this increase in neoplastic disease in Eskimos is not due to relative greater increase of the more cancer prone older age groups we can show when compa-

ring population pyramids according to the 1961 and 1971 Canada Census figures where you see naturally a marked difference to the all Canada population structure in both the 1961 and 1971 Eskimo figures, but despite a very recent fall off of the speed of proliferation of youngest age groups there is still between 1961 and 1971 a relative fall of adult Eskimos 40 years and older, i.e. the age groups where cancer occurs most often from 15.72% to 13.74%.

As an interesting side observation you may notice the excess of males in the age group 35 years-69 years, reaching a maximum of 27% in the fifth decade. This is the reverse from our own society and reflects likely two factors: in older times female infanticide played a role and may still have affected those groups born before Christianization and police establishments in their areas, but the greater factor certainly in the decades since the mid- 1930s were excess mortality of females due to childbirth and tuberculosis.

The diminishing differences from 55 years onward is then due to excess mortality of Eskimo men due to "frozen lungs" (as they themselves call it) contracted while hunting earlier in life.

There has not only been a very significant increase in cancer morbidity and mortality in Eskimos which, as we saw, cannot be attributed to change in age structure, but there also has been a remarkable shift in types of cancer found, and I want to draw your attention in particular to the spectacular rise in cervical cancer which I am inclined to contribute to the increased promiscuity and epidemic of specific and nonspecific venereal infections sweeping the Arctic, first in the 50s in the west around Dew line stations and larger settlements and then the rest of the settlements.

Nutrition is perhaps the health related area most immediately affected by acculturation in Eskimos and other former exclusively hunting and fishing peoples. We discussed already the demographic and individual health changes seen as a consequence of changing infant nutrition, but there were profound changes in the basic nutrient composition of everyone's diet. I surveyed in 1965 four communities contrasting pairs of hunting camp populations with larger settlement population in both the Western and Eastern Arctic. The greatest difference is seen in the amount of protein eaten. Surprisingly little difference was found in total amount of carbohydrates examined. But if we differentiate between rapidly (mainly sugar)

and slowly absorbable carbohydrates a striking change is seen: a four-fold increase in sugar consumption in eight years in the Cumberland Sound !

Although still remarkably seldom afflicted with *diabetes mellitus* I see trouble ahead for the Eskimos because they show a very high degree of metabolic sugar intolerance if so tested and it is only a matter of time until clinical consequences appear-Campbell in South Africa claims it takes 20 years of excess sugar consumption in such peoples to increase their diabetes manifestations very significantly. Other physiological and pathological consequences of nutritional changes not only in the Eskimo, where we can more clearly see it because of the recent and rapid changes, but in my opinion in most other people as well are so-called secular growth acceleration, arterosclerotic cardiovascular diseases, obesity, acne, gallbladder and an entire host of "civilization" diseases.

DISCUSSION

David Wilson : As an educator and one who would be looking at medical education, what has been done or what would you propose doing with the data that you have presented in this paper with regard to the reformulation of the education of medical personnel working in northern areas?

Otto Schaeffer : I think a number of steps have been taken. To my knowledge in all 12 Canadian medical schools, there has been formed a Department of family practice, and there has been in existence for a long period of time a Department of preventive medicine. I am regularly giving lectures in Edmonton and in Winnipeg and once in a while in Montreal in those departments and I do participate in the nurse practitioner program. Medical Services (federal) initiated a program realizing that our nurses have in the North an expanded role to play. They are often acting as doctors in isolated stations, so we try to educate them in these courses. I think that Miss Laurin and Dr. Savoie know more details about that program which lasts six months in different places, and I am teaching in that program. I think that there is an increasing number of people, particularly paediatricians, now aware of our neglected role even of our wrong teaching which was done previous-

sly in regard to children's feeding habits. Now to come back to the other subject, alcohol and the role of alcohol. I indicated to you that my view is not necessarily accepted by all of the profession yet and I think the medical profession is in a great turmoil now. But it has to do more. This alcohol problem is not only a problem for our native population, it's a great problem for our entire society and we should realize it. It's our greatest drug problem against which, in practical terms, the others are just peanuts. So I think there is an increasing awareness on the part of the public and a larger number of pressures on the profession.

Charles Brant : I wonder if you could comment briefly on the current status of family planning programs, family planning education for Canadian Eskimos. I recall very vividly when I was in Greenland, the last time, of talking to a physician who told me that every small hospital, even in the outposts, was conducting family planning lectures and slide demonstrations and so on. The people came, turned out in big numbers and listened very politely, drank the coffee and ate cookies and then went home into bed and made babies. The results as far as I know in Greenland of cutting down the birth rate are not very hopeful!

Otto Schaeffer : From some remarks yesterday, you will realize that this is quite a difficult subject in Canada. But despite this, we see that the birth rate of the Canadian Natives has fallen. Breast-feeding is practically finished. We have a family planning program. We have also a program to encourage breast-feeding and to do both is a very difficult thing because-as you know, it was in 1971 that Food and Drug of Canada put out a warning which some of the birth control firms had to insert on their packages that breast-feeding women should not use birth control pills because it may damage their babies. And this seemed to sound a death knell to our efforts vis-à-vis one or the other, but fortunately I wrote to a number of leading paediatricians in the States and in Canada and both, American and Canadian paediatric associations at their next meeting took this question up and came back, and Food and Drug of Canada withdrew their warning under the weight of the evidence by the paediatricians that there was no valid human experience contradicting both, but we have to be careful with the timing. Think about the number of memos on the subject! If you introduce birth control as often is

done by lazy obstreticians in the first week of postpartum, it not only increases the chances of that woman to have thrombo-embolic effects in the lungs and elsewhere, but it certainly will interfere with her will and wish to breast-feed. Therefore I have recommended that we space it individually, certainly not before the six weeks post-partum and in some women we can safely prolong it to the fifth month, then it doesn't do any harm. Now the birth rate for Eskimo you may be interested to hear, is 38 per 1,000, this is uncorrected. We should have it corrected in gestation age but this is a rough population estimate which I only have at the moment at hand, 38 per 1,000, it was 64 in 1964 and it was around 40 in the early 1950s. We have come back, we are not practicing genocide; it's still the double of what the Canadian birth rate is and we have brought it back where it was originally. But our policy is, it is never pushed on any woman. The persuasion is a very low-key one. We inform them and inform them of our policy to make available to every native woman the same kind of possibilities that are available to their white counterparts in the South, but nothing more. If a woman who has seven children wants to have eight that's perfect and fine with us.

J.W. Rowley : I just want to say, in reply to Dr. Brant, that the experience in Greenland has been equally dramatic, that the natural rate of increase has decreased from over 50 about seven years ago to 17.

Robert Williamson : The point that was made earlier about medical education, I would like to ask you, isn't it a point that should be made on a much broader scale than about medicine only? Would you care to identify some of the contributions that might be made: the redress of bad practices by changes in other kinds of educational systems, not the training, or perhaps in the training of teachers for northern services. The training of social development officers or social welfare workers. The question that really reached me was your discussion of ear-trouble. Anybody who's lived for any length of time in an Eskimo settlement is always harrowed by the sight of very small babies who have developed, within six or eight months, constantly running ears. I am astonished, I didn't know that anybody needed medical evidence to know that if you lie somebody down on his back whatever it is he's drinking runs into his ears or something of the kind. I remem-

ber being almost divorced by my wife when our first son was about nine months old and I wanted to escape from giving him orange juice from a bottle and I put him down for a few minutes propped up by a pillow. I was told, I was educated by my wife that that's going to be very bad for his ears. We go on and on devising educational programs which are conceived to enable the Inuit to do all kinds of things except such things as prevent their children from getting ear trouble and so on. My experience is that all matters related to health are left solely to a nurse in a community and it's an intolerable burden. She's often not fitted for an educational job in the community and, even if she were, she's too busy to carry it out. Nobody else feels responsible.

Otto Schaeffer : I agree fully with you that the nurse, particularly in an isolated settlement, has a tremendous role to play. I just came back a week ago from a trip to Cambridge, Bay Haven and Pelly Bay. I will not name which settlement I found awful, which settlement I found wonderful. But I had seen them last six or eight years ago and these three settlements were at that time in almost the same state. Now the difference is so horrendous and it was simply by the presence in a succession of two sets of poor nurses who had one community run down completely. But how to go about it? I think Dr. Savoie might be able to tell you more about the difficulties we have in orientation programs of nurses going North. We have a personnel screening program and I think similar things can be said about Northern Affairs. They have all kinds of screening programs for teachers to be sent in the North and you know that those programs work to 50% or less than 50% efficiency at the best of times and you still find in the North that things aren't done the right way. Or a formerly well-functioning person becomes, because of the problems of the isolated position in that community, into personal problems and her functions diminish markedly. I think the medical service has done a great deal in the last 10 years to recognize many of those problems and still we fall down to the left and right. There is no denying of it.

Gretchen Roedde : We have been talking a lot about how to orient our nurses and our doctors to working in the North. I am interested to know how do we train the native people and the Inuit people to take over their own health care?

Otto Schaeffer : I do not know if you have instituted in your area Community Health Committees. This is one step which we try to practice and, unfortunately, on my last visit, although this program has been running for five years and had been functioning in all four communities at one time or the other, it was functioning at present in only two communities. There is an increasing apathy by some of the native communities, and perhaps we are partly to blame, but certainly in the long end we are to blame for all of it, but we don't understand yet why that increasing apathy is developing.

J.W. Rowley : Could it be possibly the way that we have coached the native people? I have been working in Northwestern Ontario and there is a number of nurses who have been delivering babies with a midwife. There is also a number of doctors who have been speaking with the medicine men learning their indigenous medicines, finding out the pharmacological equivalence and starting to dispense herbal medicine. Do you think that some kind of code like this might be adopted?

Otto Schaeffer : I would favour it, but I cannot speak for all of Medical Services.

Eleanor Sioui : Il y a beaucoup d'Indiens, d'Indiennes et d'Esquimaux qui rapportent qu'il y a des médecins et des gardes-malades qui aident à stériliser les femmes indiennes et esquimaudes après deux enfants et qui font la promotion des pilules parmi elles afin qu'il y ait moins de naissances. Je voudrais savoir si les médecins sont d'accord ou si simplement des personnes prennent l'initiative de faire ça ?

Otto Schaeffer : Yes, I believe I can answer this et madame, excusez-moi de répondre en anglais. But I know that there have been cases and I just think of one place in particular. I might as well name it, Yellowknife, where a number of native women have been sterilized. We got signatures from both parents. The husband and the wife had signed the consent form, but there were later complaints

voiced rightly or wrongly that they had signed something which was not properly explained in all details to them. It was translated, perhaps in a perfunctory form, but not really discussed in great detail. Those cases we have followed-up and we have reprimanded the local authorities involved. But the very implication that something was done, which was perhaps as a judgement of the nurse or doctor, but not fully understood by the people concerned, is reprehensible and is not acceptable to the policy of our service. There have also been a number of native women who demanded tubelization which is a permanent form of sterilization from which our nurses tried to dissuade them. But they got it nevertheless done because they had been in close contact and working with other white people of the district who had gone through a similar operation and felt that what they can have I can have. I don't know what view to take. Should we take a very active role to dissuade them in that or should we let them go ahead and say: well, you've got the same right as anyone else has ?

George Mortimore : Excuse me if I state the obvious, but with regard to your findings on the differences in the rate of alcohol and metabolism among the human populations or so-called races, we are all very afraid of falling into the trap of scientific racism and it's a bad trap! But I don't really see why we should be too afraid of finding differences in the rate of alcohol metabolism between different human populations any more than we are afraid of finding differences in the frequency of blue eyes or curly hair. One thing did come to mind when you put the figures and perhaps I missed something. Speaking in terms of an average or range, I was just wondering in what degree these population overlap, about the range of occurrence of different rates?

Otto Schaeffer : I think in the tables the standard errors that are given there overlap. We divided the groups into light, heavy and moderate drinkers. We did a battery of liver function tests because it's well known, once your liver function goes down, you're previous slowly upcreeping chemical tolerance and fast upcreeping nervous tolerance to alcohol will rapidly fall once your liver function goes down. So we excluded, by battery of liver function tests, all those who had the slightest impairment of liver function from our samples. But still, let's say

Indians and Eskimos have had a relatively heavy alcohol experience over a number of years and, it was quite obvious, have had too a fairly good adaptation or relatively high adaptation-as walking still a straight line was a blood alcohol content which would put you into jail when you drive a car. They still did show this low metabolic rate. I should mention that we did give intravenous infusions over a certain period of time to bring all body components to an equivalent level of alcohol and then by both breathalyzer as well as intravenous testing measured the fall of the alcohol. And still there was a remarkable and significant difference between those extremes. Now as a personal thing, we are a composite population and there are many so-called Whites who fall into the same thing. There was the greatest spread-over but since perhaps, in the so-called Whites, there are more descendants of people who have for centuries and thousands of years been more herbivorous, cereal eaters than carnivorous, I should remind you, these were only northern Indians and Eskimos that we examined. It may be different for Mexican Indians. We know that it is difficult to get a horse drunk and it has a much faster alcohol metabolism than members of the cat and dog family. This may help them too, because a cereal eater like the horse encounters in the metabolism of cereals a number of alcohols and builds up different enzymes while we, human beings, have only one and the cats and dogs have only one. So it's quite conceivable that people who have for thousands of years been eating more agricultural products such as cereals in general develop a more efficient system to bum it down faster.

George Mortimore : I don't see why we have to agonize about this too much except we might want to be careful of the labels we put on the different human populations, that's the only trap we might be afraid of falling in.

Otto Schaeffer : If it comforts anyone, I fell into the range of the Indians.

Gretchen Roedde * : In order to effectively assess the health care system in the North, we must look at not only its effects on disease patterns, but also its

* Editor's note: This written commentary was sent to me a few weeks later so that Dr. Schaeffer did not have the opportunity to respond to it. Since it rela-

influence on the social and political structure of the native community. Dr. Otto Schaeffer has demonstrated the progress of modern medicine in combatting the high infant mortality and tuberculosis rates amongst Inuit. At the same time he has illustrated "the impact of modern change on the physical, mental and social health of northern native populations." This includes the destruction of traditional family roles, the increase in alcoholism, venereal disease and viral cervical cancer, the discouragement of breast-feeding and subsequent rise in malnutrition and otitis media in infants, as well as the demise of a natural means of birth control.

What Dr. Schaeffer has failed to see, however, is that the imposition of the white man's modern system of medicine upon the native culture facilitates the destruction of the pre-existing health care system. When the indigenous healers, the medicine men and the midwives, are replaced by their white counterparts a situation of dependency is created. A culture with none of its own people in positions of medical responsibility and authority in health care becomes the object of paternalistic neo-colonialism.

The alternative, according to Dr. David Stymeist, is to blend the native and white health care systems harmoniously, instead of replacing one with the other. In his paper he advocates training native people to take over responsibility for their own health care. Two such programs have been designed by Northern Medical Services; one to train Community Health Workers, who are full-time public health teachers stationed in larger communities; and the second to teach Family Health Aides who are half-time nursing assistants working in the satellites.

These two positions have been created to bridge the gap between the white and native cultures with respect to medicine; to aid in the delivery of primary health care at the community level, and to promote public health teaching. However, there are very real limitations inherent in the level of training of these workers, their scope of practice, prospects for upward mobility, and full recognition in the federal health care system. While they are of very major importance at the level of primary health care in the Indian communities, they are at the bottom of the white medical hierarchy.

tes to Mr. Stymeist's and Dr. Schaeffer's papers, I thought it would be of interest to incorporate it along with the other comments and observations.

A serious problem lies in the fact that not only is it currently impossible for the native paramedics to advance in the white medical system, but they are often considered "second-best" to the white certified doctor or nurse by the community residents themselves. Therefore the advice given by the paramedics is often not followed, because of their lack of authority. The paramedics are in a double-bind.

Stymeist suggests that the native paramedical workers receive an expanded training base, enlarged scope of practice including the use of indigenous medicines, and more money (currently these workers receive the minimum wage), and occupy a more prominent role in health care. I would add that their first formal accountability be to the Indian community, as represented by the Indian organizations in the area, so that the native health workers play an important leading role in the social and political structure of the community. Indeed it would be helpful if all medical professionals owed their first accountability to the native people, and their second to the government, though in Canada this lies far in the future.

This has been attempted in Alaska with great success. The Alaska Federation of Natives contracts for doctors and nurses, sets up training programs for native health workers, and hires them. Perhaps most importantly, native people administer their own health care system, through large regional health cooperatives.

We have to consider this an important direction in which to move, and change our attitudes and approaches accordingly. A major step is to facilitate the training of native paramedics, with as great an involvement of native organizations as possible in the training process, and in the administration of the health care system. Only then will medical care in the North promote good health and also the independence of native people.

In the words of Kim Malcomson, a health planner and developer of native paramedic programs in Manitoba:

"Native health will not be saved by Whites, it will be developed through the access to education of native people in health skills and preventive measures, through their control of sufficient monies for efficient

delivery of health care, and in the understanding that health is generated in the context of overall social and economic development." ¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Unpublished report on the Alaska Health Cooperatives, Dept. of Education, Province of Manitoba, 1972.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.
Cinquième SESSION

La Vision du futur

*Marc-Adélarde TREMBLAY, s.r.c. **

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La tenue d'un colloque multidisciplinaire sur l'éveil amérindien constituait, au point de départ, un défi que vous avez su relever, me semble-t-il, de plus d'une façon. Les conférenciers, d'une part, en acceptant de venir livrer leurs observations et leurs analyses. Les participants, d'autre part, en consentant à venir les écouter à la fois pour s'ouvrir à d'autres perspectives et pour apporter le témoignage de leurs expériences propres. Finalement, si le sujet de l'éveil amérindien en était un de très grande actualité, ce qui représente un heureux concours de circonstances pour nous, il comportait aussi des éléments de risque. À en juger par le déroulement des activités officielles et des discussions privées que j'ai observé, j'ai l'impression que la circulation des idées s'est effectuée spontanément, que les témoignages se sont exprimés dans toute leur richesse et que, par voie de conséquence, nous partons d'ici avec de meilleures images et une meilleure connaissance des situations dans lesquelles nous oeuvrons et avec une volonté nouvelle d'inventer ensemble, en tant que partenaires, des solutions novatrices aux questions qui nous occupent.

Trois éléments majeurs se dégagent de nos discussions. Nous notons, tout d'abord, l'apparition d'une crise de conscience de la société blanche faisant, par l'intermédiaire de ses spécialistes, l'autocritique de ses politiques, de ses pro-

* Directeur de l'École des gradués de l'université Laval, secrétaire de l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines de la Société royale du Canada et organisateur du Colloque sur les Amérindiens.

grammes et de ses comportements vis-à-vis les Amérindiens. Nous observons, en second lieu, l'apparition d'un sentiment de solidarité chez les Amérindiens de tout le Canada et d'une volonté claire et ferme de prendre en main leur propre destinée. Les Amérindiens veulent aussi créer des programmes qui soient à l'image de leurs besoins sentis et pénétrer carrément dans l'univers de leurs aspirations. En effet, un trop grand nombre d'entre eux sont toujours emprisonnés dans l'univers de leurs privations et de leurs insatisfactions. Finalement, ces nouvelles manifestations collectives, tant chez les Amérindiens que chez les Blancs, doivent susciter des initiatives nouvelles et des actions communes.

La conscience nouvelle des Blancs vis-à-vis les Amérindiens

La société blanche rend disponibles des ressources humaines et financières considérables, mobilise des professionnels, des administrateurs et des chercheurs en vue de susciter une intervention dirigée, mieux conçue, plus éclairée auprès des Amérindiens et afin d'inventer des outils capables de résoudre le « problème indien » qui apparaît, sous plusieurs aspects, comme un « problème blanc ». Cette constatation ressort des témoignages livrés par les Indiens et des analyses effectuées par les Blancs capables de prendre une certaine distance vis-à-vis leurs propres interventions. Dans ce processus d'autocritique, les chercheurs et les professionnels de l'intervention dirigée plus particulièrement, mais aussi quelques administrateurs avant-gardistes, sont amenés progressivement à faire le procès de la société blanche, de l'idéologie qui appuie les politiques et les programmes qu'elle a mis en place pour administrer la société amérindienne. Tandis que les théoriciens formulent des hypothèses audacieuses faisant appel aux valeurs morales et à l'engagement affectif, les administrateurs traditionnels, de leur côté, se montrent prudents, voire même sceptiques à l'occasion, devant certaines solutions qu'ils considèrent utopiques. Toutefois, ces derniers expriment confusément, à travers leurs remarques et leurs interprétations, les risques d'une action trop rapide ou d'une réorientation mai expérimentée. Devons-nous, pour autant, rester inactifs ? Avons-nous le droit de rester indifférents devant tant d'injustices ?

Il y a là, bien sûr, une dialectique, une contradiction qui ne peut durer. Cette contradiction s'exprime, d'une part, par les solutions novatrices de ceux qui sont peut-être moins directement engagés dans le processus administratif et, d'autre part, par la prudence de ceux qui sont engagés dans l'action quotidienne. Cette opposition doit déboucher sur des solutions concrètes dans les domaines du développement économique, de la santé, de l'éducation, etc., car les Amérindiens eux-mêmes commencent à être fatigués d'attendre et éprouvent beaucoup de difficultés à contenir leur impatience.

Les diverses composantes du vouloir-vivre amérindien

On note que les associations amérindiennes, à l'échelle provinciale ou nationale, sont en voie de créer des unanimités par rapport aux objectifs qu'elles estiment les plus primordiaux pour elles-mêmes et pour leurs membres et de briser graduellement les attitudes passives de certains de leurs concitoyens qui sont, comme je le disais plus tôt, emprisonnés dans l'univers de leurs privations. Ces associations, dis-je, se donnent une allure moderniste, des moyens de communication interne et assurent la diffusion de leurs revendications et de leurs objectifs dans l'opinion publique. Il ne fait aucun doute maintenant que le public devient de mieux en mieux informé et de plus en plus conscient des difficultés qu'éprouvent les associations indiennes dans leurs revendications au près des pouvoirs publics et des problèmes vécus des différentes ethnies indiennes et des Inuit. Ces associations sont l'expression d'une nouvelle conscience amérindienne et d'un vouloir-vivre qui veut se traduire dans des structures de pouvoir qu'elles seules dirigeront. Elles engagent le combat sur le terrain juridique et politique, à armes égales avec les Blancs, sauf pour ce qui est de l'expérience et de la connaissance de l'ensemble des règles de ce jeu qui, évidemment, ont été établies par la société dominante. D'ailleurs l'allégeance de ceux qui participent à ce jeu n'est pas toujours clairement établie ni pleinement démontrée hors de tout doute.

Les Amérindiens affirment leurs besoins d'identité culturelle et l'importance trop méconnue des liens qui les unissent à la terre sur laquelle ils sont nés. Ils sont unanimes sur l'objectif de l'autodétermination. Ils veulent se prendre en charge

eux-mêmes et retrouver la fierté nationale que leurs sentiments et leur situation de dépendance vis-à-vis la société des Blancs leur ont malheureusement fait perdre. Une voie moyenne se dessine concernant les rapports d'opposition qui existent entre les Amérindiens et les divers gouvernements de la société blanche. Cette tendance s'exprime par un désir sincère, je crois, de trouver une voie commune de participation comme le disait hier si bien, me semble-t-il, le chef Léonard Paul, à l'occasion de la table ronde sur l'éveil amérindien et comme l'exprimait aussi, je pense, avec beaucoup de fermeté le président de l'Association des Indiens du Québec, le chef Andrew Delisle. Une voie moyenne se dessine, me semble-t-il aussi, par la mise en valeur conjointement par la société blanche et par la société amérindienne des ressources écologiques du vaste territoire traditionnellement conservé et exploité par les autochtones.

Une action à entreprendre

Après les différents témoignages que vous avez écoutés, les observations et les analyses que nous avons entendues, il me semble que nous sommes placés maintenant devant une action à entreprendre. Cette action, il est extrêmement difficile à la fin de ce colloque pour des gens comme nous qui, somme toute, avons des préoccupations professionnelles très différentes les uns des autres, qui occupons des positions sociales très variées, de la concevoir et de la traduire dans des termes concrets valables pour l'ensemble des groupes amérindiens. Comment alors amorcer cette action et lui donner le prolongement nécessaire ? Je pense que c'est le défi auquel nous avons à faire face maintenant. Nous sommes tous, je pense, très sincèrement motivés par le désir de définir ensemble une nouvelle action, une action qui soit beaucoup plus près des besoins et des aspirations de ceux pour lesquels elle est entreprise. Comment pouvons-nous, dispersés géographiquement comme nous le sommes, préoccupés par des actions professionnelles et des actions d'engagement très différentes, comment pouvons-nous, dis-je, à partir de demain, travailler à redéfinir cette action et à l'implanter afin que nous puissions être plus fidèles aux désirs de ceux qui en dernier ressort en sont les premiers bénéficiaires ?

Je ne puis terminer cet exposé qui, malheureusement, est très succinct et incapable de refléter la nuance et l'extrême richesse des témoignages que nous avons entendus, sans vous dire comment moi, et là je vous donne une impression personnelle et je n'agis plus à la manière d'un reflet, je sors de cette expérience personnellement enrichi. Toutefois, je ne voudrais pas que cette plénitude soit enfermée à l'intérieur de certains murs !

J'ai une autre impression à vous livrer. J'ai été frappé par l'ouverture d'esprit de tous ceux qui étaient ici, peu importe leur milieu de provenance. Je n'ai pas remarqué ici de différence dans les générations ou de différence dans les positions sociales. J'ai plutôt observé un climat de réceptivité et de fraternité. J'éprouve le sentiment que ces manifestations spontanées peuvent être à l'origine de nouvelles solidarités explicites entre les Amérindiens et les Blancs tout comme elles peuvent susciter de nouveaux engagements dans nos expériences professionnelles et dans nos actions quotidiennes.

Alors je ne puis clore ce colloque sans vous dire combien je vous suis reconnaissant d'avoir répondu à notre appel et d'être venus et comment le fait d'avoir passé deux jours ensemble nous a, je crois, profondément transformés. Il ne nous sera plus possible d'être ce que nous étions lorsque nous avons franchi le seuil de la Maison Montmorency. Voici le point d'interrogation sur lequel je vous laisse. Qu'est-ce que nous pouvons faire pour définir une nouvelle action commune qui soit mieux éclairée, qui soit aussi en étroite liaison avec les systèmes de valeur, les niveaux d'aspiration de nos concitoyens les Amérindiens ? Si nous, les Blancs, vivons dans des communautés qui, en apparence en tout cas, semblent prospères et techniquement progressives; si nous jouissons de tous ces privilèges et que nous présentons l'image d'une société qui a réalisé certaines adaptations, il ne faut pas oublier que ces adaptations ont, d'abord et en premier lieu, été réussies par ceux qui nous ont précédés. Rappelons-nous aussi que nos traditions culturelles sont riches de l'apport amérindien. Notre bagage culturel a été, en bonne partie, inventé, construit, élaboré par les différentes ethnies indiennes/ En d'autres termes, si nous jouissons aujourd'hui de cette aisance matérielle et de ce progrès technique, contestables sous certains angles je l'avoue bien volontiers, nous en sommes redevables, en bonne partie, à l'imagination créatrice des collectivités amérindiennes et à la ténacité de caractère des générations successives d'Amérindiens (femmes et hommes) qui ont surmonté, avant l'arrivée des Blancs, à peu

près toutes les adversités afin d'humaniser ce sol sur lequel nous vivons et nous indiquer non seulement les voies de la survie mais aussi celles du dépassement.

Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne.

INSCRIPTIONS

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Achneepineskum, Harry, Grand Council Treaty Number Nine West East, P.O. Box 1096, Timmins, Ontario P4N 7H9

Arès, Richard, s.j., président de l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines de la Société royale du Canada, 25, rue Jarry ouest, Montréal, Québec

Auger *, Franklin, directeur du département d'Anthropologie, université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Montréal, Québec

Bacon*, George, adjoint à l'exécutif, Association des Indiens du Québec, Village Huron, Québec

Baker, Patrick L., Mount Allison University, P.O. Box 1623, Sackville, N.B.

Barber, Lloyd, Indian Claims Commissioner for Canada, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Boucher, Pauline, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, 1141, route de l'église, C.P. 8300, Québec GIV 4C7

Boudreau, Lita, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Research Reference Service, Room 203, 400 Laurier West, Ottawa KIA OH4

Brant, Charles, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Sir George Williams University, Montréal, Québec

Campbell, Mary Ellen, Polar Gas Project, P.O. Box 90, Commerce Court West, Toronto M5L 1H3

* Se sont inscrits mais n'ont pas été en mesure de se rendre au Colloque.

Carrothers, A.W.R., Institute for Research on Public Policy, 3535 Queen Mary Road, Montreal H3G 1Z3

Claude, Philippe, ministère des Affaires indiennes et esquimaudes, 1141, route de l'église, Québec 10'

Coster, Jacques, surveillant régional, formation des bandes, ministère des Affaires indiennes, 1141, route de l'église, Québec 10'

Courtois*, Guy, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, 1141, route de l'église, C.P. 8300, Québec G1V 4C7

Davis, Maureen, Association canadienne d'appui aux indigènes, 251, Laurier Avenue West, suite 901, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5J6

Davidson*, D.A., directeur des affaires territoriales et du développement social, Tour du centenaire, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa K1A 0H4

Delisle, Andrew, President, Indians of Quebec Association, P.O. Box 729, Caughnawaga, Québec

Dorion, Henri, s.r.c., directeur du département de Géographie, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Dunning, R. William, Department of Anthropology, ~ University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Ontario

Elias, Doug, Curator of Anthropology, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 190 Rupert Ave, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Émond*, Aline, étudiante, département de Démographie, C.P. 6128, Université de Montréal, Montréal 101, Québec

Fortier, Claude, président de la Société royale du Canada, directeur du département de Physiologie, faculté de Médecine, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Fordyce, Michèle, Intergovernmental Affairs Office, Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Frost Building South, 3rd floor, Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario

Garon, Armand, o.m.i., Centre canadien de recherches en anthropologie, université Saint-Paul, 223, Main Street, Ottawa K1S 1C4

Gilbert, Louis, division des recherches sociales, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa

Girard, J. A. Fernand, collègue Jean-de-Brébeuf, 3305, Édouard-Montpetit, #30, Montréal H3T 1K4

Gooderham, G.K., Acting Director, Education Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 400 Laurier Avenue West, Room 653, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H4

Goodleaf, Harnold, coordonnateur du Centre de recherche AIO, collègue Manitou, P.O. Box 129, La Macaza, Québec

Goudreault, Henri, o.m.i., directeur de l'Institut des sciences missionnaires de l'université Saint-Paul d'Ottawa, 223, rue Main, Ottawa K1S 1C4

Gourdeau, Eric, 2376, avenue Royale, Courville G1C 1R4

Gray, Viviane, General Delivery (Hubbards) Halifax County, Nova Scotia B0J 1T0

Hamelin, Louis-Edmond, s.r.c., Centre d'études nordiques, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Henbury, Peter J., John Abbott College, Box 2000, Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue H9X 3L9

Hogue*, Mariette, Conseil des arts du Canada, 151, rue Sparks, Ottawa K1P 5V8

Jackson, Christine, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, 20e étage, Édifice du Journal, 365, Laurier ouest, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H4

Gill*, Aurélien, vice-président de l'Association des Indiens du Québec, Village Huron, Québec

Knockwood, Noel R., Cultural Project Officer, Micmac Institute of Cultural Studies, Micmac Indian Reservation, Shubenacadie, Hants Co., Nova Scotia

Kurtness, Jacques, adjoint à l'exécutif pour l'éducation, Association des Indiens du Québec, Village Huron, Québec

Laforest, Lucien, professeur adjoint, université de Sherbrooke, 579, rue Boisjoli, Sherbrooke, Québec

Lake, Stewart, Canadian Press, Ottawa

Larochelle, Gilles, étudiant de 3^e cycle en anthropologie, faculté des Sciences sociales, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Laurin, Pauline, directrice régionale des infirmières, Santé et Bien-Être social, 515, Sainte-Catherine ouest, #302, Montréal H3B 1B4

Lavoie, Jacques, John Abbott College, P.O. Box 2000, Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, Québec H9X 3L9

Légaré, Jacques, directeur du département de Démographie, université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Montréal 101

Le Jeune, Roger, directeur du Centre d'études nordiques, Université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Lemire, Suzanne, travailleur social, ministère des Affaires indiennes, 1141, route de l'église, C.P. 8300, Québec 10e

Létourneau-Parent, Lorraine, chercheuse (anthropologie), 621 Beaucage, Sainte-Thérèse-en-Haut, Cté de Terrebonne, Québec

Louis, Edna, 2115, Baseline Road, #5, Ottawa, Ontario (ministère des Affaires indiennes)

Mackay, Diane, Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, 251, Laurier Avenue West, room 901, Ottawa K1P 5J6

Masse, Richard, étudiant, faculté de Médecine, université de Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke

Mathieu, Claude, administrateur adjoint, Commission scolaire du Nouveau-Québec, 2900, Quatre-Bourgeois, Québec G1V 1Y4

McKenzie, Francine, université du Québec, Télé-Université, 2875, boul. Laurier, Québec 10e

McKenzie, Robert, Toronto Star, C.P. 8, Saint-Jean-Chrysostôme, Cté Lévis, Québec

McNickle, D'Arcy, Director, Center for the History of the American Indian, 4824, Guadalupe Trail, N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87107

Miller, E.B.S., Department of Social Services, Johnston Building, P.O. Box 696, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Monty, Lomer A., M.D., Santé et Bien-Être Social, Canada, 515, SainteCatherine ouest, #302, Montréal, Québec

Morissette*, H., ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa KIA OH4

Morrison, James, Grand Council Treaty Number Nine West East, P.O. Box 1096, Timmins, Ontario P4N7H9

Mortimore, G.E., University of Guelph, 14 Ojibway Ave., Toronto Island, Toronto

Munger, André, étudiant, faculté de Médecine, université de Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke, Québec

Noël*, Michel, ministère des Affaires indiennes et esquimaudes, 1141, route de l'église, C.P. 8300, Québec 10e

Normandeau-Desjardins, Louise, département de Démographie, université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Montréal 101, Québec

O'Rourke, Denis, préposé à l'entraînement, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa

Parizeau*, Gérard, H.E.C., 4300, boul. de Maisonneuve, Westmount, Montréal, Québec

Paré, Pierre, assistant de recherche, 3425, rue Maricourt, # 1, Québec 10e

Parry, Keith W.I., Department of Anthropology, University of Lethbridge, Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 3M4

Paul, Léonard, chef régional, Association des Indiens du Québec, réserve indienne de Bersimis, Bersimis, Cté Saguenay, Québec

Pearson, Alan, Government of Canada (Privy Council Office), 48, Sparks, Room 301A, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A3

Pépin, Gilles, bureau du Conseil privé, Édifice de l'Est, Colline parlementaire, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A3

Perron, Joachim, responsable d'un programme chez les Indiens, OPTAT, 969, route de l'église, Québec 10e

Picard, Raphaël, étudiant, 5-777, Chanoine-Groulx, Québec 10e

Pinay, Ed., Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development, Box 123, Lortie, Saskatoon

Pothier, Roger, département d'Anthropologie, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Potts, Gary, Temagami Indian Band 06, Bear Island, Lake Temagami, Ontario

Powers-Rarnsay, Elysabeth, ministère des Affaires indiennes et esquimaudes, 1141, route de l'église, C.P. 8300, Québec 10e

Preston, Richard J., Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario L8S 4L9

Roedde, Gretchen, Grand Council Treaty Number Nine, P.O. Box 1096, Timmins, Ontario

Rogers*, W.H., chef de la division des services sociaux, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, Tour du centenaire, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa

Rottenberg, Larry, 18th Floor, Laurentian Towers, 44, Baswater St., Ottawa, K1Y 4K3

Rowley, J.W., ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa K1A 0H4

Savoie*, Donat, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, 400, Laurier ouest, Ottawa K1A 0H4

Savoie, Monique, directeur régional des services médicaux, région de Québec, Santé et Bien-Être Social, Canada, 515, Sainte-Catherine ouest, suite 302, Montréal H3B 1B4

Schaeffer, Otto, M.D., Director, Northern Medical Research Unit, c/o Charles Camshell Hospital, 12815, 115 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta

Schmeiser, Douglas A., Dean of Law, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

Scott, Ann, Associate Director, Department of Native Studies, University of Sudbury, Sudbury, Ontario

Salisbury, Richard F., McGill University, 3434, McTavish Street, Montréal H3C 1X9

Savard, Jean-Guy, directeur du Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Sharrow, John, St Regis Indian Reserves, Box 759, Cornwall, Ontario

Sealy, Nanciellen, Mount Allison University, Sackville, P.O. Box 298, Sackville, N. B.

Sieciechowicz, Krystyna, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario

Sioui, George Emery, Village Huron, Québec

Sparham, R.D., Development Division, Department of Local Government, Government of Northwest Territories, Yellowknife, N.W.T.

Stager, John K., Geography Department, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5

St-Pierre, Marcel, économiste, division de la planification du programme du Nord, ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, 400, Laurier ouest, chambre 923-G, Ottawa, Ontario

Stymeist, David, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Manitoba

Tabobondung*, Florence A., Party Island Indian Reserve, P.O. Box 253, Parry Sound, Ontario P2A 2X4

Tremblay, Marc-Adélar, s.r.c., directeur de l'École des gradués, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Vachon*, Louis-Albert, p.a., s.r.c., faculté de Théologie, université Laval, Sainte-Foy, G1K 7P4

Vollant, Camille, collège Manitou, P.O. Box 129, La Macaza, Cté Labelle, Québec

Warner, John Anson, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Regina, Wascana Blvd., Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0A2

Weaver*, Sally, School of Plannings, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario

Williamson, Robert G., Institute for Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Welldon, Wilfred, Indian Community Secretariat, 400, University Ave., Toronto, Ontario

Wilson, David N., Department of Educational Planning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252, Bloor Street West, Toronto

Wolfe*, Maurice, Ermineskin Band Enterprises, Box 66, Hobbema, Alberta T0C 1N0

Fin du texte