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**Quebec Social Science and Canadian Indigenous Peoples :***An Overview of Research Trends, 1960-1990*

FOREWORD

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In the 1960s, our national vision of the North as a storehouse of resource wealth meant that the work of social scientists frequently took a back‑seat to the so-called “hard sciences” - those seen as supporting major development initiatives. However, recent years have engendered a new perspective, one in which the true wealth of the region is embodied in the Aboriginal peoples themselves - those who have inhabited this vast and challenging land for many centuries. Ibis reaffirmation has accorded the social sciences a new significance, giving long‑overdue prominence to the contributions of traditional societies and helping identify new strategies for addressing the very human problems that afflict northern communities.

The following report, by anthropologists Marc Adélard Tremblay and Carole Levesque, represents an important contribution to the work of the Polar Commission and its mandate to "monitor, promote, and disseminate" knowledge of the polar regions. First published in a French edition in 1992, Quebec *Social Science and Canadian Indigemous Peoples* documents three decades of work on northern Quebec by researchers from a broad range of disciplines. The report is essential reading for anyone interested in the region, and will doubtless find an eager audience among scholars and students throughout Canada.

The Polar Commission is also pleased to announce that a second volume, reviewing social science research in northern Quebec from 1991 to the present, is now in writing.

Whit Fraser
Chairman, May 1997

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*Marc-Adélard Tremblay is a professor of anthropology at Laval University. Carole Lévesque is a free lance anthropologist from Montreal.*

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**Quebec Social Science and Canadian Indigenous Peoples :***An Overview of Research Trends, 1960-1990*

1

INTRODUCTION

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This monograph attempts to provide an overview of the work of social scientists from Québec institutions directed at the indigenous peoples of Québec and Canada during the period from 1960 to 1990. We undertook the formidable task of preparing this overview from a history of science point of view. To this end, it was necessary to examine an enormous amount of data in a thousand titles of the research literature, and most importantly, to consider them from a number of perspectives in order to reveal the social, political and historical circumstances that prevailed over those three decades.

Earlier work by Marc-Adélard Tremblay (1984) had indicated, for the mid‑1980s, the kinds of sociopolitical conditions connected with the decrease and shifting focus of university‑based research in the northern part of Québec. However, a better understanding is needed of the many structural changes that occurred within Native studies during that period of time. This need became apparent to us during the course of our analytical undertaking. For example, we tried unsuccessfully to classify the various research titles by using the customary ethnological categories in traditional bibliographies, such as those prepared by Richard Dominique (1976) and Richard Dominique and Jean‑Guy Desch6nes (1980) on the Montagnais-Naskapis or by Tremblay (1982) and Dominique (1986) on Québec Native peoples. The inappropriateness of the categories used in such critical bibliographies is the result of changing research patterns and institutional affiliations. These changes stem as much from the way institutions are structured as from emerging disciplinary practices, such as the entry of researchers with different backgrounds (demographers, education specialists, etc.) into the field of Amerindian studies, or the employment of field researchers who have no institutional affiliation as freelance contractors or special advisors‑and even their personal characteristics of age and sex.

Before proceeding further, we must say a word about the limited number of references accompanying this paper. Since it was not feasible to include all titles that constitute the body of data, we had to be selective and refer only to those most significant. The more extensive bibliography can be consulted at the Inuit and Circumpolar Study Group (GENIC) at Laval University, where it is a part of a monograph on Amerindian studies in Northern Québec (Lévesque and Tremblay, 1992).

This paper has two sections. The first deals with the categories used in describing the literature, providing, so to Speak, a schematic overview of the research chronology, the scientific status of documents, their geographical context and cultural affiliation, the gender of authors, and the thematic organization. Regarding the scientific status of documents, one innovative feature is the inclusion of what is sometimes referred to as "grey' literature, which is often unknown to researchers or at least difficult to obtain.

The second section covers a wide range of topics and reveals the dynamism at work in the scientific process. It addresses, in the following order : linguistic and chronological perspectives ; the state of knowledge regarding Aboriginal cultures, power structures and administrative procedures ; the [2] economic sphere ; the health status of Aboriginal populations and *their use* of *the* non‑Aboriginal (in this case, the Canadian or Québec) health system ; human and environmental ecology ; women's studies ; scientific contributions originating from field studies carried out by non‑conventional "northern" disciplines ; the theory and method of Native studies, and the socio-political conditions which affect their pursuit.

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**Quebec Social Science and Canadian Indigenous Peoples :***An Overview of Research Trends, 1960-1990*

2

Categorizing the Data

2.1. Description of the data

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The documents reviewed here were produced by Québec researchers, both French and English speakers, who did some work involving Canadian Aboriginal populations during the years from 1960 to 1990. To be considered, the work of English-speaking scientists must have been undertaken within a Québec institutional framework Since our purpose is to put in proper light the scientific contributions of Québec researchers with respect to Canadian Native populations in general, the area covered ranges from die Arctic to the Subarctic and encompasses the following geographical, administrative and political entities : Québec (about 75 per cent of the research documents under consideration), Labrador, the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, Alaska and Greenland. Within this vast area, Inuit and other indigenous peoples, living either in the north or in the south, are the cultural groups for which data were collected.

As stated, part of the originality of our analytical endeavour lies with having included some "grey" literature in our bibliography. However, although we spent a lot of time tracking down unpublished reports, we did not feel that all were equally important to the issues addressed here. Moreover, to find some kinds of written material would have required more sophisticated methods than were readily available to us. Essentially, these criteria-quality assessment and accessibility-served as the discriminators for our survey. On this basis, we excluded from analysis the results of unpublished conferences ; various written commentaries or opinions ; reports from die health, justice or similar sectors ; and other documents related to activities (field or otherwise) that are in the nature of administrative or progress reports. As for research documents originating from Native communities or groups, their number and increasing importance is such that they would justify a separate undertaking.

2.2. Three decades of work

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One of the ways to better assess the documents for trends in research on Canadian Native populations is to classify the research according to time periods. Dividing it into three decades seemed logical to us. During the earliest portion of this time, from 1960 to roughly 1969, the French-peaking population of Québec - aside from "White" communities adjacent to Native ones - had little awareness of the Aboriginal populations. That period accounts for about 10 per cent of *the scientific* documents recorded. From 1970 to 1979, on the other hand, Indian land claims and aspirations became known [3] to the larger Québec population through the negotiations leading to the James Bay Agreement with *the Q*i6bec government, and through articles in the press as well as the appearance of public figures on television. Correspondingly, it was a period during which much research was carried out by both natural scientists and social scientists. This is reflected in the amount of research materials written, a little over 35 per cent of the total under consideration.

In the most recent decade, 1980-1990, about 55 per cent of these documents were produced, which actually was an unexpected result requiring some explanation. It can be found, it seems to us, by looking at the overall picture and paying special attention to some internal as well as external dynamics of the research.

During the 1960s, *the study* of Native populations was conventionally defined as belonging strictly within the realm of anthropological expertise. Physical anthropologists, archaeologists, ethnolinguists, and social and cultural anthropologists were then the disciplines offering specialized training. As a consequence, studies of Indian populations were a reserved domain, a traditional context within which anthropologists carried on field and documentary research. Problems under study flowed from the kinds of theoretical questions raised by the various anthropological subdisciplines. The written reports contain provisional answers to these questions, and are a true reflection of disciplinary concerns. We also must not forget that anthropology in Québec had only just become an accredited academic discipline. In fact, in those years, a relative handful of anthropological colleagues became interested in Native studies as an area of specialization. (For a discussion on the beginnings of anthropology as an academic discipline in Québec, see Tremblay and Gerald Gold, 1983 and 1984.)

The following decade, 1970-1979, witnessed the true birth of an academic tradition in the study of indigenous peoples,, and numerous studies were carried out. Anthropology departments at McGill, Montreal and Laval universities were well established. Moreover, during those years the Québec "quiet revolution" brought along with it the democratization of education, the growing development of some natural resources (such as hydro‑electricity), and the discovery of new mining resources in the North, all of which triggered the building of new roads and the establishing of new communication facilities. It is easy to understand how such innovations had a strong impact on industrial development in the North and university enrollment in the South. French‑speaking anthropology departments attracted large numbers of apprentices. Northern communities, much more so than southern ones, became social laboratories for the anthropological training of students. The latter alone accounts for many of the master's theses and reports produced at that time. Recall, too, that the 1970s were years of economic prosperity. Financial resources for research on indigenous peoples and communities were readily available.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1970s, knowledge of Aboriginal populations was not extensive. The Hawthorn Commission was the first thorough study ever carried out with regard to contemporary Canadian Aboriginal people (H. B. Hawthorn, 1965-1967 ; Tremblay et al., 1969). When, in 1970, the federal government made public its White Paper on Indian policy, it was [4] immediately rejected by Aboriginal leaders. That gesture, collectively representing Canadian Native communities., was overt testimony that those responsible for spelling out a renewed concept of Indian policy had failed in their prospective views. Political leaders, obviously, had biased conceptions of Aboriginal value systems, ways of dunking, modes of living, and national expectations with regard to political autonomy, levels of education and socio-economic status.

There is a corresponding element to this overall picture. The nationalistic values prevalent in French-speaking Québec prompted the governments of Robert Bourassa (1970-1976) and René Lévesque (1976‑1985) to take a more active role in Native affairs, stemming from constitutional powers granted in the British North America Act (for education, health and social affairs, communication, manpower training, and so on). Such provincial initiatives created a critical situation for the indigenous communities in Québec in that it brought about numerous Ottawa‑Qu6ec confrontations, the results of which were seldom advantageous to the Native communities themselves Richard Dominique (1986) documented these disputes and conflicts in a monograph on historical perspectives prepared for the Canadian Ethnology Service. Jean-Jacques Simard (1978) provided a brilliant analysis of the same situation in his study on the uncompromising powers. In the course of our survey, the wealth of documents that emerged for the decade of 1980s came as a surprise. We had underestimated the extent of the literature for that period, given the sharp decline of university research in the North due to socio-political conditions that modified the power structure of the White-Native relationships, policy changes of the grant-funding bodies and the growing practice of government agencies to give contractual work to teams of engineers and other private firms and individuals. We had limited first‑hand knowledge of research documents being written by junior anthropologists showing results obtained under such contractual arrangements. And we had a skewed perception of the scientific contributions of a wide range of disciplines.

The full-fledged canvassing undertaken rectified all this and allowed for a more objective view on that score. The 1980s turn out to be, by far, the most prolific and most diversified in terms of the range of topics written up. Subjects include political issues ; judicial matters ; criminal behaviour, such as heavy drinking and family and community violence ; new administrative arrangements ; demographic trends related to births, morbidity and life expectancies ; economic underdevelopment ; communication networks ; and health status and services. All of these broaden and give greater depth to our knowledge of Native communities.

On considering the extent and results of the work of Québec social scientists, one cannot fail to be impressed by its nature and scope. But, then, one can raise the question, how useful has it really been and what has been done to pass on this knowledge ? Answers here are far from satisfactory. Until the early 1980s, the results of research concerning Aboriginal peoples was mainly useful to administrators And in spite of recent efforts by young colleagues in the social sciences to ensure that knowledge acquired about indigenous populations would be returned to them for self-development, the net result and notable achievements are scarce. There is still a long way to go before these efforts bear fruit.

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At the same time, since Native communities have begun to research their own problems, there are new difficulties in transferring research results to concerned communities. Nobody is to be blamed for this visible failure on the part of social scientists to reach appropriate, action‑oriented interlocutors. Circumstances have changed, while long‑standing infrastructural inadequacies as well as personal shortcomings on all sides remain. Now that institutional impediments with political overtones have become psychological barriers, new strategic planning is required to re-establish lines ofcommunication and a climate of mutual respect and confidence. As social scientists, our responsibilities along these lines are dear. We shall have more to say about this issue in a subsequent section.

2.3. Research documentation

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Upon examining the nature of documents that reached the printed stage, we classified them according to five types : theses ; scientific and specialized articles usually published in the learned journals ; research reports ; special dossiers ; and books and collection of articles.

2.3.1. Theses

Theses account for close to 16 per cent of the research documents produced (158). There are 30 doctoral theses and 128 master's theses.) 3 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively, of the total. While the number of doctoral theses sharply increased in the 1980s, the number of master's theses has grown steadily in each of the three decades, from 22 in the decade of 1960-1969 to 62 in 1980-1990. As already noted, the contribution of students to Native studies in Québec is rather important. It reflects, in our estimation, that indigenous communities represented, up to the early 1980s at least, an attractive area for field training and apprenticeship. In fact, a number of those students whose first field experiences were on an Indian reserve returned with the aim of selecting a subject that could become the topic of their thesis. Unfortunately, few of them chose to make a career in Native studies, since work conditions at present and in the recent Past have not offered the kinds of career development they seek when looking for a job.

2.3.2. Scientific and specialized articles

Most scientific and specialized articles (the latter appearing in specialized magazines) are published in learned journals. They account for a little over half (505 titles) of the research literature under consideration. These tides show an increase in distribution over three decades which parallels that of theses. From 1960 to 1969, only 37 articles were produced, not surprising at a time when there were few Amerindianists and only a handfull of outlets for the publication of such research findings, the latter, of course, influenced by the number of prospective subscribers. The decade of 1970-79 yielded 177 articles and that of 1980-89, 291. This constant growth in scientific publication corresponded with major changes in the field, such as the availability of research funds, the increasednumber of [6] social scientists at universities and research centres dealing with what was commonly called "northern studies", and the appearance of new publications, to mention the most important ones. All of this reflected a growing interest in northern subjects.

2.3.3. Research reports

Research reports are relatively important in that they comprise 20 per cent of the literature produced, although a large number of these are not readily available since they are stored in many different ways. A large portion of such research reports belongs to the so-called "grey literature" category. This kind of materia4 much of it unpublished research reports, has had the same growth patterns as the preceding categories. These are research results produced by autonomous researchers who do not have a university status and have worked on a contractual basis either for government departments and agencies (both federal and provincial) or for private organizations and firms. The category also includes unpublished research reports submitted to grant-funding agencies.

2.3.4. Dossiers and books

Dossiers and books each account for 7 per cent of the literature. These are specialized documents in that they cover a wide range of subjects in a temporal sequence homologous to the rest of the literature, thus substantiating and giving consistency to the trends noted earlier. They are of foremost importance since they may offer detailed accounts of a particular situation or special aspect of Native cultures in a monograph-like style, or provide research tools that could serve as background information for a comprehensive in‑depth analysis. In the latter case, we have in mind bibliographies, collections of legends, glossaries, dictionaries, results of program assessments and textbooks.

2.4. Geographical context

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In terms of geographical distribution, available materials deal mainly with the arctic and subarctic regions of Québec and Canada, and pertain to such groups as the Inuit, Cree, Montagnais, Attikamek and Algonquin. Accordingly, the eastern groups (Micmac, Malecite) and southern groups of the Québec province (Huron, Mohawk and Abenaki) are not covered in this inventory. At any rate, researchers during the period under study were more attracted by northern peoples, in whose lands the pace of industrial development was stimulating rapid social changes, than they were by the more acculturated indigenous peoples living in suburban environments or relatively near cities and towns.

Moreover, there seems to have existed a linguistic division of labour between French-speaking and English‑speaking social scientists (with the exception of those studying among the Inuit). The former felt more inclined to study the French-speaking tribes, whereas recently arrived scientists and English-speaking ones tended to work among Aboriginal peoples who spoke English as a second language. While not entirely uniform among themselves, these two groups of scientists were quite different from [7] each other in terms of their research styles, as Serge Bouchard (1979) has demonstrated. And, it was not only the kind of training they had received that accounted for these professional differences.

2.5. Authorship and gender

Looking at authorship, it is interesting to note that more than three-fifths of the documents were produced by men as single authors. Women as single authors account for about 22 per cent of the research literature, and that is concentrated mainly in the 1980s. This simply reflects the fact that until the late 1970s there were fewer women in this research field and they would appear to have had little interest in northern studies. This meant, in effect, that for a long period of time men were more or less in control of scientific research among Aboriginal peoples.

In time, the feminization of the social sciences generally meant that many more women were embarking on research careers and, moreover, were bringing with them a keen interest in applying a feminist perspective to Aboriginal populations. From research reports written by women there began to emerge innovative views and interpretations about systems of thought, behavioural patterns and social organization. Thus, the former gender patterns of scientific work among indigenous peoples are changing rapidly. Women in this field today are as numerically significant as men, and even if their professional status does not yet equal that of their masculine colleagues, the quality of their work does.

Research done by men and women working together reflects an emerging pattern, since it represents only 16 per cent of the overall reports and articles. Teams composed primarily of men are still far more frequent than those of women. Teams with both male and female members are a relatively recent feature of Aboriginal research, although these are likely to grow in significance as better balanced overall views and analytic paradigms are obtained. The necessity for better multidisciplinary and interinstitutional co-operation in the study of comprehensive claims, national aspirations and the socioeconomic development of indigenous peoples is fully recognized by all. Therefore, new mechanisms for cooperative undertakings are required. Complementary research among men and women in terms of interests and objectives are becoming an integral part of the work today.

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**Quebec Social Science and Canadian Indigenous Peoples :***An Overview of Research Trends, 1960-1990*

3

TRENDS AND MAIN
GUIDELINES

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This section deals with the content of the various scientific contributions and with the changes occurring in major fields of interest, including the status of researchers, sources of financial resources, and the main operating guidelines that have influenced theoretical perspectives as much as methodological procedures. While a number of things come to mind about the period we are considering, not all can be covered here. We will look at the following : the relative importance of the various fines of inquiry in Native research ; studies relating to different levels of culture patterns ; the power and administrative structures and functions ; the economic infrastructures ; the health system ; human and environmental ecology ; women studies ; contributions from non‑conventional "northern" disciplines ; theoretical and methodological contributions ; and critical assessments of the research endeavours of a number of social scientists. This is a substantial list, with some categories that do not necessarily fit those used in anthropological contributions.

3.1. Anthropological subdisciplines

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We will examine the subdisciplines of physical anthropology, archaeology, ethnolinguistics and ethnohistory with the objective of evaluating their contribution to Native studies. We think their relative importance has been underestimated. Ethnohistorical studies, for example, rank first (114 titles out of a total of 293) with noticeable evolutionary trends related to socio‑political conditions. Studies done with that perspective were practically non-existent in the 1960s. They grew in importance with Aboriginal land claims and demands for greater administrative and political autonomy during the 1970s (35 titles). They received even greater visibility in the last decade as it became increasingly difficult to enter Native communities for the purpose of carrying out non-accredited field studies, and because of the renewed interest of historians in compiling Native historical records (in great demand for commercial purposes) and reinterpreting the White-oriented ethnocentric views which have appeared in practically every work published in the past. Textbooks dealing with Indian history (Bernard Arcand and Sylvie Vincent, 1979) are just one example.

Ethnohistorical documents are undoubtedly of great value in capturing historical events and situations of the past through the eyes of those who were the main actors in them. With this epistemological approach and using sophisticated analytical techniques, researchers have redressed many misconceptions and distortions in the history of Native populations, not only about their traditional culture patterns but also with regard to Native-White relationships. Aboriginal researchers, of course, endorse the theoretical basis of such a perspective on their systems of thought and lifeways (Georges Sioui, 1990). The challenge they are going to face in the future is similar to that experienced by "White" social scientists who try to recreate the reality of Aboriginal life in the past. The danger lies in transforming one’s own ideologies so that they appear to be established facts.

The main authors and most important contributors to ethnohistorical studies are Toby Morantz, with 22 historical records (for example, 1980, 1985 and 1986) ; François Trudel, with seven documents [9] (1981, 1987) ; and Sylvie Vincent, with eight research reports (1976a, 1976b). These detailed historical reconstructions give us considerable insight into the beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of Native peoples in the past.

Two other anthropological subdisciplines, ethnolinguistics and archaeology, are represented by an equivalent number of contributions to the scientific literature (84 and 85 tides, respectively). What is striking is that they were produced with similar frequency in the two subdisciplines over the 30‑year period, with over half of the total in each one written during the 1980s (46 and 45 reports and articles, respectively). If we leave aside the extensive lexicographical work of Father Lucien Schneider (1967, 1968, 1970 and 1979), nearly all of the ethnolinguistic research has been done in university settings (disciplinary departments and research centres). In general, these scientific contributions deal with the morphology and function of language ; grammatical constraints and rules ; some semantic analyses ; studies of language use ; language maintenance (usually associated with different cultural identities) ; specific vocabularies (for example, ethnobotany and ethnozoology) ; social representations reflected in word usages such as those conjugated with male dominant status ; and some texts specially prepared for linguistic training.

It was really in the 1970s that field research in North American prehistoric archaeology got its start among Québec anthropologists, who, in the 1960s, produced only five reports dealing with the subject. Part of the reason for this is that the Laval University anthropology department, from which has come nearly 30 per cent of the anthropological research reports and articles in our inventory, did not - and still does not - offer undergraduate training nor graduate studies in North American archaeology. Long before the establishment of its anthropology department in 1970, Laval University had decided to specialize in classical archaeology. McGill University and the Université de Montréal, on the contrary, offered specialized undergraduate and graduate courses in North American archaeology that brought results in the 1970s, producing some 30 research documents in that decade. A number of these were master's theses based on students' field research, but others were the research results of university professors (Norman Clermont, 1974 and 1980 ; Patrick Plumet, 1976, 1977 and 1979), professional archaeologists working for government agencies (Charles Martijn, 1974 and 1979 ; Gilles Samson, 1978), or independent researchers (Guy Mary-Rousselière, 1979).

The years from 1980 to 1990 were even more productive, with 45 reports, some of which, in origin and content, reflected changes in who was actually doing archaeological field research. A number of these reports were authored by private companies, such as Aménatech (1984), Archéotec (1985), CERANE (1983 and 1984) and Ethnoscop, (1984). Truly, the kind of work undertaken and the conditions under which it was completed began to differ substantially from the research carried out by universities and government agencies. Until the 1980s, for instance, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs functioned basically like a research centre. After that, however, it changed its method of operation. Archaeological field research done by private companies was the direct result of the hydro‑electric developments in the James Bay region, commissioned either by Hydro-Québec, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs or even the Societé d’Énergie de la Baie James (James Bay Energy Corporation).

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While the number of master's theses being produced remained about the same as in the preceding decade, university-sponsored research in prehistoric North American archaeology seems to have declined. We wonder, therefore, whether archaeology is facing a recruitment crisis that compromises its relevance and efficiency at a time when government regulations concerning industrial developments require archaeological excavations and when the need for better planned and more systematic research commitments is greater than ever.

The research effort in somatic anthropology (physical anthropology or bio-social anthropology) has been meagre throughout the whole period - about a dozen reports - and is in *the process* of disappearing altogether. The field reached its lowest ebb in 1980 with a brief analysis by Franklin Auger and Norman Clermont (1980) on the morphology of Labrador Inuit. Of all *the research* reports produced in the 1960s, two-thirds (4 reports) were from a visiting French professor, Raoul Hartweg. (His latest article, 1966, is on Inuit dental morphology.) From the *1*970s, the work of Auger and his collaborators (1979) on the anthropometry of circumpolar regions is of great interest. Yet, the question remains, why is it that physical anthropologists do not carry on further genetic and morphological work among Aboriginal populations ? The answer seems to be related to drastic changes in physical anthropology itself and in the geographical locations for doing such research.

3.2. The state ofknowledge
about Aboriginal cultures and societies

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Here we offer a summary picture of the conventional categories used in anthropological writings, with the addition of "cultural identity" or collective self-image. In the past, that topic, rather than being examined separately, was included with other broader topic such as value system. The six general categories we will deal with are : cultural technology ; social organizational structures ; intergroup and intercultural relationships ; cultural identity ; social change ; and ways of thinking and value systems.

We have attempted to discuss these subjects in a joint fashion, from the point of view of anthropology (cultures) and sociology (societies). This seems to us a convenient way of dealing with sociological and anthropological findings about analogous, if not identical, socio‑cultural entities.

3.2.1. Technology

Technology - an important research subject among pioneers in the Amerindian field in Québec (Jacques Rousseau, for example) - has almost disappeared as a focus of interest. To be sure, this is partly related to changes in the way of life of indigenous peoples and the process of "modernization" in their communities. However, other factors may be involved as well. It seems to us that the lack of activity with regard to Aboriginal technology may stem equally from the difficulty of getting research funds for proposals focussing on material culture - it has become outmoded ! Interest in such research on the part of museum administrators and the managers of research programs in government departments and agencies haswaned. Museums that used to provide funds for projects having to do with material objects and the technological infrastructures of Aboriginal communities are generally [11] shying away from such ventures. It is also possible that the decline in handicraft production has had some influence on ‑the shape and content of new investigations.

Whatever the reasons, this means that museums wishing to mount exhibits must rely mostly on already available objects. And it also means that the kinds of research undertaken to examine Aboriginal technologies, and even probe their symbolic meanings, must depend almost exclusively on historical records so as to avoid "expensive" field studies.

The overall research effort for 30 years amounts to only 25 reports, more than half of them produced in the 1970s. It is interesting to note that both material culture as a whole (Carole Lévesque, 1976, 1977 and 1986 ; Clemont, 1982) or some elements of it (Christiane Beaudet, 1987 ; Camil Guy, 1977) and what can be called artistic achievements (Guy, 1969 ; Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, 1978 ; Céline Saucier, 1989) arc just about identical in terms of the number of publications. This area is quite underdeveloped and needs some vigorous redefinition and redirection in order to set out future important subjects for study, such as the cultural adaptation of Native peoples to modem technology and equipment, obtained from the dominant culture, which has become part of their daily activities. In terms of adaptation, how do modern clothing, housing, equipment (in the household and the workplace), transportation and all the other technological devices used fit with the overall culture patterns ? Does technological progress bring along with it a broader array of benefits ? These are the kinds of questions that could be addressed.

3.2.2. Social organization

Studies classified as the ethnology of social organizational structures are analogous to those traditionally included under "social organization" taken in its broadest meaning. Along with studies of thought and value systems, they have been the most popular lines of investigation among anthropologists. And yet, in spite of that pre‑eminence (just think of the plethora of studies of kinship systems, single or comparative), social organization as a whole has decreased as a topic of research papers from 1960 to 1990 (29, 25 and 19, in that order for the three decades). This decrease undoubtedly corresponds to the overall decline in conventional anthropological work among Native communities, such as ethnographic accounts, monographs on communities, and studies of kinship and family life, settlement patterns (nomadism, sedentarity and relocation of groups), social and economic organization, migration, leisure activities, eating and drinking habits, attempts at social development and community organization, and sexual division of labour. Also lacking are documents which attempt to synthesize (Carmen Lambert, 1979) or cover a whole range of subject matters and indigenous peoples (Tremblay et al., 1969 ; Jean Malaurie and Jacques Rousseau, 1964). Studies of that type are unevenly distributed, as about 60 per cent of them deal with the Inuit or their communities and the remainder with Indian peoples and communities. As for theses, 13 out of the 15 presented to graduate schools were about Inuit communities.

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The major contributors are senior anthropologists who gained their professional expertise among indigenous peoples from their repeated northern field experiences, such as Asen Balikci (1986), who is now living in Bulgaria ; Saladin d’Anglure (1988c) ; Louis-Jacques Dorais (1975) ; Mary-Rousselière (1984) ; and Rémi Savard (1976). One other name that has acquired notoriety must be added to this highly selective list. This is Ignatius LaRusic, who, with his colleagues (1979), wrote *La* *négociation d’un mode de vie,* summarizing the processes that the Cree and Inuit went through in negotiating with federal and provincial authorities the overall conditions (perceived as comprehensive at the time the James Bay Agreement was signed) to ensure their cultural and socio-economic survival in the face of the gigantic hydro-electric developments taking place on their traditional territories. With the eventual retirement of the above internationally renowned specialists, we wonder how the upcoming generation - considering the current socio-political climate for research - will ever match their achievements ?

3.2.3 Intergroup and intercultural relations

Interethnic relations, as a research topic, can be examined from the point of view of four types of interactions : Indian/White ; Inuit/White ; Inuit in their relationships with Indians (without connection with Whites) ; and Indians in their relationships with Inuit. In terms of the literature, the firsthas been by far the most productive ; the latter has been the least productive of the four.

In the 1960s, the few studies devoted to interethnic relations (4 titles) followed the traditional lines of anthropological analysis, focussing mostly on interethnic conflicts and the processes and levels of acculturation in small social functioning units (Balikci, 1961 ; Roger Pothier, 1967). In the 1970s and 1980s (14 titles in the former ; 16 in the latter), the focus of observations usually extends beyond sheer administrative boundaries and embraces broader analytical frameworks (historical materialism, structuralist, symbolic, semantic, etc.) in order to integrate these interethnic relationships with particular political, economic and societal structures.

Thus, Native-White relationships almost always constitute the contextual background. In some cases, as mentioned earlier, Inuit and Indians are lumped together, especially in the works dealing on the James Bay Agreement and its aftermath (Lévesque, 1988 ; Donald Stewart, 1974 ; Pierre Trudel, 1979 ; Vincent and Garry Bowers 1988). In most cases, however, Inuit and Indian relationships with Whites are treated separately (Lambert, 1975 ; Simard, 1979 ; François Trudel, 1980). Aspects dealt with in the most recent works relate to territorial claims, fishing and hunting rights, self-determination rights, economic and social development in a minority situation, discriminatory situations and administrative measures, the breaking down of the traditional culture and Aboriginal social marginality, interethnic tensions and conflicts (a topic that cut across decades), leadership, and shifts in the cultural identity of Aboriginal groups.

To be sure, the subject of interethnic relationships is of paramount importance for any study concerning Aboriginal peoples ; as a level of analysis, it consistently permeates all others. As a [13] specialized topic, however, its relevance today is not so automatically assumed as it was in the past. While it once predominated in most research done by social anthropologists (as in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s), studies of interethnic relations now take the form of micro‑analyses of all kinds, examined within broader analyses of historical trends, institutional structures and the economic and political imperatives of the larger political units within which ethnic enclaves are located. Interethnic relationships today are viewed as power and political relationships (*rapports de force*) that are based on ideological premises, judicial findings, human and collective rights declarations and the constant influence of international organizations.

3.2.4. Cultural identity

Studies concerned with cultural identity or collective self‑image are primarily a phenomenon of the most recent decade we are considering, and overall, they seem to have been of slight importance. Moreover, their relative importance is not readily revealed by scanning the titles in the research literature, since, in the 1980s, the subject of cultural identity is frequently a significant element in a much broader range of studies.

Those studies directly related to this subject, as one might expect, have to do with feelings of belongingness (peoples wishing to establish their own criteria for who may or may not be included within their group), with the features of ways of life that give individual groups their distinctiveness, and with prospective views (national aspirations) concerning cultural development. Since Aboriginal groups ceased, in a major move in the early 1970s, to be White-oriented in their individual and collective behavioural patterns (the *Red Book* prepared by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta was a major influence in this), they have defined new cultural orientations aimed at reinforcing Aboriginal roots and strengthening of Aboriginal communities and the fabric of society. Aboriginal roots include reverence for land as a sacred gift, respect for plants, animals and the natural environment which are used for subsistence purposes, revitalization of traditional hunting, fishing and trapping practices, obedience to leaders and Native laws, and self-respect. Strengthening of society includes the maintenance of Native institutions such as indigenous languages and divisions of labour and functions. The latter raises a number of issues of utmost importance to women in their new relationships with men, conforming as they do to emerging male‑female relationships in the dominant modem society.

As Tremblay has illustrated (1989), strong leadership and effective strategies in the reawakening process of establishing Aboriginal peoples in new relationships with the Whites, have been the main assets in the quest for equity and equality. However, there is a long way to go before reaching such shared goals. These goals are of vital importance to both Inuit (Dominique Collin, 1983 ; Dorais, 1989 ; Simard, 1983) and Indians (Tremblay, 1989 ; André Veilleux, 1982), and these references illustrate the ongoing processes and point out their overt features.

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3.2.5. Social change

Studies of social change - which show a decline with time - comprise those that focus on change as it relates to cultures (in a loose sense) or communities as a whole, or to specific cultural patterns. An emphasis on the dynamics of change, on cultural patterns undergoing profound changes and the net impact of these on Aboriginal value‑orientations, institutional structures and life habits, is usually reflected in the titles of documents, by observing a multifaceted conceptual terminology that includes, for example, acculturation ; social, economic and socio-cultural changes ; cultural disintegration ; and development and participation in a wage economy. Such a conceptual diversity, only partially reflected in the preceding examples, hides an insufficiently unified theoretical perspective. Social change, with its panoply of derived synonyms, has become a catchword that masks, in numerous ways, our inability as social scientists to develop integrated concepts. It reflects our arbitrariness in concept formulation as well as the discontinuities in our disciplinary traditions.

In terms of social change, the decade 1960-1969 has been the most productive, with 13 papers, more than half of them dealing with acculturation. This corroborates our former comments about the anthropological outlook during the earlier years we are considering here. One noteworthy fact about these papers was the use made of the theoretical model of acculturation developed in the classic studies of Linton and Redfield. Such a model advocates that special attention be given to three distinct but interrelated levels of analysis :

• the conditions for acculturation patterns derived from external and internal dynamics ;

• acculturation levels of individuals and communities through the use of a number of empirical indices ; and

• the consequences of acculturation levels on traditional subsistence patterns, on kinship and family cooperative patterns and solidarity, on the maintenance of language, on value orientation, and on general lifeways, such as leisure activities, eating and drinking habits, work schedules, violence, homicide and suicide, etc.

Master's and doctoral theses related to some of these acculturation trends among indigenous peoples are also a record of valuable work, notably that of Pierrette Desy, 1963 ; Hélène Guay, 1988 ; Jacques Kurtness, 1983 ; and Denis Lachance, 1968. Finally, the work of two pre‑eminent scholars should be noted because of its quality and their lifelong interest in social change. We refer to the works of the ethnobiologist Jacques Rousseau (1968) and of the social anthropologist Richard F. Salisbury, in particular, his *Homeland for the Cree* (1986), which gives us an overview of social change by a neutral observer and scientist as well as the insight of a participating and mediating partner of the Cree and Inuit of the James Bay region in the results they achieved through their negotiations with government.

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3.2.6. Ways of thinking and value systems

This category incorporates, needless to say, a wealth of scientific contributions ranging from Aboriginal skills and competence, perceptions and ideas about the surrounding environment (both natural and human), to beliefs about the origin and nature of life and the legends and myths that beautify or idealize it. If one were to explore the literature that best reveals what it means to be an Aboriginal person in terms of values, modes of behaviour and the normative underlying system that regulates Aboriginal thought and actions, this category would be the one. But we must be careful in drawing conclusions about this material, relying, as we must, on the fundamental aspects of the research content. Obviously, we cannot give to each of the researchers the full consideration that their efforts and skills deserve. At the same time, we have to grant that, with due respect for senior researchers, their analyses do not give us a thorough view from the inside, so to speak, since they are external observers. Three items in the literature provide us with indigenous views, originating from personal experiences. One is the story of Sanaaq, told by h1itiarjuk to Saladin d'Anglure (1970), another the life story of a Natashquan woman, Mistamaninuesh, gathered by Vincent and Joséphine Bacon (1979), and another the autobiography of Michel Grégoire (Dominique, 1989).

There are 94 titles in this category. Contributions began slowly in the 1960s (9 titles), reached a high peak in the 1970s (50 titles) and declined somewhat in the 1980s (35 titles). This variation in the frequency of contributions is partly related to the importance placed on the subject by anthropologists over the three decades, and partly to the urgency felt by some Native groups of the need to ensure that their religious beliefs, myths and legends, if recorded, would not the with the elders. In the 1970s, in particular, it was felt that the young were losing interest in the sacred world, in ceremonials and religious rituals and, ultimately, in the hereafter. With the revival of nationalist aspirations in the 1980s, this concern diminished and, in some cases, disappeared altogether. Three researchers stand out among the contributors as having concentrated their research career on Aboriginal symbolic life. These researchers are Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, Rémi Savard and Sylvie Vincent. We will first devote our attention to the rich texture of their scientific work, and then look at that of others.

Saladin d'Anglure has authored 18 research documents and accounts on the symbolic representation of the universe by Inuit, ranging from cosmological myths and spiritual legends to myths about men in relationship with other men in their natural environment (1980b, 1983, and 1975), and to social concepts regarding kinship (1970), fauna (1980a), bodily structures (1980c) and the sexes (1985). More recently, he has undertaken the challenging study of the "third sex," which has profound relationships to the Inuit world view, their value system in regard to training and shamanistic practices, and social gender. In this area, his most significant contributions are his 1985, 1986 and 1988c articles.

Savard, for his part, has produced 12 research documents over a 20-year period. Three deal with Inuit mythology, one of which (1966) focusses on Greenland Inuit. His other papers, from a structuralist perspective, provide us with thorough analyses of Montagnais (in two cases, Montagnais-Naskapi) [16] narratives, legends, myths and cosmologies. All of these research undertakings gave excellent results. To be selective, his most popular writings - those that have reached wide audiences - were published in 1974, 1977, 1979 and 1985.

The research contributions of Sylvie Vincent to this subject matter, again with a structuralist perspective, amount to nine documents over a 22-year period. She is recognized for the quality of her work on the social representation (or image) of the Indian in history textbooks (Arcand and Vincent 1979), religious magazines (1971), hunting chronicles in major francophone newspapers (1979), myths and rituals associated with the "shaking tent" ceremony (1973, 1977), and indigenous social representations of "Mother Earth" (1978).

All other articles and papers with this general theme pursue, with slight variations, the general research objectives of the authors mentioned above.

Social representations, for example, cover quite a variety of conceptions, perceptions, thoughts and images on the natural world (spatial universe, fauna), economic production and consumption (development, hydro-clectricity, money), man’s destiny (life and death, health and illness, body and spirit), male-female relationships, and family life (children). Taken altogether, religious rituals, shamanistic practices, myths and mythology offer a rich background for a wealth of beliefs, legendary narratives, theories about one's origin and the afterlife, and one's value system. The remaining contributions in this category, few in number, relate to hunting and other general narratives.

3.3. Power structures
and administrative practices

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This general heading covers a wide range of research topics, and there is merit in dividing into four distinct elements : political status ; administrative structures and functions ; Aboriginal rights and claims ; and government policies and justice. These comprise 29, 40, 27 and 5 research documents, respectively.

Several factors associated with these categories are worth mentioning. While these research endeavours have been undertaken primarily by social and cultural anthropologists and sociologists, they are important concerns related to Aboriginal decision‑making powers, Aboriginal rights and land claims. These issues have accompanied the emergence of a new political climate on reserves, mainly strengthening of the roles of Aboriginal leaders to take over new administrative responsibilities and establish egalitarian relationships with Whites. It is significant that more than one-quarter of the documents generated by such research relate directly to the James Bay Agreement. These research topics relate almost entirely to political matters that became of crucial importance to Aboriginal populations in their long struggle to achieve greater autonomy in managing their own affairs. This trend began slowly in the 1970s (29 documents), at the same time that a new generation of social scientists entered the field of northern research with different objectives than their predecessors. In the 1980s, 73 research reports and articles reflect the kinds of research that coincided with the process of political transition on reserves and Aboriginal territories.

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While we cannot comment extensively here, we can illustrate some of our previous remarks with appropriate examples. In the political status category, there are 29 studies in the body of literature we are considering. The main contributors have been Simard (1979 and 1983a) and Harvey Feit (1985). Topics investigated by these authors and their colleagues focus on the following :

• relationships of Aboriginal groups to state (regional) political structures (Louis-Edmond Hamelin, 1982 ; Marianne Stenbaek, 1985), political and techno-bureaucratic policies (Simard and Gérard Duhairne, 1981), judicial and economic support of the state for traditional subsistence activities (Feit, 1982) ;

• steps towards greater administrative powers and sovereignty (Ludger Muller-Wille, 1983 ; Simard, 1979) ; and

• questions related to making the Arctic off-limits to nuclear arms (Michel Frederick, 1986) and comparative views with other Aboriginal populations about the policies of their respective governments (the Samis, for instance).

In the administrative structures and functions category, Aboriginal organizations or political entities have gradually taken over some of the functions in areas once completely dominated by White institutions. Such displacement of authority brings about all kinds of wrestling matches with different bureaucratic structures to codify Aboriginal responsibilities for wildlife management ; hunting, trapping and fishing rights ; income security (LaRusic, 1982) ; education (Louis Forgues, 1987 ; Tremblay, 1978) ; health services (Jean Labbé, 1981) ; Aboriginal institutions (Kenneth De La Barre, 1988) ; housing (Duhaime, 1982) ; and environmental protection (Paul Wilkinson, 1981).

Aboriginal rights and claims were in the political forefront during the 1970s and 1980s. There was important documentation on the legitimacy of Aboriginal rights and claims in the 1970s (Dominique, 1974 ; Gérald Fortin, 1979 ; Jean Morisset, 1979 ; Anne-Marie Panasuk and Jean-René Proulx, 1981), which failed to attract public attention mainly because southerners did not expect such claims from Québec Native people, whom they saw as already "spoiled by government generous gifts." In the 80s, however, these claims were more forcibly expressed by Native people in different areas of the province in order to counteract White intrusions and confront White-oriented legislation and regulations. This brought greater public awareness, but also negative reaction to Aboriginal political aspirations. The summer events of 1990 in Québec foreshadowed confrontations to come regarding issues which had already found their way into the research literature, such as comprehensive land claims, fishing rights (in the salmon rivers in Québec, for example), Aboriginal land (Panasuk and Proulx, 1982 ; Vincent, 1978) and the sacred nature and collective property of Mother Earth (Savard, 1980 ; Renée Dupuis, 1985).

There are only a few reports on judicial matters (5), but all of them show the discriminatory nature of the White judicial system as it is applied to Aboriginal peoples. While efforts are being made to lessen [18] the contradictions between White laws and Aboriginal customs, indigenous people themselves arc striving to acquire greater jurisdictional competence in order to better serve their own rights and needs (Alain Bissonnette, Serge Bouchard, Jacques Prégent, 1986).

3.4. Economic infrastructures

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It is a well known fact that the majority of Indian reserves are economically depressed, with a large number of residents unemployed and living on welfare. Employment opportunities are scarce, since most reserves do not have the natural resources capable of sustaining any sort of long-term economic development. Where industrial opportunities exist in surrounding areas, such as the mining industry (Pierre Gregoire, 1977 ; Gilbert Hamel, 1987) or the forestry industry, Aboriginal people, who often lack appropriate skills, find it almost impossible to hold steady and well‑paying jobs. Instead, they have to accept low-paying seasonal jobs as unskilled labourers. Moreover, they are often "the last ones hired and the first ones fired."

The economic sphere includes many issues related to the economic self-sufficiency of reserves (territorial claims must, in part, be understood from that standpoint), to shifts from a subsistence to a wage economy (Lina Noel, 1984), to income security measures for those engaged in traditional subsistence activities (Colin Scott, 1982), to Aboriginal entrepreneurship (Harold Bherer et al., 1989), to the role of Aboriginal cooperatives in a new social order (fishing or art and handicraft production, for example ; see Denis Beaulieu, 1982, and Simard, 1979), to the training of an Aboriginal labour force (Salisbury, 1979), to discriminatory practices in the job market (Brassard, 1986), to the impact of the industrial pollution of megaprojects on the fragile northern ecosystem and the health of people, to consuming and spending patterns, to impoverishment and deprivation of families, and so on. All these economic issues are interrelated, permeate traditional social structures and ways of life, and challenge Aboriginal value systems.

The low economic livelihood of Aboriginal peoples (Brassard, 1987), therefore, is a paramount issue that calls for innovative solutions within the overall context of economic development. A number of experimental economic initiatives are gradually being implemented on reserves. Such programs, whether they have originated from different levels of government (Collectif, 1976 ; Duhaime, 1987) or from Aboriginal people themselves (Simard, 1983), have not yet yielded satisfactory results. A major shortcoming of Aboriginal programs is frequently their fragmentary and shortsighted nature.

Looking at the state of economic development among indigenous peoples living in arctic and subarctic environments (Lambert, 1979a), one can only conclude that they have been the passive witnesses of industrial developments carried out on their traditional land by southerners with negligible benefits to their well‑being. The James Bay Agreement, which gave birth to Native corporations of great importance (Makivik and the Grand Council of the Crees), of course, made the Cree and Inuit full partners in an ascending planning operation whose outcome depended as much on Aboriginal rights, traditions and prospective needs as it did on government's perception of northern industrial development with regard to southern energy needs. As we know, however, some Aboriginal [19] communities had diverging views on that score and, feeling that such a deal threatened the existence of their cultural traditions, decided not to be partners to such a comprehensive agreement. These intragroup disagreements became a source of conflict and division.

All in 4 the economic well-being of indigenous populations continues to be strongly dependent on southern industrial developments and the goodwill of governments. The James Bay Agreement itself, seen on paper as "a good contract" and endorsed with high expectations, has become a major source of concern among Aboriginal leaders on the grounds that a number of its clauses are not being applied. The confidence of Aboriginal leaders in government decisions, actions and promises is at a very low ebb. The dependent status and lack of control over external forces is the origin of many Aboriginal frustrations and oven conflicts. (The Kanesatake-Kanawake case is but one among many crises where Aboriginal property or broken promises are at stake ; the Restigouche case which relates to Aboriginal fishing rights on salmon rivers is another.)

In the 1960s, specialized economic studies were practically nonexistent (only three documents). However, in the 1970s there were 20 articles, reports and monographs. A good many of those dealt with the James Bay Agreement (technical aspects) or some other economic development issues relevant to other northern regions. Usually they were carried out by anthropologists either associated with the McGill Anthropology of Development Program (Tremblay, 1990) or the Amerindian research group at Université Laval.

The 1980s saw a blossoming of research on economic issues related to industrial development from an indigenous perspective. What do we learn from these ? We see that there is growing systematic opposition to the technological megaprojects of governments and multinational corporations that invade "Aboriginal land," pollute the natural environment and disrupt traditional ways of life, in the latter case, through intrusive planned acculturation. Some 40 scientific contributions are a reliable reflection of the research efforts aimed at investigating specialized economic issues. We estimate that such research will loom large in the years to come since it is so closely linked to Aboriginal rights, comprehensive claims and equity towards First Nations. Ultimately, can't we consider the economic sphere a central point around which revolve numerous other issues related to Aboriginal self‑esteem, well-being and potential development ?

3.5. The health system and access to it
by Aboriginal populations

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Although the Western medical system has existed in the North since the 1940s, only a few studies aimed at the system itself or health care programs were done before the 1980s. These writings were usually done for administrative reasons and had little scientific content. However, two anthropological studies done in the 1960s dealt with suicidal behaviour and female infanticide among the Netsilik (Balikci, 1960, 1967). Two others appeared the following decade : one concerned the problems of alcoholism and delinquency among residents of Fort Chimo, Québec (Gilles Sénéchal, 1970), and the [20] other with the social problems of Inuit patients travelling to health establishments in Québec City and Montréal (Louis Gilbert and Moses Novalinga, 1975).

It was in the 1980s that 92 per cent of the research documents (54 out of 60) were produced and extensive scientific work undertaken on the health care system, health services and facilities, health professionals, morbidity and mortality, the social determinants of illness and health, and ethnomedical practices. It might come as a surprise that such studies had not been done before, but the explanation is simple. Prior to the 1980s, very few social scientists had the proper training to deal with subjects that had always been in the professional realm of medical doctors and health administrators. The anthropology or sociology of health, as a discipline, had only just been accredited in the mid-1970s. Within a few years, it was integrated as a specialized field of research in training programs. Since then it has grown in popularity at a fast pace.

Health policies are formulated in such a way as to be universally applicable. It is through the devising of strategies to implement these policies that health administrators and professionals take into account different conditions and circumstances, that is, social environments. In the case of the Inuit and Cree, health administrators and personnel face particular challenges. We can look at these in terms of three factors : Inuit and Cree cultural traditions., the environmental conditions prevailing in their communities, and the relative geographical isolation of most communities. At first glance at the Canadian and Québec health systems, one is struck by the ideological principles upon which they have been founded and sustained : generalized access, services free of charge, quality of health care programs and services, and prevention of risk to the health of individuals according to regional administrative units. However, following through with these idealized principles in delivering specific services and particular therapeutic practices falls short for many reasons mainly related to ethnocentric attitudes and lack of foresight. We can think of five factors in support of this view :

• a lack of basic knowledge about the traditional medical systems of the Cree and Inuit ;

• a lack of knowledge or reductionist views about Aboriginal concepts of health and illness ;

• lack of competency in Native languages on the part of health care givers, and professional barriers to communication in intercultural clinical relationships (the health professional’s agenda versus that of Aboriginal patients when they come for medical advice and care) ;

• the stark discrepancy between the idealized level of health envisioned for indigenous peoples and the actual living conditions in many northern communities, which constitute numerous health risk factors for individuals ; and

• the wide range of success in the attempts of administrators and clinicians to culturally adapt health care services to Aboriginal needs.

[21]

We need facts to support the view which we have presented. Instead of documenting every detail of it, however, we will concentrate on four elements that can be found in the research literature to provide empirical justification for our statements. These elements are :

• the organizational structures of the health care services ;

• the community and clinical strategies being implemented in order to offer the Inuit and Cree the level of health services that will fulfil the explicit objectives of the Canadian and Québec health systems ;

• the health levels of indigenous populations ; and

• an examination of the environmental and social (community) conditions and the life habits of individuals in relation to population health.

About 20 research articles and papers bear on the health system among Aboriginal people in the north of Québec, particularly its many deficiencies as compared to the existing system in the south, and on the delivery of health care services, mostly its inadequacies with respect to the needs of the population. This literature includes Rose Dufour (1983), Jacques Grondin (1987), Labbé (1981), Johanne Laverdure and Claudette Lavallée (1989), Simard (1988) and Jean-Pierre Thouez and Peter Foggin (1989).

In principle, Inuit and Cree populations, since they took over the administration of health services in the north after the James Bay Agreement, at least have the possibility of redressing the situation and of establishing health services that would conform to Aboriginal needs. This order of cultural adaptation of services has not been achieved, however, and Inuit and Cree alike depend as much as they ever did on the health establishment in the south and on southern health personnel whose turn over in northern posts makes it difficult to maintain quality and continuity.

In a cultural context far different from what they are used to, southern health staff encounter numerous operational difficulties related to technical, linguistic (in the absence of interpreters or their own language skills), professional (medical) and phenomenological questions. The latter stems from the subjective experience of an illness and to the meaning it has for the individual under care in such a cross-cultural context. For instance, the doctor, in his discourse, may simply adhere to a procedure that replicates what he learned during his professional training. In this case, he may feel little inclination to try to understand what his patient is experiencing, a person whose conceptions of the nature of his illness and its consequences completely affect his perceptions, feelings and daily actions. Rose Dufour, taking a systemic perspective in her doctoral thesis (1989), has documented how this profound doctor-patient dissociation, in treating cases of otitis among Inuit children, led to a clinical impasse that threatened to create a permanent risk factor for those afflicted. Most Aboriginal communities face added health hazards for reasons related to the inadequacies of services being [22] provided locally (Jean Merveille, 1987 ; Yolande Pelchat and Russell Wilkins, 1986 ; George Wenzel, 1981).

Ethnomedical knowledge and practices are the subject of about a dozen research papers. This is slim in comparison to the wealth of Aboriginal traditions and knowledge about such things. Nonetheless, we are aware of the inherent difficulties in gathering reliable data on this subject. Dufour has undoubtedly been the main contributor to our knowledge of Inuit medical and traditional practices, such as role of midwives during delivery, breast-feeding, menstruation and pregnancy as natural life events and, of course, her articles on the etiology of otitis media.

The major health problems of indigenous peoples, according to reliable unpublished reports, are obesity, otitis among children, poor dental health, hypertension, alcoholism and drug addiction, all of which can be related to poor social and environmental conditions and life habits. There are no magical solutions to the health problems in the north, given what we already know about risk factors and the deficiencies of the health care system. There is a long way stiff to go before the situation can be improved, and Aboriginal people themselves will have to become more active partners in health care promotion and the delivery of specific services.

3.6. Human ecology and environment

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Studies of human ecology and environment, like those of the health system, are attracting a growing number of researchers. The number of research articles and reports, however, have been accumulating at an even greater rate, from five documents indexed for the 1960s to 52 for the 1970s and more than 100 in the 1980s. This line of research and its applied fields have undoubtedly become more and more the focus of attention of individual researchers, but especially of institutions. Government agencies, Native organizations and private companies have all hired Québec anthropologists and archaeologists to participate in environmental impact studies, which now are required by law for many kinds of developments. In fact, the growing interest of North American society in environmental protection and environmental assessments has, over the years, shaped and refined this emerging research tradition among social scientists.

Environmental studies today encompass a wide range of issues‑social impacts, resource management, environmental assessment, and so on. Nevertheless, in anthropological work, studies of the natural and social environments have always been an essential component of field studies. One needs only recall the importance of American studies in cultural ecology at the end of the 1950s. The first work in this kind in Québec was done at McGill University, notably by Harvey Feit (1969, 1979), Richard Salisbury (1972) and Martin Weinstein (1976). Very soon, however, with the urgency brought on by hydro‑electric development projects and the coming of new environmental legislation, a substantial number of Québec investigators in the field broke with their traditional orientation, which focussed on the dynamics of the interrelationships between the natural environment and socio‑cultural phenomena, and shifted to a more functional and, indeed, deterministic understanding of such relationships.

[23]

While environmental studies have been important‑they comprise 16 per cent of our body of research literature in such traditional areas as ethnohistory, archaeology, social organization and linguistics - it must be noted that the major portion of these contributions belong to what we have called "grey" literature. In fact, 80 per cent of reviewed documents in this sub-category are of this type, and are not integrated into the usual channels for the diffusion of scientific results. This has at least two immediate consequences. First, such documents are difficult to obtain or not accessible at all. Consequently, they are little known and little used both within and outside of the university. Second, they are excluded from the networks of exchange which encourage die formulation of new theoretical frameworks and innovative methodological procedures.

Even though Québec anthropologists have invested in the human ecology and environment field for 15 years, the theoretical mastering of these fines of enquiry has yet to be achieved and appropriate methodological tools have yet to take shape. However, some of the research of the 1980s cleared some trails and found new approaches, notably that of Dominique (1984), Bouchard and Vincent (1985), Wenzel (1984 and 1986), Peter Usher and Wenzel (1987) and Lévesque (1989).

To examine in more detailed fashion the documents classified as related to human ecology and environment, we must review the most important questions that attracted our attention. In the human ecology category, we have included works that deal with renewable resources and with the kinds of strategies employed by indigenous peoples for their use. These works may deal with toponymy, ethnozoology, resource management and land use. In the environment category, we have taken into account works on social and environmental impacts from a global perspective. This semantic division was not our choice, rather it was imposed upon us by the kinds of documents at our disposal. We will try to give an integrated view of both categories, but we are aware that we may not be entirely successful.

Notwithstanding the relatively marginal work on toponymy or place names (Muller-Wille, 1985 ; Monique Vézinet, 1975) and ethnozoology (Daniel Clément, 1985 and 1987) - about 2 per cent of the literature - it is the scientific documents on resource management and land use that are the most representative of the term human ecology. For resource management, the most consistent and best known investigations are those of Harvey Feit (1984, 1987 and 1988). Although Feit has pursued his anthropological career in Ontario since the early 1980s, he remains one of the major specialists with regard to Québec Cree Indians.

Along with those of José Mailhot (1985) and Mailhot and Vincent (1980), Feit’s numerous scientific articles and research papers are a part of a global perspective on ethnoscience, since these research reports aim to demonstrate the existence of an ecological order in Aboriginal societies. The large number of works on land use (6 per cent of the literature) have not achieved the same kind of results. They are too often shackled by technocratic prerequisites, focussing mainly on the mapping of a territory rather than on interpreting the various functions and activities associated with its use. Furthermore, they are often too closely connected to the political objectives and long‑term aims of [24] Aboriginal organizations. As land use is the result of a given management system, we do not believe that there should be such a rift between these two applied fields. Yet, integration of purpose from these twosources of knowledge is far from evident in the documents under consideration.

In regard to *the literature* concerning environmental matters, it refers, as mentioned earlier, to impact studies and to the lack of sufficient inquiry that ensued as a result. Any development project, such as roads (Alain Sachel, 1989), airport infrastructures (Jean-Guy Deschênes and Clotilde Pelletier, 1985), hydrologic resources (Bissonette and Bouchard, 1983 ; Paid Charest, 1977 and 1980 ; William B. Kemp, 1983 ; Salisbury et al., 1982), forest exploitation (Dominique, 1977), relocation (Lévesque, 1989) or even the militarization of the environment (Charest, 1986 ; Charest and Brassard, 1986 ; Mailhot, 1987) is examined from the standpoint of its impact on the host community, in this case, northern indigenous peoples. Although the works of developers and government departments are the best known in this regard, the involvement of other groups (citizens, Native and environmental organizations) is not uncommon.

Yet, without theoretical frames of reference, this particular portion of the research literature remains spotty and marginal in terms of anthropological perspective. Frames of reference are needed toask the right kinds of questions, not so much about roads or hydro-etectricity, but about the many paradoxes and implicit contradictions, as well as the powerful expressions of modernity, in the world of the Aboriginal in Québec and elsewhere. In other terms, in the wake of studies during the 1970s by the Anthropology of Development program at McGill University, there is room now for fresh theoretical thinking - new schools of thought. There is room for revitalized scientific discourse that would put contemporary social phenomena taking place in Amerindian and Inuit societies at the top of the agenda.

3.7. Women's studies

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In regard to Aboriginal society, it is surprising to discover that the literature on women is so sparse and so recent. In fact, only 29 documents (2.9 per cent) can be categorized as women studies and virtually all of them, with one exception, were published in the last decade we are considering, the 1980s. Although this field of study has been relatively important since the end of the 1970s in social science and especially in anthropological field research, it is clear that it is a neglected, even ignored, subject by the researchers working on Aboriginal peoples living in the north.

Moreover, if our analytical exercise had been conducted from the narrower focus of feminist studies, the outcome would have been poorer still. That is why we preferred to examine the literature from the point of view of works on women's status rather than feminist studies. There are, of course, striking differences between accounts that refer to women's various activities and those derived from a feminist perspective. The former include studies on breast feeding (Dufour, 1984 ; Susan Marshall, 1982), delivery (Monique Cournoyer, 1986 ; Dufour, 1987), history (Vincent, 1983), and even handicrafts (Lévesque, 1986). The latter includes the works of Professor Marie-France Labrecque and her graduate students at Laval University (Beaudet, 1987 ; Susan Craig, 1987 ; Labrecque, 1984a and [25] 1984b ; Danièle Léveillé, 1985 ; and Marie-Josée Routhier, 1984). We must also mention, from the feminist perspective, the contributions of Hélène Guay (1988a, 1988b and 1988c) on Inuit women at Igloolik in the Northwest Territories. These are the only articles bearing on populations outside of Québec, with the exception of a few of general interest (about 10 per cent). Gaétan Drolet and Labrecque (1986), Lévesque (1989), Morissette (1982), Claire Seguin (1981) and all other available writings bear on Québec Amerindians (Cree, Montagnais and Attikamek) and Inuit in the proportions of 50 per cent and 40 per cent, respectively.

Noting these established facts, one must come to the conclusion that Aboriginal issues are still, at the dawn of the third millennium, in a masculine research domain. The marked growth of such fields of study as land use, Aboriginal rights and land claims (which leave but little room for women anthropologists or the main concerns of women), the apparent affirmation of male Aboriginal leaders, and the absence of any university study program on Aboriginal women (the research project at Laval ended a few years ago)‑all of this makes us believe that it will continue to be difficult to shift attention significantly away from male‑oriented concerns.

3.8. Non-conventional disciplines
in the North

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We include here *the scientific* contributions made by somewhat more unconventional disciplines with regard to indigenous peoples. These disciplines are ethnomusicology (16 contributions to the literature), demography (18 contributions), communications (13 reports and theses), and education (10 research items). With the exception of ethnomusicology, the first articles from these disciplines appeared in the 1970s and have continued to grow in number in the 1980s. This increase in importance compares with that of other new fields of investigation in the north. However, the decline of works in ethnomusicology parallels that observed for other anthropological subdisciplines.

Studies of Aboriginal music have included analyses of Inuit throat games by Nicole Beaudry (1978), Claude-Yves Charron (1978), Denise Harvey (1978), Saladin d'Anglure (1978), Carmen Montpetit and Céline Veillet (1978) and Jean-Jacques Nattiez et al. (1977). These studies were done in the late 1970s when there was still financial aid for such research interests. We doubt they would receive a favourable review nowadays. A few studies were done some years later on Inuit drum dancing (Beaudry, 1985 ; Nattiez, 1988). A fair number of other research reports include general aspects of Aboriginal music in connection with other cultural patterns (Montpetit and Veillet 1979). Nattiez, in 1985, produced some recordings of Inuit music.

The work in demography is, in large measure, the result of the existence of a demography department at the University of Montreal, and of the research efforts of its professors and graduates on population studies. For example, the 1980s saw the establishment of a Population Study Group which concentrated its research efforts on population issues among arctic indigenous peoples (De La Barre, 1985). Demographic studies we are considering here follow the classic models. Roughly one‑third of the studies are general population studies that provide overviews with the help of demographic indices [26] (Louise Normandeau, 1984 ; Duhaime, 1989 ; Hamelin, 1979 ; Norbert Robitaille and Robert Choinière, 1984 ; and Anatole Romaniuk, 1972) and there are demographic studies measuring phenomena such as : mortality rates (Chouinière et al., 1988 ; Jean-Pierre Courteau, 1989 ; Marco Levasseur, 1987 ; Normandeau and Jacques Légaré, 1979) ; levels of fecundity (Choinière and Robitaille, 1988 ; Tremblay, 1985) ; interethnic marriages and in-group nuptiality rates (Francine Bernèche et al., 1980 ; Ginette Lachance-Brulotte, 1975) ; spatial mobility and migration patterns (Choinière and Robitaille, 1987 ; Victor Piché, 1977) ; and population growth (Choinière and Robitaille, 1985). Such demographic trends in small communities and regional areas are undoubtedly of great importance in understanding phenomena such as population growth or decline, spatial mobility, interethnic marriages, and the efficiency of health care programs as reflected in mortality rates and levels of morbidity. This kind of information is what administrators and planners in northern regions require. Reliable numerical data are scarce from the point of view of daily administrative needs.

Studies of northern communication patterns are few. Nonetheless, they deal with questions of vital necessity for northern communities, so long isolated from one another and from the outside world. The majority of the studies (13) deal with the technologies of communication (satellites, for example) and their impact on people's lives (Charest, 1989). The influence of radio (regional network) and television are given special attention from the points of view of program production and information control. Communication networks for the Inuit and the Cree also are examined. Two documents deal with the patterns of interaction between individuals from the point of view of communication (Martha Borgmann Crago, 1988, and Gail Valaskakis, 1979). Charron (1977) studied myths and oral traditional narratives, from the perspective of semiotics (a theoretical approach that concerns the function of signs and symbols). These last three documents, as well as two others by Robert Gregory Mayes (1978) and Thomas Wilson (1987) are doctoral dissertations.

Gail Valaskakis of Concordia University is the communication specialist who has published the most, six papers covering a wide range of topics, from the analysis of interaction patterns, mentioned above, to the viewing behaviour and audience preferences among Inuit in the Baffin and Keewatin regions of the Northwest Territories (Valaskakis and Wilson, 1984).

In the education category, we find 10 studies. Given the importance of the subject, especially from standpoints of formal training of young people and their relationships with the outside world, the number of documents and kinds of areas explored are surprisingly few. There are a couple of reasons that might explain this. Ordinarily, work of an experimental nature concerning curriculum content or teacher training is aimed at immediate use and seldom published. Moreover, our search efforts may have failed to locate some research documents bearing on this subject.

We are aware that some changes in the curriculum content of teacher training programs (in textbooks that are culturally adapted) have occurred in some regions covered by our inventory, but the outcome in terms of improving the levels of schooling or the levels of Aboriginal language skills is yet unknown. More rigorous comparative studies will have to be done over longer periods of tune before [27] reliable results are obtained. There has been a lot of criticism of southern-produced educational programs "designed" for indigenous peoples. Even with some changes, the inadequacy of our southern school system for use in the north has been amply demonstrated (Tremblay, 1978). Turning over the administration of education to Aboriginal communities and regional school boards, increasing the numbers of Native teachers and revising curricula are likely to achieve positive results in the years to come (Mailhot, 1985 ; Doris Winkler, 1989).

3.9. Theory, method and critical assessments
of research work

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This category contains 48 contributions (77 per cent), and the large majority of them came out in the 1980s. Anthropologists and other social scientists have just begun to critically examine their work. The kinds of questions to be asked are : for whom has it been done, from what theoretical perspective and for what purpose, what were the techniques used, and what were the results obtained ? The answers to these questions are not dear‑cut. However, one major observation is dear : the Aboriginal research field must redefine its orientation and research procedures in order to reestablish its legitimacy.

The most prolific research has been in the area of critical inventories (usually of an historical nature) of Aboriginal studies in various subfields (15, almost a third of the titles in this category). Most of them appear to have taken place at a time when social scientists began to be aware of the kinds of changes occurring in the field of Aboriginal studies. Such inventories were produced for archaeology and prehistory (Martijn, 1974) and for ethnohistory and cultural anthropology (Dominique and Deschênes, 1985 ; Dorais, 1984 ; Muller-Wille, 1974 ; Tremblay, 1982 ; Tremblay and Thivierge, 1986 ; and Drolet and Labrecque, 1986). Such bibliographical works have been quite useful for teaching purposes (introductory courses as well as graduate seminars), but they have failed to entice enough young researchers to ensure continuity in the research effort. These works also pinpointed the major issues at stake in the Aboriginal studies, since they gave us overviews of particular Aboriginal groups for particular time periods and of the sorts of problems they were facing (political, territorial, socioeconomic and socio‑cultural). However, from what we can now observe, they do not seem to have been much use to government officials or Aboriginal leaders.

The second category in importance deals with theoretical and methodological debates in the Aboriginal studies field (11 titles). These written debates and discussions parallel closely those for anthropology as a whole or for various subdisciplines. They were initiated in the 1970s and pursued vigorously in the 1980s without yielding tangible benefits to government agencies or Aboriginal populations. Among French-speaking anthropologists, there existed two dominant theoretical paradigms - historical materialism and structuralism - that sparked much of the sustained work in the field. These two theoretical perspectives were highly selective in the data collection required by their analytical models and they failed to pay sufficient attention to subjective perceptions, feelings and representations or to field situations amenable to applied work. English-speaking anthropologists, on the other hand, especially the research group led by Richard Salisbury, were mainly inspired by [28] structural-functional perspectives and gave primary emphasis to the applied aspects of their work. Such opposing views between the research traditions of anglophone and francophone anthropologists fostered among the latter some articles of interest (Bouchard, 1979 ; Dominique, 1986 ; Charest, 1982 ; and Tremblay, 1984). Next in importance, in terms of their number, are critical perspectives where social issues are at *stake,* such as James Bay II (Lévesque, 1989), the Canadian Polar Commission (Donat Savoie, 1989) or even social sciences in the north (Tremblay, 1984). Some theoretical debates also concerned hunter-gatherer societies (Arcand, 1988 ; Balikci, 1980).

Finally, all other topics under discussion generated, on average, between two and four research contributions. These are environmental impact assessments (Thomas Meredith, 1984), the efficient of occupancy of Aboriginal land (Charest, 1982), self‑image and the image of others in Aboriginal communities (Désy, 1984), and indigenous peoples as a social class (Bernard Bernier, 1979, and Dominique Legros, 1982).

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**Quebec Social Science and Canadian Indigenous Peoples :***An Overview of Research Trends, 1960-1990*

4

CONCLUSIONS

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In this bibliographic overview, covering three decades, we have attempted to establish a critical inventory of the scientific contributions produced by Québec social science researchers working among indigenous peoples in the Canadian north. Our main objective was to assess the state of our knowledge about Aboriginal peoples in order to identify discontinuities and shortcomings, and suggest new research orientations and directions.

Some of the bibliographical work done in the recent past by Québec anthropologists does not give enough importance to the changing socio‑political conditions that affect the pursuit of knowledge about Aboriginal peoples. As we have illustrated, research on northern indigenous peoples has undergone contextual, institutional and professional shifts. In some ways, the human and social sciences, especially when compared to the natural and engineering sciences, have failed to see their work recognized by government departments and agencies or Aboriginal organizations. There are many reasons to account for this, but a major one has been the lack of ability on our part, as social scientists, to demonstrate the relevance of the social sciences and our expertise. Decisive events which have taken place in the recent years were initiated either by Aboriginal leaders or government officials, with little, if any, input from social scientists.

Aboriginal peoples wish to take control of not only their political destiny but also the documentation and analysis of their geopolitical and social statuses. This is partly a question of self-affirmation, but it has even more to do with the symbolic appropriation of the research about their own societies. It seems that some social scientists (anthropologists at least) would endorse this without imposing "scientific safeguards." Under these circumstances, what are the main challenges that confront social scientists today, particularly cultural anthropologists who want to continue to carry on research [29] among Aboriginal peoples ? The answer is far from simple. How can we maintain confidence in what we are doing, either as researchers on university campuses or as freelance specialists ?

Our shortcomings have little, if anything, to do with our scientific competence and the quality of our work. Rather, one of them, it seems to us, has to do with the kinds of subjects we choose for our research. Some subjects we might want to study could hardly be financed, of course, but even so, the subjects we choose are frequently considered to be irrelevant to the kinds of solutions sought by governments and Aboriginal peoples alike. Another of our major deficiencies is our inability to report our findings with concepts and words comprehensible to everyone. Some of our work seems to be as difficult to decipher as if it were written in an unknown foreign language. Finally - and this is far from an exhaustive list - institutional barriers (disciplinary compartmentalism, specialized reductionism, etc.) to the dissemination of knowledge place a very real burden on our shoulders. It is our responsibility to invent the ways and means to make our work of interest to everyone, and especially to those in the forefront of political confrontations.

Such goals will require major changes in our research orientation and procedures. For example, the practice of carrying out studies primarily for professional advancement arc going to be out of place. Highly specialized studies must produce long‑term benefits for concerned individuals and groups. Studies based on ideological premises will have to be discarded as being unscientific. The remarkable level of knowledge we have already achieved, combined with a keener awareness of our past mistakes and shortcomings, and the assurance of new directions to explore, suggests that the future of Aboriginal studies is not as gloomy as it first appears. It is a challenge to be met with inventiveness and foresight.

[30]

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