

KANATA

VOLUME 2



UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF THE
INDIGENOUS STUDIES COMMUNITY OF
MCGILL

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Foreword- Editor's Note

Pamela Fillion

Story teller

Your voice
scrapes the bones of time.

At night by the fire, it is only you,
Chief Joe, who feels
a lost spring flood thirsty cells.
In the dark heat you find legends
once buried, now
damp on your dry lips.
Whisper to me and I will write you down.

I will run ink through your long wounds
make your past flash like fish scales
under a sharp knife
I will give names to the tricks of the seasons,
tie your stories of beginnings to weighted ends
with my careful fisher's fingers,
lock your chants, spirits,
dances, your paint, your potlaches
into a language you can't speak.
I will frame your history
on a white page.

*Joan Crate in Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English (ed. Daniel David Moses
& Terry Goldie)*

KANATA is an annual publication by the group of the same name, KANATA, McGill's Indigenous Studies Community. This is a publication in the shape and form of an interdisciplinary academic journal that is entirely student-run. Created as a manifestation of the interest of McGill students in topics that greatly affect contemporary North American politics, popular culture, law, education, economics, and much more, the KANATA journal is now part of the greater KANATA community which aims to better "native-newcomer" relationships across North America. By emphasizing a sense of community, we hope that KANATA will enable persons to discuss and discover more about

topics affecting and related to Indigenous Peoples of North America.

Academic and non-academic discourse on Native Peoples of North America has often excluded a variety of voices, especially those the voice of Native persons themselves; it has often been ‘framed on white pages’. KANATA recognizes the problematics and politics of “whom can speak for whom” in discussing many of the topics within the pages of the journal.

However, through a concerted effort to recognize the need for these topics to be discussed first and foremost within an atmosphere of respect and with a recognition of the generalizing, categorizing, and distancing tendencies of academia, KANATA aims to be a dialogue and never a final word. Knowledge is never fixed, but rather a constantly flowing river fed by many streams coming from all sorts of directions and resulting in a great and moving force.

The cover art, *Chorus Fly*, is part of a series of artworks submitted by Young Artist Warriors and is painted by Jeska Slater.

Guest Editorial: Reflections on the Utility of Color & Possibility of Coalitions (or Are White People Evil?)

Hayden King

Last Semester

After some administrative notes, we begin the class in earnest. On this particular day the subject is self-government, autonomy, revitalization, etc., as it is most days in this second year Indigenous Studies course on Sovereignty. I open with a question, “given what you’ve learned so far, what is the source of most of the challenges faced by Indigenous peoples today?” An always-eager student in the back of the room thrusts up a hand and answers loudly, “White people!”

As it comes from her mouth, half of the students look down and stare at their blank note pads. These are, of course, the “White” students in class. The other half, the Cayuga, Mohawk and Anishnaabe students laugh awkwardly, glancing at their peers with equal parts unease and perhaps satisfaction. And while some of the White students agree with the sentiment too, there is something inappropriate about the comment.

The following week I spoke privately to the offending student and asserted that we’ve got to be respectful of each other, Native students and otherwise. After all, everyone’s here because they want to be, getting an education, maybe ‘unsettling’ themselves. But from the student there was only defiance. A few days later I learned that our discussion was the subject of thirty-eight comments on Facebook! I was also given a copy of some prose from Leslie Marmon Silko’s book “Ceremony” to prove the point:

The wind will blow them across the ocean
thousands of them in giant boats
swarming like larva
out of a crushed ant hill.

They will carry objects
which can shoot death

faster than the eye can see.

They will kill the things they fear
all the animals
the people will starve.

They will poison the water
and they will spin the water away
and there will be drought
and people will starve.¹

Well...its hard to argue with that. So I thought about it and re-considered the challenges Indigenous peoples in North America face: health, education, housing, etc. Indeed, it's difficult to avoid tracing the roots to the arrival and expansion of Europeans into Indigenous territories. So I wondered if this student was right after all. Are white people evil?

Coalitions

It was the previous guest editor of Kanata, Niigonwedom Sinclair, who suggested that I provide the second issue's editorial. After reading the inaugural edition, I enthusiastically agreed; there was some fine work here. He also suggested that I explore the idea of coalitions or the Indigenous, non-Indigenous relationship, which was a topic fresh in my mind. Given my wavering perspective, I also thought such a discussion would link well with his editorial, which addressed a particularly noxious book, "Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry" by Widdowson and Howard.

While these authors or their work is not the focus of this discussion, what they represent is. They are the White society that presumes to tell Indigenous peoples what to do and how to do it because they know best. They are paternalistic and ethnocentric. They are exactly why Indigenous peoples should not trust, cooperate or depend upon White people. But they aren't alone. In fact, the majority of Canadians are ignorant, racist and dismissive of Indigenous peoples' desires and concerns. Ask them. So what does indicate about the possibility of 'coalitions'?

Actually, and predictably, some of our most important scholars have considered the issue and were dismissive. Deskaheh said, "We would be happier, if left alone."² Likewise, Vine Deloria Jr. asked white people to grant us a "leave-us-alone law."³ Harold Cardinal, in the "Red Paper", wrote that white people "do not know what (they are) doing. (They) lack any clear understanding of the Indian...(Their) efforts confuse the issues

rather than contribute to happy resolutions.”⁴

These were the polite sentiments. Since the time of Deskaheh and Cardinal, the relationship between Indigenous and White peoples in Canada has not improved. Look around: Canadian governments administer services that ensure only basic survival; the media perpetuates notions of faceless native terrorists; resource development, aided and abetted by Canadian law, continues to poison Indigenous peoples out of existence. All the while Canadians remain silent. Well, mostly.

Dump Site #41

Last year I attended a series of protests and rally's in Toronto. At Queens Park, Ryerson University, OPP Headquarters, and U of T. At each, I was consistently surprised by the demographics. At the Valentine's Day March and “No Olympics on Stolen Land” protest, it was overwhelmingly White people. At the Freedom for the K.I.6 rally, again, mostly White folks (a strange but indicative sight at the Kitchenuhmaykoosib events was always the Christian grandmothers with long skirts and bonnets, whiter than this page, singing protest songs).

But the most important of these causes for me last year was the movement to stop Dump Site #41 in central Ontario, near the small towns of Elmvale and Midland and in close proximity to my family's community of Chimnissing. For years previous to last summer I watched the “Stop Dump Site #41” signs proliferate on lawns and highway fences. There was increasingly concern and opposition to the County's decision to construct a garbage dump on a particularly ecologically sensitive watershed.

So sensitive that a geochemist from the University of Heidelberg determined the water in the aquifer, which the dump would sit atop, was home to the planets purest! Or more precisely, the water “was comparable to the cleanest ancient Arctic ice.”⁵ Incredulously, the County decided to begin construction anyway. But when they did, a group of Anishnaabe Kwe from Chimnissing agreed that they had to fulfill their obligations as women, as protectors of the water, and stop the dump.

They formed a loose alliance with farmers whose land would be directly affected if the dump were to leach into the aquifer. The Kwe were even permitted to set up a camp on a clover field directly across from the dump entrance. They stayed there for months. With the help of young men as Firekeepers, they built a lodge, they sang and drummed, they cooked, ate, chopped wood, held ceremonies, and every week hosted a Saturday afternoon potluck dinner.

The first of these I attended was as bewildering as the Toronto protests.

Some brown faces, of course, but mostly local, White, farming families. Not just at the potluck: young White men took turns tending the fire and were invited to sit at the drum; middle-aged White women were arrested alongside middle-aged Native women. Together, for 137 days, they raised awareness, defended themselves in the media, stood in front of bulldozers when necessary, and finally, they stopped the dump.

Minority Report

In contrast, a few years before the drama at the dump I worked with the Ontario government as they attempted to convince conservation organizations, northerners, resource companies and the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) to agree to a comprehensive land use planning strategy. The plan called for twenty years of cooperation between these groups to ensure that development, protected spaces and infrastructure projects would be undertaken responsibly. It was my job to sell the Initiative to NAN.

But every time we spoke, they consistently wanted know why Ontario felt it could develop this long-term plan when the territory was their jurisdiction. They persistently wanted to know why provincial parks continued to be established, impeding their economies (traditional non-market and market). They routinely rejected forms of resource development that would be unduly exploitative. All of this I took back to Ontario, much to their frustration. Meanwhile my colleague responsible for engaging the conservation groups was reporting another story.

Those groups claimed they were in a coalition with NAN, and in fact, the latter supported the initiative. What was going on? It seemed that a loosely agreed upon ideal of protecting the land was mistaken for collaboration. So when NAN was made aware of this (and more likely when they had enough of Ontario's failure to address their primary concerns) they pulled out of the discussions, jeopardizing the initiative. Later, one of the conservation group representatives urged pushing ahead regardless, asking my colleague, "Who cares about the First Nations?"

So when considering the example above or that of Kitchenuhmaykoosib and Christian Peacemaker's or even the Dump Site #41 coalition between Anishnaabe women and farmers, it's reasonable to believe that the latter in each case have their own motives: the farmers to protect their lands and real estate; the Christian Peacemakers to offer the Lord's Charity; conservation organizations to conserve "wild" places. Fair enough, altruism's a tall order.

But at what point do their interests give way to ours, if at all? How sincere are our seemingly well-meaning White allies; and really, should they be our allies? When we press them on colonization and perhaps

their role in perpetuating it, will they wilt? When the cultural romantics, arguably our most consistent allies, are pushed on our rights and reveal their liberal tendencies, will they wither? Indeed, they often do. Perhaps racism among these minority White Canadians is no less poisonous than the type practiced by the majority.

I know you tolerate me,
But you do not value me.
I know you permit me to speak
But you do not listen to what
 I say
I know you put up with my
 opinions,
But you do not respect them.
I know you endure the history
 lessons I give you
But you still can't admire the
 strength of those who struggled.
You may think it's enough not to
 call me names,
But it's not."⁶

Witchcraft

Yet, some of my best friends are White people. My colleagues and peers, people I respect and acknowledge as experts in their respective fields involving Indigenous peoples are generally not Cayuga, Mohawk or Anishnaabe. I'd be willing to bet that the majority of contributors to this journal aren't either. Maybe some are mixed race; half-Native, or maybe a quarter. Indeed, I'm mixed race, the product of an Ojibwe Father and English Mother.

All of this complicates things and pushes me to ask more critical questions; some that so far have been missing from this discussion. Who and what are White people, anyway? Is this tendency for bigotry exclusive to one color of people; what about those dismissive Black and Yellow people; or those Red and Brown peoples who advocate assimilation; what about all the disingenuous coalitions involving mix-raced peoples...or the genuine ones?

To be honest, I don't really think White people exist. Or rather existed, until we created them. When that student from last semester gave me a copy of the prose from Silkoe's, "Ceremony", she missed the context

and preface of the story. It was a story about how we, Cayuga, Mohawk and Anishnaabe peoples (or our ancestors), brought White people into existence:

“They want us to believe that all evil resides with white people. Then we will look no further to see what is really happening. They want us to separate ourselves from white people, to be ignorant and helpless as we watch our own destruction. But white people are only tools that witchery manipulates; and I can tell you, we can deal with white people, with their machines and beliefs. We can because we invented white people.”⁷

What that student missed was that White people or ‘whiteness’ is just an idea. When the story is recounted, “they” is not a type of people or race (race doesn’t actually exist, after all) rather, “they” is our fear and our ignorance and our arrogance. Certainly, light-skinned people of European descent abound and live among us but they aren’t “White” any more than those Cayuga, Mohawk and Anishnaabe peoples are “Indians”. Both notions are inventions that come from the same place.

All of this is not, by any means, a colonial alibi. Rather, as Taiaiake Alfred notes, it’s an acknowledgment that “the enemy is not the white man, in racial terms, it is a certain way of thinking.”⁸ While this ‘way of thinking’ in North America appears to be manifest disproportionately in European settlers, it’s not exclusive to them. For us, as Indigenous peoples, it’s our own disconnection from each other, maybe our arrogance. And instead of recognizing the actual source of these problems, we contribute to it, and in turn, our own destruction (a good example is our endless squabbles about status and treaty rights and funding, etc).

Get Brown

So how does this discussion of the nature of color inform the possibilities for coalitions? I think that it means, first, we have to recognize that the crux of the problem of coalitions is not White people, but rather, this ‘way of thinking’, represented by two kinds of people: those who express their fear, ignorance and arrogance openly like that of Howard and Widdowson. And on the other hand, the more benign, oft allies; the people you need to scratch to see beneath the surface.

Next, I think we have to concede that coalitions with either perspective is ultimately defeating. As Leah Whiu asks in her discussion of Maori -

Pakeha feminist coalitions, “what affinity can we share with white women if they refuse to acknowledge and take responsibility for their colonialism.”⁹ Essentially, even if a particular coalition is successful at achieving its goal, if our allies go home without recognizing their responsibilities, the conditions that produce our struggles will remain and recycle.

Lastly, we can recognize that there is potential with those who can acknowledge that responsibility. While Cardinal wrote that non-Native peoples wanting to help often do more harm than good, he did provide an apt mantra: “get Brown or get lost.”¹⁰ ‘Brown’ a metaphor for the following: listen to what we are saying, strive to understand our perspectives, critically reflect on your own assumptions about Indigenous peoples and let us determine our best interests. The rest should follow. Otherwise, as Deskaheh and Deloria said, leave us alone.

Considering all of this, I’m not really sure where the Dump Site #41 farmers, conservation organizations and Christian Peacemakers fit. But I can be fairly certain that those non-Native students writing in this journal or sitting in my classroom are, in fact, getting Brown. They are changing the way they think and act in the world. They are helping undo the witchcraft that’s caused so much division for so long. They are creating and contributing to coalitions with those Cayuga, Mohawk and Anishnaabe peoples; coalitions like Kanata.

Endnotes

1. Silkoe, 16.
2. Akwesasne Notes, 27.
3. Deloria, 27.
4. Cardinal, 76.
5. The Globe and Mail.
6. Heiss, 18.
7. Silkoe, 132.
8. Alfred, 102.
9. Whiu in Mikaere, 26.
10. Cardinal, 76.

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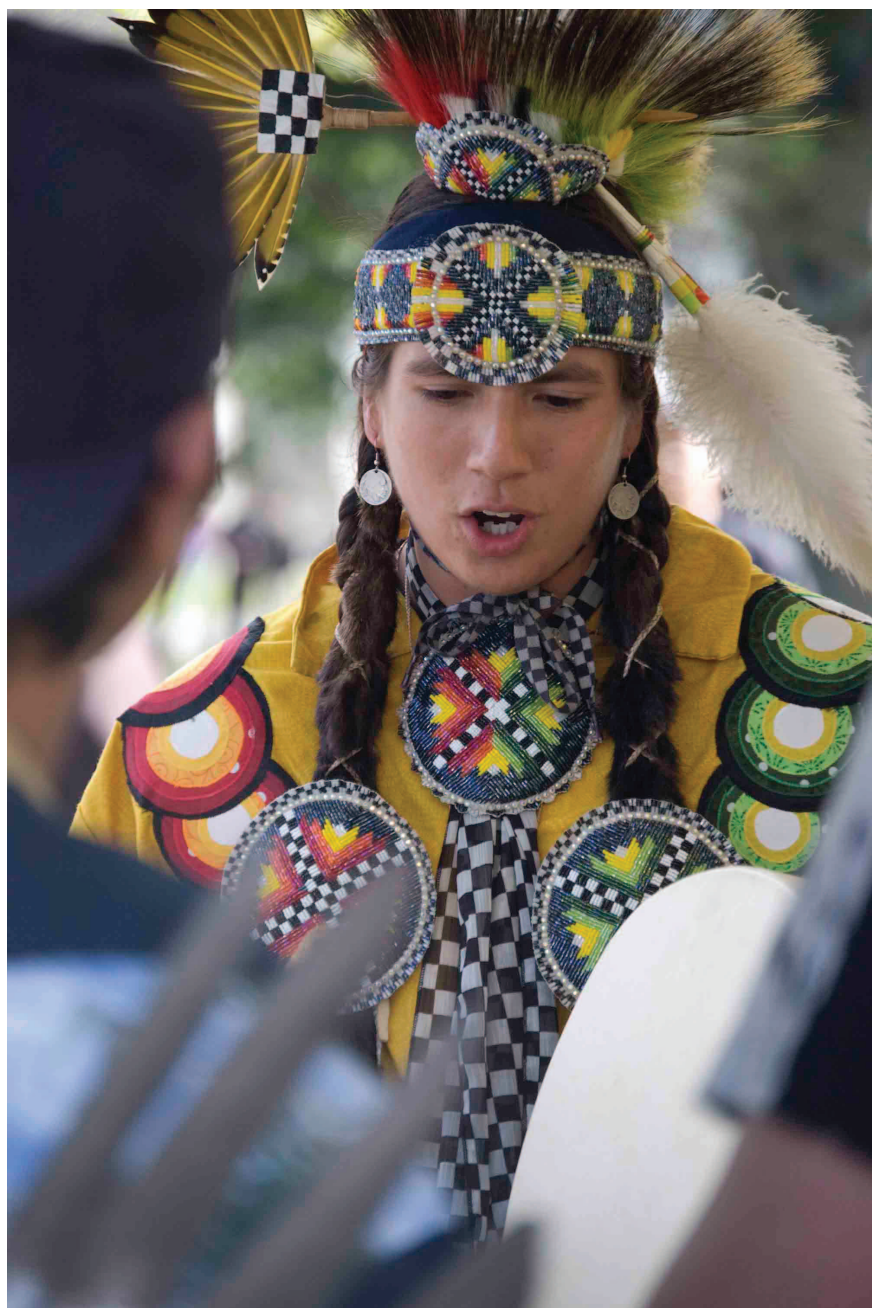
Hayden King is Anishnaabe (Bear Clan) from Huronia, Ontario. He is also proud of his European heritage. Hayden teaches in the Indigenous Studies Programme at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario.

McMaster University Pow Wow

Photos by Danielle Lorenz









Culturally-Relevant Interventions to Type II Diabetes Reduction among the Cree

Deborah Hayek

Diabetes is a disease that can affect all individuals, yet in Canada, it remains more prevalent in Indigenous rather than in non-Indigenous populations. This paper will analyze the underlying risk factors for diabetes specific to the Cree First Nations group of Canada. In addition, an overview of two current culturally-relevant intervention programs will be presented: Health Canada's Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative (ADI) and the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project.

There are two types of diabetes. Type I diabetes is when an individual cannot produce insulin, a chemical that is essential for turning sugar into energy used by the body. Type II Diabetes, the most common type, is when an individual has difficulty using the insulin it produces. The medical consequences of diabetes are potentially severe. Diabetes is associated with an increased risk of heart attack or stroke, nerve damage and kidney problems, high blood sugar problems, increase of colds or infections and damage to blood vessels, which can impede the natural healing processes of the body (Health Canada 2009). If diabetes is not managed by the individual, it can damage other vital organs and cause permanent damage to the kidneys, increase poor circulation and increase the likelihood of heart disease and eye disease, and possibly lead to the need for amputations (Harris et al. 1997).

Diabetes possesses a hereditary factor, meaning that an individual's chances of having diabetes are increased if a blood relative has diabetes. Other risk factors for diabetes include obesity, age, high cholesterol levels, high blood pressure and high blood sugar (Harris et al. 1997). Certain lifestyle factors, such as smoking, low level of physical activity, and a diet low in dietary fibre and vegetables and high in dietary fat have also been connected to an increased risk for diabetes (Hanley et al. 1997; Hanley et al. 2000). Alternately, there are also some key factors which can forestall diabetes, including a managed, healthy body weight, eating healthy and well-balanced foods from all food groups, and managing personal stress levels (Gittelsohn et al. 1998; Wolever et al. 1997).

Indigenous populations within Canada are 3 to 5 times more likely to have Type II diabetes than non-Indigenous Canadians (Health Canada 2009). To understand why this health disparity exists, we must look at what risk factors are prevalent in aboriginal Canadians. For example, diabetes has a large genetic risk component. Individuals who inherit a variety of the HNF-1 α gene – HNF1A G319S – are at higher risk for diabetes (Hegele et al. 1999); this gene variant is found exclusively in aboriginal communities (Hegele et al. 2003: 257). As well, obesity is notably higher among aboriginal populations than non-aboriginals. This is in part attributed to the transition from traditional to more Westernized cultural habits, characterized by “reduced physical activity and a diet high in refined carbohydrates, saturated fats and trans fats” (Chateau-Degat et al. 2009). One particular study on the Cree of Mistissini found that the high prevalence of obesity could be directly correlated with the high prevalence of diabetes within the community (Chateau-Degat et al. 2009). In the Oji-Cree community of north-western Ontario, recent changes in traditional lifestyle have been altering the disease prevalence pattern since the early 1980s. In a study of the Oji-Cree it was found that “environmental risk factors, such as diet, fitness level and physical activity, are significantly associated with type 2 diabetes” (Hegele et al. 2003: 257).

At the root of dietary changes lie cultural and environmental degradation. Globalization and environmental destruction have led to a decrease in the rich abundance of natural food sources; westernization and the trend to urbanization are eroding traditional Cree hunting practices (Hegele et al. 2003: 257). For example, one study looked at Cree residents of Sandy Lake, a nomadic population who practice typical fission-fusion hunter-gather social patterns. This study commented that “the ancestors of the current inhabitants of Sandy Lake survived on a modest caloric intake and a narrow range of food sources...the main sources of protein were fish and rabbit. Moose was rare, and there were no deer...there were periods in recorded history in which caloric supply was inadequate to sustain substantial numbers of people in Sandy Lake during the harsh winters” (Hegele et al. 2003: 258). While the ancestors of the current inhabitants undoubtedly consumed fatty foods, it “would not have been supplied in the relatively large quantities and convenient formats that are currently available” (Hegele et al. 2003: 258). There is an element of underlying irony here, when fatty food sources are more available and abundant to rural populations than the medical treatment meant to resolve the health problems they initiate.

A final risk factor common to Cree is smoking, which is a lifestyle

factor associated with Type II diabetes. While there is a deep-rooted cultural history of using tobacco in ceremonies and prayers, smoking cigarettes is not a cultural tradition and poses a more serious threat to health than pure tobacco because of additives that make it more toxic (Young et al. 2000). Cree populations are experiencing an increase in diabetes caused primarily by shifts in cultural patterns. For example, the Eeyou Istchee, a Cree community of 12,000 from northern Quebec did not report diabetes as a common problem prior to the 1980s. In 1989, just 4.1% of this population suffered from diabetes, yet by 2002 this had increased to 12.5%. Comparatively, the current rate of diabetes in the Canadian population is around 7% (Health Canada 2007). For the Oji-Cree of North-western Ontario, rates are “among the highest in the world” (Hegele et al. 2003) at 41% prevalence rate for Type II diabetes. Prevalence rates can vary between communities, ranging from approximately 11% in the Whapmagooosutui, to 41% in the Oji-Cree (Kuzmina and Lejeune 2006). Based on 2006 Canadian census data, the age-adjusted rate of diabetes was 23.9% for the total Cree population and yet only 6.4% for non-aboriginal Canadians (Kuzmina and Lejeune 2006). Voices from the Cree community and biomedical scientists agree on the causes of diabetes, and trace the fundamental explanations for the current high prevalence rate of diabetes to biological, environmental and cultural risk factors apparent within the Cree community (Hegele et al. 2003; Organizational Development Services 2006).

There are some interesting demographic trends to note based on sampling from the 2006 Canadian Census. Firstly, a gender difference is apparent as “diabetes is more common among Cree women (19%) than among Cree men (11.9%)” (Kuzmina and Lejeune 2006). Also, age is a very significant factor as “the highest prevalence rate is among the 60-69 age cohort (Kuzmina and Lejeune 2006). Finally, the coastal communities tend to have a lower prevalence rate of diabetes (15.4%) compared to inland communities (21.4%) (Kuzmina and Lejeune 2006). It should be noted, however, that the 2006 Canadian Census did not gather information on 22 aboriginal reserves across Canada, and that data was procured from only 20% of urban populations (Statistics Canada 2006). The lack of data may misrepresent statistical reality, but the prevalence rate of diabetes in various Cree communities remains undeniably high.

In terms of intervention strategies, Cree communities present a distinct challenge because “the entire population of ~30,000 Oji-Cree lives on reserves dispersed across a wide, remote and harsh northern locale” (Hegele et al. 2003: 257). With these challenges in mind there have been

many interventions to prevent Type II diabetes and/or treat the symptoms among the Cree population. For example, Health Canada's Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative is an example of a top-down approach to prevention where governmental policy is used in a culturally-sensitive manner to impact the rate of diabetes. As well, new biomedical research on the curative properties of Cree traditional medicines, the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project, appears to bridge the traditional model with the western perspective. Both approaches are ongoing and utilize different intervention strategies.

The first intervention method is the Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative (ADI). Health Canada created the ADI in 2005 with the aim to "reduce the incidence and prevalence of diabetes among aboriginal people and to improve the health status of First Nations and Inuit individuals, families and communities" (Health Canada 2009). This is done by delivering a range of primary prevention, screening and treatment programs and services to more than 600 communities throughout Canada. Between 2005 and 2007, 94,000 Aboriginal Canadians participated in over 3,900 awareness activities, and over 13,000 people were screened for Type II Diabetes (Health Canada 2009). The types of preventative activities vary from community to community, and include "walking clubs, weight-loss groups and fitness classes, community kitchens and gardens...and working with local schools to develop healthy food policies...as well as community-based initiatives that include traditional activities, such as berry picking, picnics, dancing and games" (Health Canada 2009). In addition, Health Canada identified late-age screening as a major cause of health complications from diabetes. With this in mind, they set up three mobile diabetes screening initiative in BC, Alberta and Manitoba and support screening in local healthcare offices across Canada (Health Canada 2009).

ADI is projected to continue until 2010, and funding can possibly be renewed in the future (Health Canada 2009). However, the ADI's preventative intervention strategy may not be the most efficacious at curbing the rate of diabetes. In the past, the Cree have seen very little success with dietary interventions in part because of the degree of cultural and environmental change their traditional way of life has gone through, which has inhibited the efficacy of more superficial, temporary forms of change (Health Canada 2007).

The second intervention method is the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project, which began in 2003 as a partnership between the Cree community, Cree health care professionals and University scientists in Canada (Organizational Development Services 2006: 16). Supported by the Grand Council of the Cree and financed by the Canadian Institute of Health Research, this

project aims to evaluate the medical value of traditional medicines through a fused traditional-biomedical research approach. The goal is not preventative, as it was with Health Canada's ADI project, but rather curative. Traditional Cree healers have been using local medicinal plants as a means to alleviate the symptoms of diabetes for centuries, yet only recently have these plants been subjected to biomedical studies on their chemical efficacy.

Dr. Pierre Haddad, one of the key project biomedical researchers, stresses the importance of respecting the Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) of the Cree in relation to the environmental context of medicinal plants. (Traditional Ecological Knowledge is defined as "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission" (Berkes 1999: 8).) Dr. Haddad also states that "it is important to explore ways of dealing with diabetes that are in harmony with aboriginal peoples' culture and lifestyle" in order to provide a culturally-relevant intervention strategy (Health Canada 2007).

There are four stages to the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project: a dietary analysis of the Cree, selection of plants to be analyzed, laboratory testing and a final analysis of the results. The dietary analysis of the Cree comprised of an initial survey of diet and usage of medical plants (Health Canada 2007), and was conducted by Dr. Timothy Johns of the McGill University Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment and the Cree Council of Health and Social Services of James Bay. Based on this survey, "73.4% of participants (127) stated that they would use traditional medicines (TM) more often if they were more available in the community... [and] 61.3% (106) of participants think that the clinic should be providing TMs, as well as modern medicines" (Cree Board of Health and Social Services 2006, p. 6). This survey concluded that members of the Cree community were willing to participate in biomedical analysis of their traditional plants, as they felt their community would benefit greatly (Cree Board of Health and Social Services 2006).

The second stage of the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project consisted of selecting plants to be analyzed. Researchers and Cree healers collaborated to "select a number of plant medicines that show potential for treating the symptoms of diabetes" (Health Canada 2007). This team "identified 8 plants that, according to Cree elders, can treat a number of the symptoms that are typical of diabetes, from frequent urination to increased thirst and foot numbness...and potentially cure diabetes" (Health Canada 2007). This information was gathered through interviews with Cree elders and

healers in the summers of 2003 and 2004 (Cree Board of Health and Social Services 2006).

In the third stage, scientists analyzed the “biological effects” of the plants “in laboratory experiments” (Health Canada 2007). Laboratory testing was conducted at the John T. Arnason lab where scientists had three tasks: “1) identify the compounds that might be useful in treating diabetes, 2) determine how much plant material is needed for safe, effective treatment, and 3) evaluate side-effects related to dosage and long-term use” (Cree Board of Health and Social Services 2006: 3). Overall, none of the plants improved insulin production or secretion, but they all enhanced the effectiveness of the insulin that was generated...some were as potent as or more so than drugs designed to have the effect” (Health Canada 2007). The final stage, analysis, was conducted by biomedical researchers in collaboration with Cree elders and Cree healers (Health Canada 2007).

The Anti-Diabetic Plant Project shows significant promise in providing a culturally relevant intervention method that could reduce the prevalence of Type II diabetes in Cree and other Indigenous communities. However, there have been some fundamental challenges with this intervention strategy due to conflicts in worldviews between biomedical researchers and traditional healers.

The first conflict is based on different definitions of health. While biomedicine defines health as the absence of disease, Cree healers define health as “holistic...where treatment focuses on treating the whole person (physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual) and is preventative in nature” (Organizational Development Services 2006: 1). The Cree have a concept of Miiyuupimaatsiun, or “being alive well” (Adelson 2000) that does not translate into the biomedical categorical conceptions of disease and health. Though both worldviews regard diabetes as a serious health issue, the difference in conceptualizing health affects how both cultures conceive potential intervention strategies.

Secondly, there is also a conflict in how to test traditional medicines in a clinical setting. For biomedical researchers, “[t]he ultimate goal is to run a controlled, blinded trials in which new patients are given either a plant extract or a placebo” (Health Canada 2007). However for the Cree, placebo drugs are fundamentally wrong as they are considered to be unfairly tricking the body (Adelson 2000). Related to this, interpreting the data has led to criticism on the rights of biomedicine to supersede cultural understanding. Members of the Cree Health Board expressed sincere concern that traditional medicine would be undermined if the “trend to scientifically validate our traditional medicines” continued (Organizational

Development Services 2006: 5).

Third, there is conflict in how efficacious traditional medicines should be administered. For the Cree, traditional medicines have no standardized dosage and “traditional healers understand that each person is an individual and treatment methods must be individual as well” (Organizational Development Services 2006: 1). Medicines are sacred elements from the earth, and are intertwined with the prayers and rituals attached to their usage (Organizational Development Services 2006: 1). Yet for biomedicine, dosages can be standardized for a given population and the concept of sacred ecology is not shared (Feit 1992). The goal of biomedicine is to understand the scientific effects of a plant’s chemical properties, whereas for the Cree the goal is to respect the sacredness of the plant without necessarily understanding the chemical reason for their efficacy (Health Canada 2007). Therefore, the Cree and biomedical scientists have different paradigms and root metaphors that structure their cultural premises and assumptions about the world (Steward 1955). They also have conflicting models with different categories and are linked in a cause-effect relationship, shaped by underlying cultural paradigms (Steward 1955).

These conflicting worldviews could potentially lead to problems when deciding what to do with efficacious medicinal plants as either medical tradition possesses different culture values. In other words, “the constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements”, (Stewart 1955) lead to different key scenarios, or “action entailments of conceptual organization” (Ortner 1973). Ideally, biomedical scientists wish to recreate the chemical compound found in curative medicinal plants. Synthetic chemicals are often cheaper and easier to mass produce without depending on seasonal productivity of a given plant. However, for the Cree, they “strongly believe that healing can only come from the land” and synthetic re-creation would not have the same medical potency (Health Canada 2007).

Finally, the Cree do not prioritize the economic benefits of these medicinal plants in the same way as biomedical scientists. Cree hunter-gatherers have been categorized as an Original Affluent Society as their cultural logic is fundamentally different than the capitalist market logic of profit over culture (Sahlins 1972). There is, however, a danger in conceptualizing the Cree as a static homogeneous cultural group. Despite the Cree’s strong focus on preserving biodiversity (Feit 1992), recent trends toward urbanisation and westernization may lead to further cultural change and possibly a re-conceptualization of how traditional plants should be

used. Ultimately, the Cree elders hold 51% of the patent holds on all of their medicinal plants, giving them majority ownership and ultimate power in future decisions above any potential pharmaceutical bioprospecting or biopiracy (Health Canada 2007).

In conclusion, traditional medicine in collaboration with biomedical research may lead to a curative drug for Type II diabetes. As well, culturally-sensitive prevention programs such as ADI in conjunction with curative interventions like the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project may lead to a decreased prevalence of Type II diabetes among the Cree and other Indigenous peoples. While this paper analyzed possible interventions within Cree communities, caution should be exerted when applying this model to other groups as cultural traditions can vary greatly between Indigenous communities. Despite some challenges, the Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative and the Anti-Diabetic Plant Project are proving to be a novel way of fusing conflicting worldviews on conceptions of health, the environment and culture while reducing the prevalence of diabetes among the Cree.

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The Health of Canada's Native Peoples: Near-poverty level health outcomes in an affluent society and the movement towards Aboriginal self-government

Kristin Filiatrault

Despite the fact that the Canadian health care system is often praised as one of the most progressive and equitable in the world, numerous studies, inquiries and statistics that have accumulated over the years demonstrate the poor health of Aboriginal¹ peoples, especially those living on reserves, relative to the general Canadian population. As more and more Aboriginals are choosing to move off reserves and into urban areas, the federal government has decided to transfer resources and authority over to Native communities and organizations in the hopes of improving health outcomes for Natives who choose to remain on reserves.

This paper seeks to explain the movement towards Aboriginal self-government as a solution to the near-poverty level health outcomes of a disadvantaged ethnic minority in an otherwise affluent society. I will begin by giving context to the situation of Canada's Native peoples by explaining how federal-provincial jurisdictional disputes have led to gaps in the provision of health care to Native peoples. Next, I will explain how ethnic diversity and isolation have perpetuated negative health for Natives living on reserves and impeded the provision of local public goods. I will then present the federal government's Health Transfer Policy and its relation to the movement towards Aboriginal self-government. Finally, I will examine how Aboriginal self-determination in the domain of health care provision is not only likely to affect Native health outcomes, but will also provide economic stimulus, political progress, and more importantly, it will develop a more profound relationship based on respect and cooperation between Native communities and the Canadian government.

According to Statistics Canada, the number of people who identified themselves as an Aboriginal person in 2006 surpassed the one-million mark, reaching 1,172,790, which accounted for almost 4% of the total population of Canada.²

While the health of Canada's Native peoples has improved

significantly over the last few decades, there are still substantial inequalities in standard rates of health measurement compared to the general population. In *A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada for the Year 2000*, Health Canada reported that life expectancy at birth for the Indian population was estimated at 68.9 years for males and 76.6 years for females, which reflects differences of 7.4 years and 5.2 years from the general Canadian population respectively³. Also notable were infant mortality rates that were found to be approximately double the national average.⁴

Studies have found that the burden of infectious illness and the relatively new development of degenerative and chronic illnesses are simultaneously affecting the health of Native people, more so than the average Canadian. Statistics demonstrate that while Native people have comparatively elevated incidences of chronic illnesses such as mental disorders, alcoholism, obesity and hypertension, they also have a disparate prevalence of diabetes, tuberculosis, meningitis, pneumonia, Hepatitis A and B, and sexually transmitted diseases.⁵ Postl and Moffatt explain that “at a time when Canadians have entered the era of the second epidemiological revolution of chronic and lifestyle illness,”⁶ the continued prevalence of communicable diseases within Canadian Native communities is evidence of inequity in the provision of health care services and of other public goods.⁷

While health services are generally the provided by the provinces, the relative responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments in the provision of health care to Native people remain poorly defined, and have contributed to the poor health in Native communities. Provincial governments have traditionally avoided involvement in the direct provision of health services to Aboriginal people on reserves, preferring to let the federal government negotiate with them, and pay for the majority of their health services.⁸ However, the federal government does not take responsibility for Indians who move off the reserves to live elsewhere, therefore leaving them to seek services under the provincial or municipal jurisdiction, as all other Canadian citizens do.⁹

As the provincial governments are increasingly involved in the ‘special relationship’ between the federal government and Aboriginal peoples, disputes about overlapping jurisdictional responsibilities have led to many gaps in the provision of health care services to Native people living on reserves. Postl and Moffatt found that nearly 19% of on-reserve Native homes have two or more families living in them, and that fewer than 40% of Indian homes had running water, sewage disposal or indoor plumbing facilities, compared to the national level of properly serviced houses, which is over 90%¹⁰. Disparities in the use

of health services were also reported by WalDRAM, Herring and Young, which could reflect both geographic and cultural barriers to access, in addition to a pure lack of health care services. The authors conclude that overall, “urban Aboriginal residents are more likely to have used health services in the previous year than on-reserve Indians, ... this differential exists in all age, sex, education, and income subcategories as well.”¹¹

Such deficiencies in the provision of health care services have prompted many Natives to move off reserves and into urban centers in an attempt to secure better access to health care services and to pursue a higher standard of living. In 1988, approximately 70% of Aboriginals lived on reserves¹². Nearly 20 years later, Statistics Canada has reported in *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Métis and First Nations, 2006 Census* that the proportion of Aboriginal people living on reserves had dropped to an estimated 40%, while the remaining 60% lived off reserve.¹³

Some scholars may blame the geographic isolation of reserves as a source of inequality in the provision of health services. Others, including many Native leaders, have gone so far as to accuse the federal government of racism and ethnic discrimination.

Certain sets of arguments found in literature on ethnic politics center on preferences as a source of variation in the provision of public goods. Alesina, Baqir and Easterly speculate that different ethnic groups care about different types of public goods, and that a lack of commonality of tastes will result in fewer resources being pulled together for public goods. They explain that ethnicity is often seen as implying a diversity of preferences, which may cause disagreements about which goods should be provided, and to what extent they should be provided, which in turn leads to their underprovision.¹⁴

Tiebout attempts to resolve the problem that heterogeneity of citizens creates for public goods provision. He explains that at the local level, the provision of public goods reflects the preferences of a population more adequately than at the national level.¹⁵ He therefore stipulates that people can sort themselves into communities based on the similarity of their preferences, and that this homogenization ensures the provision of public goods that reflects their preferences.¹⁶ Native people who live on reserves can be regarded as having common preferences, exhibited by their common culture and traditions. However, the presence of common tastes has not solved the problem of the lack of public goods provision, namely health services, on reserves.

Alesina, Baqir and Easterly explain that the association of public goods problems with ethnic fragmentation, may steer political leaders and policy-makers towards choosing segregation and decentralization

as a means by which to enforce relatively homogenous communities¹⁷. However, the authors explain that Tiebout's theory of community sorting, while plausible in theory, may, in practice, compound existing ethnic issues, as minority groups will be excluded from interaction and cooperation with members of the dominant majority. They explain that "if ethnic fragmentation with segregation leads to a low supply of public goods ... then the segregated disadvantaged ethnic group may fall farther behind, perpetuating a vicious cycle"¹⁸.

Habyarimana concurs in that it becomes difficult to sustain cooperation across ethnic groups in areas where members of different groups tend not to have frequent social interactions or personal affinity.¹⁹ The geographic isolation of Native reserves does in fact pose certain issues for Native health. Waldram, Herring and Young report that many common concerns about the inadequacy of health services on reserves relate to infrequent doctors' visits, the inaccessibility of nursing stations after hours, and the lack of Aboriginal personnel due in part to a deficiency of federally-sponsored training facilities. Problems associated with ethnic diversity have also been shown to compound issues of geographic divide. According to the authors, health care encounters involving non-Aboriginal medical practitioners who travel to reserves and Aboriginal people have often been affected by "ingrained racial stereotyping".²⁰

Policy-makers are therefore left with the question of what to do in order to improve the health outcomes of Native peoples, to increase public goods provision on reserves, to reduce cultural barriers and to stimulate both social and economic development within Native communities. By the beginning of the 1980's, the federal government had decided that the solution to such problems was to initiate a transfer of power and resources over to Native communities and organizations – a decentralization of health care provision in the form of the Indian Health Transfer Policy.

The movement towards greater Aboriginal control over social programs and services began in 1978, when the Canadian federal government endorsed the Alma-Ata Declaration, which proposed that health be considered a fundamental human right. Signed by 134 countries under the support of the World Health Organization, Alma-Ata proposed the development of local, community-level services with some measure of local control.²¹

Within Canada, health transfer to Native communities began in 1979 with the Indian Health Policy, which sought to increase community participation in all aspects of health provision via transfer of control of health programs to Native authorities. This process culminated in 1986 with the development of the Indian Health Transfer Policy. This

policy provided an outline for the assumption of control of health services by Native peoples. Once involved in transfer, communities can move slowly, at a pace determined by their individual circumstances and administrative capabilities to the point where they ultimately obtain control over the delivery and management of health services.²²

The transition process, which is entirely optional, includes three phases: Pre-Transfer Planning, Bridging, and Transfer Implementation. The transfer is designed to occur within the current funding base of federal health programs for Native peoples, and requires that certain mandatory programs be implemented, such as communicable disease control, environmental and occupational health and safety programs, and treatment services.²³

While alternate strategies for increasing Aboriginal control over resources are currently in practice, transfer is the cornerstone of the relationship between Health Canada, the department of the government responsible for national public health, and Native communities. In the first year of uptake, 12 communities had initiated the transfer process. By 1999, 244 communities participated in the Indian Health Transfer Policy. Indeed, as the uptake of control of health services by Native communities increased, the Indian Health Transfer Policy was ever more seen by Aboriginals as a stepping stone towards the inherent right to self-government.²⁴

While the transition to self-governance is a lengthy process, it is seen by both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals as the ideal form of management of health services as it gives Native authorities more flexibility to establish program priorities in response to their community's needs rather than following federal program objectives. Existing programs can be expanded and new programs can be created based on the specific needs of the community to order to improve the services offered to Native peoples.²⁵

The Indian Health Transfer Policy is seen as a giant step forward in the direction of improving the health of Canada's Native peoples. This policy aims at educating and training Aboriginal personnel, stimulating Native economies, encouraging greater political participation and forging meaningful relationships between Native communities and the different levels of government.

An important aspect of the transfer process involves the training of Native health professionals. Encouraging the education and training of Aboriginal personnel will not only enable the provision of culturally sensitive medical practices, but will also create new employment opportunities, thereby increasing income and providing households and communities with a larger pool of financial and human resources from which to draw upon. Pritchett and Summers discuss the link between higher levels of income

and improved health status. The authors write that increased income leads to increased per capita expenditures, both public and private, on goods that improve health, such as food, safe water, basic sanitation, and shelter.²⁶

In addition, the development of a Native community's economy will also provide stability, lessen income inequality in comparison to the general population, as well as create a secure investment environment. These elements would greatly benefit a community that is in the midst of gaining autonomy over the provision of social services, as the gains from economic development would flow into health gains. A healthier population is a more productive population, and increased productivity translates into greater efficiency in developing and administering health care services.

While economic considerations are valid justifications for the Indian Health Transfer Policy, political factors also come into play. The transfer of authority over health service provision is not only a means by which Native communities can develop their economies; it is a means by which they can gain political influence. There is much literature that stipulates that ethnic minorities are often at greater risk of health problems, yet less effectively represented in the political competition for scarce resources.²⁷

Native peoples are represented politically at the national level by four distinct parties: the Assembly of First Nations, the Council of Aboriginal Peoples, the Métis Council, and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.²⁸ These political factions have been more influential in fighting for other aspects of self-determination, such as land claims, than for health care. However, as Native communities gain control over their health care programs through the Indian Health Transfer Policy, they gain legitimacy and develop a larger political voice that can aid them in securing access to a wider range of resources.

More important than simply developing a political voice, however, is what Szreter and Woolcock refer to as "bonding, bridging and linking" social capital. Szreter and Woolcock explain that bonding social capital refers to "trusting and cooperative relations between members of a network who see themselves as being similar, in terms of their shared social identity".²⁹ Bridging social capital, by contrast, includes "relations of respect and mutuality between people who know that they are not alike in some socio-demographic sense."³⁰ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, linking social capital represents "relationships of trust between members of a network who know themselves not only to be different in terms of social identity, but also in terms of their institutionalized endowments of power and resources."³¹

The authors stress that without developing extensive quality relationships between parties with differential access to power, "efforts at poverty alleviation, economic development and service provision to the poor

are unlikely to succeed.”³² Other authors concur and call for ‘meaningful participation’ between the different levels of government and Native organizations in developing solutions to health issues. Tookenay emphasizes the need for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians to become more aware of the health issues affecting Native people, stating that “it is difficult to establish true partnerships between different societies when one is subject to the discretionary power of the other . . . It is essential that such partnerships be established and that special efforts be made to ensure their success.”³³

The Indian Health Transfer Policy, if approached by both Native communities and by federal and provincial parties with the genuine desire to improve Native health, is likely to be successful if bonded, bridged and linked social capital is developed concurrently. Creating healthy relationships between parties with unequal access to resources will facilitate the promotion of a common goal, improved Native health, by both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals.

The concepts of health promotion and the transfer of control overlap considerably. Many factors have simultaneously contributed to near-poverty level health outcomes for the native people in the territory claimed by Canada. Federal-provincial jurisdictional disputes have led to gaps in the provision of health care services to native people on reserves. The initiation of the Indian Health Transfer Policy and the development of bonded, bridged and linked social capital hold greater potential for improving the health native people. Access to quality health care is an obvious starting point in the transfer of control of First Nations back to native people.

Endnotes

1. In this paper, the term Aboriginal is used to refer to all peoples of Indian (status and non-status), Inuit and Métis heritage. Other terms that will be used to refer to this same group are Native and Indian.
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7. Ibid., 2417.
8. James B. Waldram, D. Ann Herring, T. Kue Young, *Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical, Cultural, and Epidemiological Perspectives*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 202-3.
9. Ibid.,
10. B. Postl and M. Moffatt, 2416-17
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13. *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Métis and First Nations, 2006 Census*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 2006 Census. Catalogue number 97-558-XIE.
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16. Ibid., 424.
17. Alberto Alesina, Reza Baqir and William Easterly, 1275.
18. Alberto Alesina, Reza Baqir and William Easterly, 1274.

19. J. Habyarimana et. al., "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision? An Experimental Approach," (Washington D.C.: Center for Global Development, 2006), 328-329.
20. James B. Waldrum, D. Ann Herring, T. Kue Young, 200-201
21. James B. Waldrum, D. Ann Herring, T. Kue Young, 234-235
22. Ibid., 237
23. "Ten Years of Health Transfer First Nation and Inuit Control." Health Canada, 2005. http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/pubs/finance/_agree-accord/10_years_ans_trans/index-eng.php
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25. Ibid.
26. Lant Pritchett and Lawrence H. Summers, "Wealthier is Healthier," (Journal of Human Resources 31:4, 1996) 846.
27. Hazem Adam Ghorarah, Paul Huth and Bruce Russett, "Comparative Public Health: The Political Economy of Human Misery and Well-Being," (International Studies Quarterly 48, 2004), 77.
28. Vincent F. Tookenay, 1581-1582.
29. Simon Szreter and Michael Woolcock, "Health by Association: Social Capital, Social Theory, and the Political Economy of Public Health," (International Journal of Epidemiology 33:4, 2004), 654-655
30. Ibid., 655.
31. Ibid., 656.
32. Ibid., 656.

33. Vincent F. Tookenay, 1582.

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Devil's Dick

Anonymous

The devil deed yields a devil's dick,
The fiends all dream to suck this stick.
It's semen spurned from Satan's pit,
Once loaded in the bulb gets lit.

Watch the sperm as they melt and bubble
Vaporized from a boiled black puddle.
Lucifer's seeds swirl in a bellowing cloud,
And now, the sperm churn and want to cum out.

A shaft made of glass, this dick with one ball
One nut from this cock, all troubles are solved.
But don't swallow it, inhale to the lungs.
Don't hold it too long or crystals become lodged in your lungs and
seizures ensue;
Might be the last blow you ever do.

Euphoria ensured – this blithe mind state!
Finally relieved, just tweak and be free
But remember: it's just temporary.
We can't fly forever. All must come down.
And you may land six feet under the ground.

Thus when Satan busts nuts he cums crystal meth
Orgasms hence lead to gradual death.
Death by the grave or death by the life,
The life that was wasted...
on this devil glass pipe.



The Devil's Dick...

A devil deed yields a Devil's dick,
The friends all dream to suck this stick.
Its seamen spurned from Satan's pit,
Once loaded in the bulb gets lit.

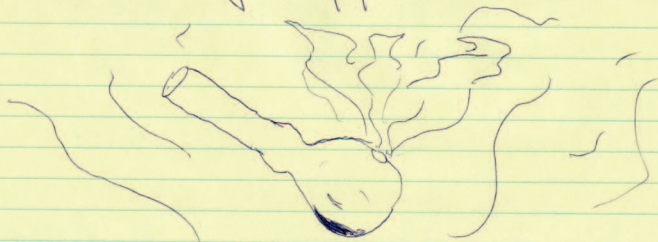
Watch the sperm as they melt and bubble
Vaporized, from a boiled black puddle.
Lucifer's seeds swirl in bellowing cloud,
And now, the sperm churn and want to cum out.

A shaft made of glass, this dick with one ball
One nut from this cock, all troubles are solved.
But don't swallow it. Inhale to the lungs.
Don't hold it too long or crystals become
Lodged in your lungs and seizure ensues;
Might be the last blow job you ever do.

Just exhale it slow, feel pain dissipate.
Euphoria ensured — this blithe mind state!
Finally relieved, just tweak and be free
But remember! It's just temporary.
We can't fly forever. All must come down.
And you may land six feet under the ground.

~~Thus~~

Thus, when Satan busts nuts he cums crystal meth.
Orgasms hence lead to gradual death.
Death by the grave or death by the life,
The life that was wasted...
on this devil glass pipe.



The Inuit Relocation of 1953 and 1955

Andreanne Langevin

In 1953, two Royal Canadian Mounted Police stations located in the Great North were welcoming Inuit families that had been successfully convinced to move to the High Arctic. Reluctant at first, the Inuit were eventually seduced by the idea of living in a less populated area where they would be able to make more profitable hunts of the numerous animals living in the Arctic. Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis Island were described by the RCMP to the Inuit as “plentiful and welcoming”. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) agents managed to persuade the Natives living in Inukjuak that they would be better off if they were relocated. The promises for a better life vanished in the harsh reality Inuit faced in the Extreme Arctic. The geopolitical reasons for such policy would be revealed to them decades later. Formal apologies have yet to be made to the displaced families.

Article 22 of the United Nation’s Universal Human Rights Declaration states that countries have to respect “economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for [one’s] dignity and the free development of [their] personality” (United Nations). These rights were utterly disregarded in the context of the Inuit relocation to the Great North. Federal demands to move Indigenous people away from their homeland have been a great cause of stress within the Inuit community. The Inuit felt obliged to accept the government’s request. However, structural changes enforced by the Canadian government jeopardized the Inuit cultural paradigm. Near the North Pole, they had limited contact with the outside world, making them feel isolated in their new home. Also, they faced great difficulties in providing food and shelter for their families. The Arctic paradise promised by the Canadian government quickly turned into a nightmare. The trauma caused by their separation from their traditional territory still lingers in the hearts of the remaining exiled Inuit. Survivors witnessed family members die from hypothermia, starvation, and depression before the government began to acknowledge the problem. Monetary settlements have been ruled by the courts, but the people of the North have yet to hear the Canadian

government apologize for the inhumane relocation of the Inuit to the world's most northern inhabited region.

Controversy surrounding the policy still generates political and cultural debates that are far from being settled. Government officials applied the policies with a clear lack of concern for the Inuit. This political irresponsibility was present all throughout the relocation process. This paper examines the events and exposes the political misdemeanors that characterized Federal/Inuit relations at the time. Part one will take look at the relocation negotiation process between the Inuit and RCMP officials. The second section will examine accounts of the living conditions in the High Arctic. And the third part will summarize the legal debate between the Inuit and the Federal government. The question of whether the government took advantage of the Inuit in order to reaffirm legitimate territorial ownership over the Arctic will also be addressed.

The Qallunaat and the Inuit

The Inuit population of Northern Quebec and the rest of Canada are accustomed to sharing confined living spaces with many family members. Cooperation has allowed them to survive the long winters of the polar regions. Inuit society values tolerance and conflict evasion. These behaviors coincide with the survival of the community as a whole. In order to fully grasp the context in which the negotiations for the relocation took place we must keep in mind that being pressured generates undesired tensions and imbalances in the Inuit group harmony. For example: when someone is pressured into doing something they do not want to do, they will often settle the disagreement by saying, "I don't know" (Royal, 12). This hazy answer is provided in order to ease the tensions. Both sides would agree to the dismissal of the request and the harmony balance is reestablished.

Qallunaat is a word commonly used by the Inuit to say 'white people'. To many Inuit, the word is also a synonym of 'menacing'. Rosemarie Kuptana, President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (a political association representing the Inuit people), was interviewed by the 1993 Royal Commission on Aboriginal People reporting on the Inuit relocation. She stated to the commissioners that the Inuk word commonly used to describe white people was illira, which could be translated as "a blend of fear, awe and intimidation". She continues, "This is, the feeling Inuit get when interacting with missionaries, policemen, and traders of European origin" (Royal, 12). The superior image government officials had in the Northern communities might have helped them convince the Inuit of the benefits of the relocation. When the Inuit had to confront the Whites, they

felt powerless because of their inexperience with argument. The officials representing the government's authority used both legal and emotional tools to interfere with the Inuit's true desire to remain in their traditional territory.

The officials' use of legal and emotional tools was the only reason behind the Inuit's decision to relocate. However, there is another argument that could explain the forced exile. The seduction campaign the government undertook when trying to convince Inuit families to move up North has been described as "misleading" by the Inuit people (Royal, 34-35). They stated that all the federal promises made to the Inuit were broken once they had arrived to their new location. One of the promises made to them was food and shelter provisions if they faced difficulties. Also, they would be repatriated after two years if life up North did not suit them and furthermore, the group would not be divided. They were not told that separation was inevitable since there were two different locations to which people would be moved. The Inuit also complained that they were never told before moving that public service facilities like schools and health clinics were nonexistent in the High Arctic. This meant that children would not get an education and the health of the community would not be supervised. The Inuit believe that the promises were made in order to convince them to move north. This way, the government secured land it desperately wanted (Royal, 30). The Inuit would never have moved had they known the hardships that awaited them. As a defense, the government rebutted that life at Inukjuak had become unsustainable. According to federal reports, the relocation occurred in order to protect the families from an eventual shortage in game and that Canada had no need to reaffirm sovereignty over the Arctic Islands. In 1951 Minister H.A. Young of the Ministry for Resources and Economic Development stated that "rations and direct help confirmed that the Eskimos were incapable of securing survival by their own means" (Diubaldo, 132). However, according to Mr. Smallville life in Inukjuak was plentiful and the Natives benefited from "all the equipment necessary" for good living conditions (Royal, 22).

One thing is certain: the Inuit did suffer in the High Arctic. Whether or not the government was misleading them in the seduction campaign is debatable. The politicians, while issuing the policy for relocation, had very limited knowledge of the Inuit way of life. The RCMP took advantage of the fear the Natives had for them. They efficiently convince them to move out of Inukjuak, without acknowledging the life threatening challenges the RCMP knew the Inuit would have to face up North. Canada disregarded the strains the new living conditions would have on the relocated inhabitants.

Living in the High Arctic proved to be an everyday challenge. The next section provides specific examples of how the Inuit survived the exile.

The Eternal Darkness

The RCMP, while negotiating the relocation, wrote in federal reports that the choice of moving up North was made on a voluntary basis and that the Inuit were fully aware of the future living conditions in the Extreme Arctic. The Inuit, however, testified a different version of the story to the parliamentary Commission. They told the House of Commons that they did accept to move voluntarily but only because of the importunity of the RCMP officials. In addition, they agreed to the relocation only if certain clauses such as ‘the right to move back’ were included in the agreement (Gunther, 139-140). They asked for a description of their future residence so they would have no surprise upon their arrival. In 1987, a position paper issued by the Makivik Corporation protecting the rights of the Inuit of Nunavik (Northern Quebec) stated that the relocated Inuit had to undergo “fundamental social, economic, physical and psychological changes” when they were moved to the Extreme Arctic (Gunther, 196). This statement proves that the promises and the descriptions of the Far North were erroneous at least.

Two waves of relocation occurred in the fifties, the first one in 1953 and the following in 1955. A total of 10 families were displaced to Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis Island, amounting to 54 people altogether excluding the RCMPs posted in the region (Royal, 7). These tiny communities were facing environmental conditions unfavorable to life: insufficient wildlife, restrained daylight in the winter, isolation from trade posts, and lack of home building supply. In mid-October, the sun disappears for almost four months during which it would become impossible to perform the regular tasks allowing the Inuit to survive in the wild. In the darkness, hunting on the seaboard was extremely dangerous because the icebergs were unstable. In addition, the violent currents in the many fiords made the underwater streams unpredictable and catching fish was almost impossible (McGrath, 173).

The Inuit looked forward to the abundance of game promised by the RCMPs. Even though fishing turned out to be difficult, they could always survive on caribou and muskox. However, to their great surprise, not only was game sparse, it was protected. Without knowing it, they had been to on a fauna reserve and were not allowed to kill more than one caribou per family per year. Hunting muskox was completely prohibited. The Inuit had to rely on seal which was absolutely (Martha). Rations sent

by the government to the RCMP posts were so scarce that children would often be secretly sent to the post's garbage in order to scavenge leftovers. Insufficient wildlife and lack of government support resulted in extreme hunger and health problems for the High Arctic population (Royal, 27).

Basic material like wood and nails was lacking and they could not build homes to survive the long winter. In the documentary *Martha* from the North, Martha Flaherty describes sheltering as she lived it in 1955. On Ellesmere and Cornwallis, the temperature averages 15 degrees less than the temperature in Inukjuak. The thermometer seldom rises above zero and the sunless winter makes it too cold to live in a tent. The gusting winds blow the snow away and prevent sufficient accumulation. This makes building igloos impossible. As a result, the Inuit suffered greatly from the cold in their karmak (skin-covered tents) while waiting for snow buildup that would come much later in the winter season (Martha).

The families never fully coped with the trauma of relocation. Melanie McGrath, a British editorialist who spent a year in the Northern communities, wrote an eloquent account of the Relocation based on her interviews with the victims. In *The Long Exile*, she reports the experience of Paddy Aqiatasuk, Martha's step grandfather, who was hujuujaq-homesick (181). At one point, Paddy began to feel an intense pressure coming from his chest. The land he had been moved to was not his home. He became disoriented and suffered from extreme anxiety. Paddy passed away one year after his arrival to Ellesmere Island (McGrath, 183). His reaction was explained by Professor Robert Williamson of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Saskatchewan. In the interview he gave in front of the 1993 Commission, he explained that the Inuit have an intimate connection to the land they were born on. He uses the word *namespace* in order to describe this unique relation. To the Inuit "every geographic feature is a metaphor for the totality of the group remembrance...It recalls the narrations and the ancient sanctified myths" (Royal 10-11). Without these social stepping stones, the community becomes disconnected from the environment and the group's identity is endangered. This is exactly what happened during the relocation. The Inuit were not only confronted with physical strains like the lack of food and proper shelter but they were also emotionally challenged like they had never experienced before.

The Canadian government has been accused of irresponsible governance of the Northern communities. The Inuit were left to themselves and the government did not fulfill its promises of helping them adapting to their new territory. These allegations were addressed in front of the House of Commons. The government had to grant financial retribution

to the villagers of Ellesmere and Cornwallis. However, apologies have not been given and the dispute has yet to be settled.

Dispute settlement

It took a long time for Euro-Canadians to explore the North of the New World; in the beginning, only the southern regions were colonized. The latitudes nearest to the North Pole were of little interest, except for the purpose of the fur trade industry. The question of the Northern territories and Canadian sovereignty was first brought up by Captain Bernier in 1876 when he sailed to the North Pole in order to claim the islands. When the discovery was brought back to Prime Minister Laurier, the House of Commons understood that sovereignty would not be set in stone until it could be proven that Canadian citizens permanently resided in those regions. It will take 30 more years for the Canadian government to feel threatened enough and push for the establishment of Northern settlements. In his 1903-04 voyage, Roald Amundsen from Norway sailed through the North West Passage, claiming land that belonged to the Canadian nation (McGrath, 91). It raised a few questions: first, would permanent RCMP posts be enough or would there need to be inhabitants to be able to rightfully claim the land? Second, if the government created civilian settlements in the Arctic, who would volunteer to go? And third, how would the government convince future relocated people of the advantages of moving to the High Arctic? The answers to those dilemmas came all at once to a certain Mr. Henry Larsen in 1952.

Minister Larsen was given the task of alleviating the problems the Inuit were facing with the depletion of the animals. He noticed that in Northern Quebec, the lack of game and government help had transformed the lives of the Inuit tremendously. In the first half of the XXth century, the Canadian government decided to make the Inuit benefit from the same social advantages as all Canadian citizens did. Although governmental interference with the Northern communities had begun centuries before, the inhabitants were granted social security for the first time. They had access to public services like their compatriots to the south. In the beginning of the 1900s, Anglican and Catholic missions were multiplying in the Arctic, ensuring children's education. The Canadian government also financed eleven hospitals managed by missions and mining companies. Moreover, 7 RCMP posts were inaugurated in the Eastern Arctic, strengthening government contact with the Inuit communities (Diubaldo, 34).

Various goods began to flow from the South; liquor was an all-times favorite. The intoxicant resulted in serious social problems for which

concerns began to rise after the Inuit became caught up in the trap of “dependency on southern trade” as it is called by McGrath (44). The escalating trade with the Euro-Canadians brought to the Inuit a great deal of useful goods. However, the Qallunaat innovations took away some of the traditional skills that were vital for the Inuit to survive in the wild. Inuit knowledge was fading away with the introduction of faster transportation, imported foodstuff and firearms. At the same time, the animal populations were depleted and the long-established hunting way of life became impossible to sustain.

Larsen saw in the relocation project a way to palliate this problem. He believed that, by sending some Inuit to the Extreme North, the European influence would be lessened and the Inuit would resume to their traditional lives and preserve their traditions. He promoted the relocation as extremely beneficial to the Inuit because it was a way of safekeeping their heritage (Gunther, 96-97). However, the underlying reason for the relocation is not that gratifying for the Inuit. In reality, they were to act as human flags for Canada to legitimize its sovereignty over the Arctic Islands. In 1946, the United States put in place a number of weather stations in the Canadian Arctic (Gunther, 34). Subsequently, the Canadian government officials decided to go ahead and establish permanent settlements in the North. This of course, the Inuit were unaware of and the government had no intentions of informing them. Mr. Silvertz from Northern Affairs was the only departmental official to mention the relocation as a means of establishing sovereignty. In a meeting held in 1953 with his governmental division, he made a statement clearly exposing the true motives:

Canadian Government is anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it appeared that in many cases Eskimo were the only people capable of doing this.” (Gunther, 64)

He continues...

the Eskimo’s prime purpose [...] was to see if it were possible for them to adapt themselves to conditions there [...] Steps will be taken to see that the Eskimo are provided for in case the experiment is not successful” (Gunther, 65)

This document is pure proof of the bold lie the Inuit were told before leaving their home. Not only was the relocation solely performed for geopolitical reasons, the whole project was an experiment. It was never intended to help them regain their traditional skills. Instead, the Inuit were expected to miraculously become accustomed to conditions completely different from what they knew. Not to say that the “steps” to help the Inuit in case the relocation failed were never taken.

The “coercive nature of the project” was strongly criticized by the Inuit in front of the Commission (Royal, 74). However, their critics were firmly contradicted in the federal accounts. This confusion can be attributed to the kind of sources used by both sides. For the Canadian government, sources consisted mainly of written documents and memorandums written with great care for future liability. On the other hand, the Inuit relied mainly on oral tradition for their testimony. Moreover, when the Commission took place in 1993, many of the first generation of adults who had been relocated had passed away. Most of them died from complications due to the harsh environmental conditions and the lack of health care in the High Arctic. As well as missing oral testimonies, the events were often interpreted differently by the two parties. The Commission was deemed necessary in order to reconcile the two sides.

It was the first time the Inuit were taking part in an official hearing. A statement made by F.J.G. Cunningham, the Administrator of Resources and Economic Development in 1952 explains why the Inuit were not included in the discussions that led to the relocation. He declared that the Inuit “wouldn’t have been able to participate responsibly to the ongoing discussions”. Also, Inuit presence at the meetings would have been irrelevant because “many participants greatly valued the Eskimo interests in the project” (Diubaldo, 2). The attitude of the government towards the Natives does not differ from the world spread colonialist ideals of that time. The Inuit had no say in what they were about to be forced. Instead, they were nurtured and blinded by the paternalist State.

If the government had the Inuit instead of sending them to the inhospitable Extreme Arctic, the officials might have had a legitimate historical argument. However, the way the relocation policies were enforced explicitly show how government actions differed from publicly stated goals (Royal, xii). According to the Inuit, the government “outrageously used them and then, forgot about them, leaving the communities with nothing” (Martha). The 1993 Commission ruled in favor of the Inuit, emphasizing the inhumane treatment that had been inflicted upon them. The Chairs

successfully pointed out at least 10 articles of the Universal Human Rights Declaration that had been clearly overlooked by the government. The Commission recommended a monetary settlement and formal apologies from the Canadian government to the families. The government did not fulfill the apology request. Instead, the Chretien administration created a 10\$ million trust fund under the "Reconciliation Agreement". The Inuit that would benefit from the fund had to sign a document stating that "the officials of the time were acting with honorable interests" (Gibney, 143). Those 'actions' were deemed by the Gunther Report written in 1993 as "benevolent overall" and the apology claims were dismissed by the politicians.

Did the government interpret the monetary settlement as a make up for an apology? The Inuit for their part have made it clear that the public recognition of the government's mistakes were important to them (Martha). On what basis did the Canadian government refuse to apologize for the relocation, knowing all the harm it caused? One of the arguments is that the officials who put into place the Inuit relocation program are not alive anymore and that the current government should not have to take the blame for these people's actions. By having the Inuit sign the Reconciliation Agreement, all possibilities of a future apology vanished.

The stereotypical image of a peaceful Canada hides a corrosive past. When the Inuit accepted to move, they did so by fear of the white agents who had lied to them. Once they arrived to the High Arctic, they could no longer rely on the vital government support and they suffered both physically and emotionally. The legal debate it generated was settled by the government with evident lack of concern. In 1995, both parties signed a document stating that the officials responsible for the relocation were working for the benefit of the Inuit and that the Canadian government could not be blamed for their actions. If the Inuit wanted to benefit from the trust fund created for the relocated families, they had to sign the document.

Ellesmere and Cornwallis are now managed by the Inuit as part of Nunavut, an Aboriginal regional government. The relocated population was only allowed to move back to Inukjuak in 1987. Some decided to stay in the High Arctic because their children were born on that land and were attached to it. The parents did not want to relocate them like it had happened to them 30 years before. The communities have grown and public facilities were build. Life however remains harsher than in Inukjuak but at least the Inuit have a say in the administration of the villages. The people who moved back kept bitter memories of their experience in the High Arctic. The apology refusal did not help them overcome their

suffering (Martha).

In the end, the government won its gamble. The Inuit were kept up there long enough so some would not want to move back, and Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic was undeniably confirmed. The question of territorial ownership has gained increasing in importance with the discovery of petroleum and natural gas resources in the North. The energy reserves buried in the permafrost and under the Arctic Sea have an unprecedented potential for Canada. As well, climatologists predict the eventual opening of the North West Passage in the Northern Islands. It will shorten sea travels considerably. Canada aspires to claim the route and keep a monopoly over the fees charged to use the seaway. The predicted passage will run through the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. It will interfere greatly with the way of life of the Inuit, as the Northern Islands are transformed into rest stops for travelers. Before the Passage opens, the government should consult the Inuit to know the repercussions it will have on their lives. Maybe the inconvenience could be minimized.

Inuit government should also benefit from the seaway as much as the Canadian government. It would make sense that the Inuit get some profit from the fees charged to the ships in transit, since the Passage runs right through of Nunavut. The government has expressed its disagreement with this request. According to officials, job creation resulting from maintenance of the passage will be sufficient to help the Inuit communities enough. The government expects most of the seaway workforce to be Inuit. Except for the job opportunities, the Inuit will not benefit financially from the Passage. Since the government used them to ensure its sovereignty over the Arctic Archipelagoes, the relocated communities should be entitled to a part of the profit.

As the First Nations groups enhance their self-determinism, arbitrary government policies will be counter-evaluated more forcefully. The relocation that occurred less than sixty years ago was defended on the premises that mentalities back then were different. However, the government still shows the same condescendence to the First Nations and seems to be repeating its previous mistakes. The development of the North will constitute in the next great challenge for the Inuit who will have to make their rights prevail over greed. Their struggle for compensation and reconciliation for the relocation has given them tools to fight the system. In addition, raised awareness within Canada and all throughout the world has given the story public exposure. It will be difficult for Canada to exclude the Inuit from future economic transactions in the North without having to face public backlash. Soon we will see how the tide turns.

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Fourth World Economics: An Integrative Approach to Economic Development in Nunavut

Katie McDougall

In 1999, one of the most significant Inuit Land Claims Agreements came into effect with the creation of Nunavut. The territory was to be governed by the Inuit, whose Thule ancestors had migrated to the land over 1000 years ago – long before British, French or Norse explorers would enter the landscape. However, one of the biggest delays in the signing of the land claim was the question as to how the land, its inhabitants, and its renewable and non-renewable resources would be governed. In 2009, Nunavut celebrated its ten year anniversary. It is argued that the Inuit-led territory is growing but still has a ways to go in its maturation process. The next phase in the development of Nunavut which has remained largely un-tackled is the issue of the economy. It is time to ask if the principles of traditional Inuit economy can be integrated into the broader Canadian economy to achieve economic development in the North, and if so, how this can be done.

In this paper, I shall argue that for sustainable economic development to occur in Nunavut, externally, each hamlet must become a comprehensive autonomous economic unit within the framework of the Canadian political economy and, internally, the territory must determine for itself the best distribution pattern within the framework of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ).

In order to reach sustainable economic development, the principles of both traditional Inuit society and the federal Canadian political economy must be compared, contrasted and satisfied. Once an integrative understanding of how the new political economy of Nunavut could proceed is established, it will be critically analyzed to determine the practicalities of this holistic approach to community development in Nunavut.

For the economy of Nunavut to survive, it must eventually break its dependence on federal transfer payments. It is for this reason that a self-sufficient, sustainable economy is so important. In terms of governance, this autonomy has already occurred. Now, ten years after the creation of

the territory, it is time for the economy to catch up. In its current state, the economy of Nunavut is struggling. Besides the problem of dependence on federal transfers, the crisis that is Nunavut's economy has local consequences. Among other things, high attrition rates in the education system have been correlated with lack of viable opportunities. The 1989 Scone Report: Building our Economic Future argued just this:

One of the most significant factors is the lack of a viable economic base in the local community. If students cannot see the results of education, if they cannot link their education to a job and a viable paycheque, there is little incentive to pursue an education...Families that were once able to live fairly independent lifestyles have now become highly dependent upon the government welfare cheque. The lack of work and dependence upon welfare has had a widespread negative impact on the native peoples, their social lives and their institutions...

Job creation cannot keep up with the high population growth and individuals struggle to find any wage employment, be it full or even part time. This is but one example among many of the economic and cultural problems of trying to simulate southern business enterprises in remote Northern microeconomies. Low employment and barely sufficient incomes amongst a sparsely populated territory do not make for a large market for goods and services. Therefore, for the economy to be successful, it must cooperate with foreign markets. Self-determination must negotiate with Canadian federal policy in order to carve out the economic discourse which is best suited to the Inuit and non-Inuit of Nunavut.

Section I: Definitions

In order to proceed with this discussion and avoid ambiguous terminology, some definitions must be clarified.

Development

This paper shall use Amartya Sen's definition of development. Differing from a strictly economic definition of development, whereby indicators such as GDP/capita and the Gini coefficient are used to rank national progress, Sen's new school of thought rather equates development with agency. Thus, when speaking of development, a more comprehensive account of social and economic conditions will be taken into account, and

when possible life chances and opportunities as opposed to crude economic growth rates will be evaluated.

Fourth World Politics

When discussing Nunavut, there is some irony to be considered. This new territory of one of the world's most 'developed' nations, with a development indicators which not only the top every list, but actually set the precedence for the course of action for the developing world. However, when taken on its own, the socio-economic situation of Nunavut is comparable to a Third World country. While the reality of a 'developed' capitalistic nation is that there is high inequality and undoubtedly an impoverished class, how is it that a whole population of a territory in its entirety can be thus marginalized?

In order to describe this phenomenon, social scientists utilize the term "Fourth World". Diverging from the Cold War connotations of the First, Second and Third World, the Fourth world is considered to be an indigenous population who make up the majority of a particular community, region or territory within a state. This 'Fourth World' region/population is generally structured as an internal colony of the larger nation-state. It is differentiated from other ethnic minorities such as immigrant populations as there is a claim of authenticity over expropriated land, and the population of the Fourth World is considered to be developmentally subordinate to the rest of the state.

This paper will use the concept of the Fourth World to understand the socio-economic relationship between the Inuit of Nunavut and the Canadian nation-state.

Section II: Principles of Traditional Inuit Economy

Since the 1950s, the economic face of the Eastern Arctic has changed drastically. Government-sponsored resettlement programs populated new towns, centred on the trinity of power in the North: Christian missionaries (usually either Anglican or Roman Catholic, depending on the area), the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading posts and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) stations. HBC debts and shifting government policy implemented by the RCMP drove the once subsistence-based Inuit into a cash-economy and rapid urbanization. Suddenly housing, wage-employment and survival became a concern. The high cost of living only further crippled the new settlements.

Today, Nunavut is still haunted by these colonial legacies. A schism is still present in the society, between the Government employment sector

and the traditional sector, and between the two currencies of Nunavut: cash and food.

Imported southern food comes with a high price tag and poor nutritional value, forcing many to have a continued reliance on “country food”. While this has been beneficial to the preservation of Inuit culture, it does little to support the search for a cash income. Those who do manage to find wage-employment face further difficulties. The distribution of country food relies on kin-based sharing patterns since not every family member can engage in the hunt, and further since the yield of one man’s hunt is usually more than sufficient to satisfy his own consumption needs. However, this is not the case for money. Sharing patterns are difficult to apply when distributing cash-income. Hence, a new system of distribution is needed in a society with two economies and two currencies.

In order to find a culturally appropriate syncretic approach to remedying these issues, the issues themselves must be considered. In order to dissect the Inuit economy, traditional activities such as hunting will be examined, followed by sharing patterns, and finally an overview of the political economy itself will round out the discussion.

Traditional Activities: Wildlife Harvesting

For hundreds of years, people have been able to survive in the harsh arctic climate thanks to their hunting and other wildlife harvesting activities. Today, despite the availability of southern food (however limited it may be), hunting and country food remain an economically, culturally and ecologically rich aspect of Inuit life.

Over the past few decades, many researchers have focused on estimating the monetary value of country food consumed each year. The estimated replacement value of country food, which includes any food coming from local sources such as seal, caribou, fish and plants, is in the tens of millions of dollars. This dollar amount does not consider the nutritional value of the meat versus the food which can be bought in stores. Those foods are generally high in sugars, saturated fats and low in certain necessary vitamins such as Vitamin D, generally drawn from the sun, which is unavailable during much of the year in the North. Thus, it can be seen that country food procured through traditional activities is highly valued in northern communities.

However, despite this high valuation, there are costs associated with wildlife harvesting. Of these associated costs, the two most prevalent are equipment and opportunity costs. Since the 1960s, Inuit dependence on imported hunting technologies has increased. While the introduction

of modern weaponry requires initial investment followed by the cost of ammunition, it is the use of snowmobiles which prove to be most costly. The initial investment in a snowmobile is comparable to that of a small car. Families often pool their resources in order to purchase one just to cover the cost of the vehicle itself, and the added cost of transporting it to Nunavut via the annual sea lift. In addition to the initial costs, there are the added associated costs of maintenance and fuel. Despite these costs, the snowmobile is the preferred mode of transportation for hunting among most Nunavummiut. Increasingly, young adults are trained on them and grow to find traditional dog sleds too slow. This is one of the ways in which the economy has found a syncretic approach combining traditional activities with updated southern technologies to increase efficiency. Similar technologies have been re-appropriated by Inuit fishers and trappers in the same manner.

High-valued foods and increased efficiency in wildlife harvesting do come with a hefty price tag. Despite the evolution of the traditional sector, fewer and fewer men go out to hunt each year. Among several reasons for this decrease in wildlife harvesting outlined by Condon et. al. are a lack of access to expensive equipment and an increasing dependence on wage employment. When the male head of households decide to go out to hunt, someone must bear the burden. The opportunity cost of a male hunter must be calculated into his choice.

For an Inuk to hunt, he requires the funds to access hunting/fishing/trapping equipment and funding for operational costs and maintenance which was estimated to be roughly \$10,000 in 1989. However, he is able to provide food for himself and his family.

On the other hand, if he was to opt to skip the hunt in favour of full time wage employment, he would have an income but there would be no guarantee that his family would receive country food from another source, which would mean a reliance on expensive imported food from the store.

Of course the decision is rarely that simple, as extraneous factors often come into play such as personal preferences, family situations, illness, or cultural significance, among many other possibilities. However, the economic choice boils down to this. Some try to supplement their hunt with part-time employment, through welfare payments, or through the sale of game (although the income associated with this is of little significance). Still, each year, young men must weigh the opportunity costs of hunting, and each year the numbers who opt for hunting seem to decrease.

Another factor of the decrease in young men who go hunting is associated with the cultural value of the hunt. For the elders in the com-

munity, 'going on the land' is crucial to an Inuk's identity. However, for the young adults in the community who were born after the resettlement, this is no longer the life which they all know. Instead, hunting has been replaced with food and video games and other elements of southern 'teen' culture. Despite this lack of personal interest in hunting, many still consider the ideology of hunting and food sharing as important to social cohesion and in providing a sense of place and self-worth in the rapidly changing Arctic.

It will be interesting to watch how this continues to evolve as Inuit youth continue to forge their own identity while taking over the hunt as their parents get older. It will also be affected as climate change continues to impact the food supply, bringing narwhales in earlier and polar bears off of melting sea ice and closer to the communities.

Talk of climate change often evokes a discussion of food security in the North. Will future generations have the opportunity to hunt? How will climate change affect the wildlife on which the Inuit depend? While scientists are working on these questions, the realities of climate change are presenting themselves more and more frequently. While images of receding glaciers and polar bears stranded on islands of melting sea ice emerge every once in awhile in southern news cycles, climate change is a very real phenomenon in the North. Ford et al. argue that although climate change is exposing vulnerabilities in social and economic development in the North, they mostly affect traditional activities such as wildlife harvesting. However, Inuit, he argues, have the capacity to adapt to the change by utilising principals of IQ and strong community cohesion. By working together, the community can adapt to the climate changes which have already occurred thus far and will continue to occur in the future. However, the youth must be sure to not let the knowledge of the elders fade away. Therefore, keen knowledge of the ecological, cultural and economic benefits of traditional activities such as wildlife harvesting will be the future of the hamlets of Nunavut. There is too much at stake if the intimate relationship between the Inuk, the community and the land is broken.

As we have already seen, country food is valued as currency in the 'mixed economies' of Nunavut. Food gains its value through consumption versus buying southern food in the store, as well as through sharing patterns. Sharing patterns determine the flow of country food and are used as a way of reinforcing kin ties. Akin to wildlife harvesting, the value of country food as currency has economic, cultural and ecological dimensions.

The economic value of sharing patterns works like a micro-economy in itself. Like the greater community, the micro-economy is a mixed

economy with two currencies. The accumulation of country food, a form of currency in itself, requires capital investment. However, as seen, the opportunity cost of hunting makes it difficult to accumulate enough income to prepare for and execute the harvest. By distributing the profits from hunting, family members support the hunter since, in a way, the family members who provide support for the hunters through either cash or other valuables such as labour, housing, electricity, clothing, etc... are 'buying' their share of country food. The traditional sharing patterns are a form of agreement between family members as to who plays what role in the micro-economy. It is thus that the household becomes the main economic unit. By viewing each micro-economy as comprised of extended families, the larger economy of a hamlet appears to be a web, with many households belonging to many different 'micro-economies'. Thus, sharing patterns are necessary for community integration and act as social insurance to ensure that no one in the community is left hungry. This, along with traditional activities, is integral to the greater Inuit political economy.

Regarding The Greater Inuit Political Economy

It has now been well established that the political economy of the Inuit communities in Nunavut can be described as a mixed economy which has the wage-employment government/private sector and the traditional sector. The driving principle behind each is capital accumulation, either in the form of cash income or of food income. However, there are some anomalies in the dichotomy. Not all food is considered a currency. While store-bought food is shared in such a way as expected by southerners (as a favour if someone asks, if there is an agreement between two people, or perhaps a parent-child relationship exists), but it is not shared in the same way as country food. Southern food is usually kept in private quarters, not sent to elders to be distributed, and would not be given as a gift to denote relationships in the way that country food may be shared between 'adopted' families (social relationships). These unspoken laws of sharing aptly demonstrate the difference between the two sectors. In particular, the government/private industry sector which is governed by capitalist ideology, and promotes personal venture and capital accumulation, whereas the traditional, subsistence sector promotes social equality and distribution.

The intersection of the two sectors is where one might find the principles of the Inuit political economy. It is the way in which the traditional has incorporated itself into the 'modernized' Canadian model of economy. The tensions between the two sectors, and two worlds, are apparent in most aspects of Inuit life. When considering the clothing of an

Inuk, it is not uncommon to see brand names such as Nike alongside an arctic hare parka or blue jeans under a pair of caribou-skin mukluks. These are ways in which the Inuit have accepted their vulnerabilities and adapted them to the harsh arctic landscape. As seen in the documentary *Qallunaat! Why White People are Funny*, even the most advanced commercial outerwear technologies have a hard time standing strong against the harsh northern winds. In the same syncretic way, refined southern foods, such as white flour, sugar, soft drinks and frozen meat, act as supplements to a diet based on country food, since they are not nutritionally sufficient on their own. The nutritional value of country food paired with the unparalleled freshness of the food makes it indispensable to adaptability in the North. This is another example of the intersection between the traditional and the southern in Nunavut.

Sex roles also play an important role in Nunavut's political economy. Unlike many areas of the world, it is women who are encouraged to pursue an education. Schooling for women leads to jobs, which are valuable and hard to come by in many communities. Childrearing is done by the extended family, not just by the biological mother. This frees up a woman's time to pursue an education, and later a career. On the other hand, men are generally seen as hunters, and less importance is put on their education. Men are seen as bearing the 'burden of tradition'. Hunting and wildlife harvest is integral to Inuit culture, thus it is the men, not the women, whose role it is to preserve and perpetuate the traditional aspects of the community. Men are still seen as the 'breadwinners', in line with many cultures, however in Nunavut traditional societies, the 'bread' which must be won is valued in terms of traditional currency, or country food, not the cash income.

The most important principle of the Inuit political economy is self-determination. The Inuit and remote northern communities face very different challenges than anywhere else in the world. Simple actions which are taken for granted in the south can be life threatening in the winter months. The harsh climate is often unforgiving. Southern institutions therefore cannot simply be transplanted in the North. It is adaptation which has allowed and still allows today for the Arctic population to thrive. It is this adaptation which gives meaning to being an Inuk living in a self-determined Inuit society.

Section III: Principles of Federal Economic Policy and Internal Colonial Relations

This view of Inuit society differs greatly from past government sen-

timents towards its northern territories. Much of the north was a land more foreign to many Canadians than deep in the Amazon or in the Sahara desert. Little was known about the people who 'live in snow houses' until recently, as reflected by federal policy toward the Canadian North which has still not quite shed its colonial sentiments. The Canadian Government has vested interest in the land north of the 60th parallel. From megaprojects such as the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline to geopolitical concerns, the Arctic has been of growing interest in the past few decades. Questions over areas not yet mapped and how Inuit should be governed overwhelm Northern interest groups. Since the mid 20th Century, the federal government has launched an interdisciplinary approach to northern development – be it social, economic or resource development. Since the settlement of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA), the question as to how it would be governed has been laid to rest – at least in theory. Part of the NLCA was that Inuit have the right to self-determination. However, little has been done to get Nunavut off of its transfer payment life support. Today, over ten years after the creation of the Territory, Nunavut still relies more heavily than any other province or Territory on equalization and transfer payments from the federal government. In addition, the majority of available jobs are in fact government positions. In order for the economy of Nunavut to be self-sufficient and thus self-determined, it must first relinquish its lifelines from the Canadian federal government and develop within the framework of the greater Canadian political economy.

Environmental Sustainability

Firstly of growing importance in the Canadian context and the Global political economy context is climate change. Nowhere on earth is more affected by this than the Polar Regions. Industries are trying to go "green", however, this often seems to be just a catchphrase which people quickly forget when profit margins and recessions enter the conversation. When discussing the North and aboriginal business, this cannot be the case. Much of what Nunavut has to offer economically is renewable and non-renewable resources. Development and extraction of these resource-rich sites can only be considered and executed if environmental sustainability is kept in mind. The Inuit of Nunavut operate in a very delicate ecosystem which is already at risk due to climate change and overfishing. However, it can be argued, that using Southern-style business development programs and adapting them to operate according to principles of IQ could carve out a new economic discourse for Northern microeconomies.

Renewable And Non-Renewable Resource Development

As previously stated, the future of Nunavut is in the development and extraction of the arctic's renewable and non-renewable resources. One of the major renewable resources in the arctic is its wildlife. In fact, this source of northern wealth was what initially attracted the Hudson's Bay Company to explore and set up posts in the area. Today, the system of the extraction of renewable resources, mainly traditional wildlife harvesting activities, has already developed a sophisticated system of rights through permits and quotas, of extraction through new and traditional hunting technologies and of distribution through sharing patterns. While this system is highly important to Inuit, the value of the products of wildlife harvest lessens as they travel south.

Thus the problem from the government standpoint is that the harvest is necessary to the survival of Inuit, however it has little value in terms of 'real dollars'. Since the Inuit have little opportunity to make money off their game, they rely on social assistance payments, which is part of the reason that Nunavut relies so heavily on transfer payments. Ideas on how to remedy this multifaceted problem have been floating around for a long time. Should there be government subsidies on seal skins as there are in Greenland? And with the ban of seal skins in the European Union, who will buy the skins?

Somehow, hunting needs to be recognized as full time wage-employment. Food is a social currency which binds the community and its value must be measured as such. However, the Territory does not have the funds to subsidize hunting, so if the translation from food currency into dollars were to happen, it would have to come from the federal government level. It is crucial for Nunavut to shift from being a transfer economy to economic independence in order to stop being related to as a colony. I propose that this could be done through the recognition of a mixed economy with two currencies, organized through each hamlet's system of division of labour. In order to understand what is meant by this, we must first understand the situation of non-renewable resources in the Canadian Arctic.

Today, many Canadian policy makers recognize the future of Nunavut to lie in non-renewable resource development. In 2007, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Hon. Chuck Strahl released a statement saying "It is essential that we maximize the potential benefits of resource-development projects, while protecting the environment, and to do that we must have predictable, effective and efficient regulatory systems across the North." The federal government recognizing the wealth is important to the future of Nunavut; however how the resource extraction will occur

is pivotal to the well being of the communities. If, as could be the case of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, Inuit are forced into low skilled jobs and become a cog in the machine, alienated from their product in the most Marxist of senses, then is the resulting income worth it? More importantly, is this sort of job creation a legitimate step towards social development? Amartya Sen would disagree. According to Sen, development requires a level of agency. If individuals are forced into low-skilled jobs in order to survive, then that is not a life worth living. Manifestations of these sentiments are seen in Aboriginal communities where instances of alcoholism and drug abuse tear apart hamlets. As well, Canada's northern Aboriginal people see resource development as a major threat to their land and their way of life. It was this that propelled many of them to press for settlement of their land claims in the first place.

However, this alienation can be avoided. The resource-development projects must be the initiatives of local communities. If the projects are the product of local interest, using local knowledge of the land, then instead of infringing on Inuit sense of place, it can even bolster it. The agency derived from the self-determination of the local economy would give a sense that an education can pay off, and that there are local opportunities. While it may take a few generations to incorporate the value of an education, it must start somewhere. Thus, resource-development in the North must include a portion of funding to loans, and contracts to Inuit in neighbouring areas.

The Comparative Advantage Of Canada's Arctic Hinterland

A colonial legacy resounding from British and French occupation of our land is the creation of Canada's heartland and hinterland. Canada's approach to economic development has not been traditional to question this unequal relationship, rather to build upon it. The development of the resource-rich hinterland has always been to introduce the business and wage labour economy for the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources. This commercialization of exploitation in the hinterland has been especially devastating to Canada's aboriginal populations. The federal government has for years been importing business and exporting resources as if the barren lands were uninhabited. Only recently has the mandate of the government changed, requiring a percentage of all contracts to be given to aboriginal businesses when available. This is a step in the right direction; however there are still kilometres to go.

In and of itself, the principle of division of labour is not bad if used cautiously, as it aims to improve material standards of living. However, if

care is not taken, the improvement can become unequal. This is more easily avoided when implemented on a smaller scale, and particularly when all parties have a vested interest in the success of the economy. Each remote Northern hamlet works in a way as its own microeconomy. If the division of labour occurs within the community itself, it is possible to develop an economy which works as its own autonomous economic unit. A perfect example of this is the Makivik Corporation in Nunavik. The product of the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, Makivik aims to control all of the area's business and uses its profits for social and community development while ensuring the implementation of the land claim agreements. This sort of system finds great potential in Nunavut.

Through incorporating a town, there is the possibility of formalizing the mixed economy with dual currencies. The head of the corporation would be in charge of distributing profits according to modernized sharing patterns, just as is done with country food. This system would also provide a sense of individual and community agency, while giving it legitimacy within the Canadian political economy. Thus, development could occur concurrently with the shedding of colonial relations. The implementation of such a project, however, greatly depends on the question of education.

Section IV: Practical Application of the Integrative Approach

Now that we see that northern and southern economic approaches can be compatible, here is how they may materialize in an integrated approach to economic development for northern communities, similar to the Makivik Corporation. First, hamlets must take over the management/ownership of corporations in their areas. Once owned by the hamlet, efforts must be made to make the management policies compatible with the principles of Inuit qaujimaqatugangit. Next, the newly owned companies would have to merge and 'nationalize', giving each community member a share. There would be this need to distribute shares so that even non-wage-employers in the traditional sector who provide the food still benefit and to ensure that everyone has an equally vested interest in the success of the company. Finally, it would be crucial that once the businesses pick up, a percentage of the profits must be reinvested into community development in a way which benefits the whole. A form of this development may come as micro-financing loans to individuals to access start-up capital for their own economic ventures, be they in the traditional or economic sectors. Admittedly, this is an idealistic discourse which is sure to face many obstacles along the way if it were ever to be implemented, however it is in the adaptation of this model that each community would make it its own.

In order to develop the sort of integrative approach mentioned, there must first be a satisfaction between the dual economy and dual currencies. Both must have an established equal value in society. This does not mean simply exchanging the value of country food into Canadian dollars. Rather, it must be approached as a separate necessity. The best way to socialize a community in aspects of social change, such as the overhaul of northern economies, is through education. However, this cannot come in the form of education in the southern sense. Education must be rethought, incorporating community-led, Arctic-specific learning. In Quallunaat! Why White Men are Funny, jokes were made about learning Dick and Jane; however this is a serious concern. Education must be made locally-applicable and seek to bringing the community together, share ideas, and teach English as well as Inuktitut. School should be used as a way to teach Inuit history, the importance of Inuit culture, as well as hunting techniques and Inuit knowledge. This does not necessarily have to follow the classroom model, whereby education is done indoors and a school year lasts ten months of the year. Again, as with business, each community has its own unique set of extraneous circumstances. Education does not have to mean students in a room with a blackboard. Instead, it should be about principles of local relevance, building on the education of each generation before. It is thus that progress thrives and all around development can occur in every sector of life.

This new phase of Inuit economies in Nunavut can only occur if it has the cooperation of all parties. Internally, each Inuk must be committed to education, to modernizing the traditional and to social and economic development as a whole. Externally, each economic unit must act within the framework of the Canadian political economy, breaking colonial relations. It is in this way that a new economic discourse may emerge and Nunavut can discover a new way to coexist with the rest of Canada.

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Pang Days

Story and Photos by Lindsay Terry

Pangnirtung is a small, traditional Inuit community located on Baffin Island in Nunavut. During the 1920s, Pang was a trading post and was not inhabited as a community until the 1960s.

I spent six weeks in Pang as a student of University of Manitoba's annual summer "bush school", while also doing independent research on Inuit systems of knowledge and how they pertain to the development of a Nunavut curriculum. (continued)



Uptown Pang, facing coastal fjord.

During this time, myself along with 25 students from across Canada studied the language, history and culture of the eastern arctic, which included living off the land and learning the traditional methods of hunting and preparing food and clothing.

“I believe we are at a point in our modern history... where graduating more kids from our schools is considered our number one priority. I say this because... ‘all trails lead back to the success or failure of our education system” - Mary Simon, President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Although Nunavut is quite young as a territory, changes are gradually being implemented towards an educational curriculum that adheres to cultural relevance and an Inuit centered curriculum, which includes the traditional ecological knowledge of elders. There were several educational programs taking place in Pang that emphasized these values and were offered for credit towards participating students’ high school diploma. These are important steps towards improving educational quality in northern communities of Nunavut, a territory that still follows the Alberta curriculum. Place-based education is one pedagogical approach that has roots in environmental education and emphasizes the doctrine of living well in one’s community. This can be tangibly approached by taking into account the unique characteristics of a community that work to bridge the divide between education and community through contextualizing student learning that covers a broad spectrum of disciplines. At the signing of the Inuit education accord on April 2, 2009 (Nunavut’s 10th birthday), national president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Mary Simon noted that:

our school system must be a place that you want to come to... everyday...to learn our language ...to learn about our rich history ...and ultimately...be a place that opens the world to you.

Simon’s plea for the necessity of an Inuit centered education bears likeness to place-based education, which emphasizes issues that are rooted in the local culture that ultimately pertain to the relevance of larger international issues that tend to dominant and be the primary focus in contemporary classrooms.

For more information on the University of Manitoba’s Summer Bush School, visit the university’s website, and if you’re interested in learning more about Lindsay’s research and love of Inuit knowledge, check out her blog at <http://pangnirtuuqsummerschool2009.blogspot.com/>



For the greater part of the summer months, Pang, like most of the arctic, is filled with the midnight sun, a phenomenon of atmospheric contraction that causes 24-hour daylight.



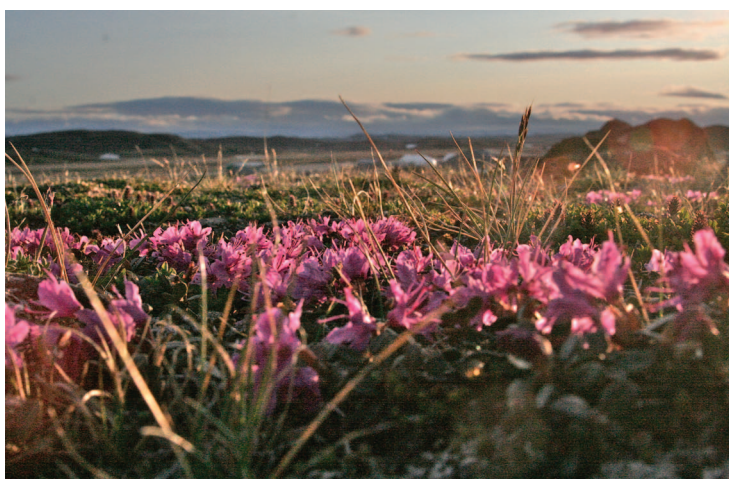
. This shot was taken on July 31st, the first day dusk began to settle into Pang.



Temperatures in Pang reached a record making 20+ degrees in July, which made swimming in glacial runoff slightly more feasible.



Pang is equipped with excellent facilities that include an adult education centre, cultural centre, a healing centre and two secondary schools. Behind is the Pang “hill” (with its deceptive incline) where the visiting students camped for the duration of the program.





Photos by Lindsay Terry

Anishinaabemowin

Zoongitoodaa: Let's Strengthen the Ojibway Language

Jamie Ross

We have to maintain who we are, who our mothers and fathers wanted us to be.

So we have to honor that. And honoring your mother is speaking Anishinaabemowin, because that's who we are. And we are also bilingual, because the relationships we have with the Western world, that's our reality. So we have to be bilingual, we have to be bi-cultural. We have to exist in both worlds. But it doesn't mean we have to lose our predominant existence.

Wilf Cyr, Nagachiwaanong,
Ontario (Waasa-Inaabidaa)

From the rice lakes of Minnesota to the forests of Northern Ontario, from the streets of Toronto and Minneapolis to the shores along the stormy waters of Gichi-gami, live the Ojibway. Their language, Anishinaabemowin, is the third most widely spoken indigenous language in Canada. The language can be heard in cities and communities scattered throughout Ontario, Manitoba, Quebec, Saskatchewan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Oklahoma,¹ spoken by about 46 000 Anishinaabeg². Through an overview of the diversity of both contexts and the strategies being put to use for the revitalization of the language, I will challenge some of the established notions of language revitalization. Ultimately, the idea of bilingualism as an explicit goal of language work will be explored.

Like most of the indigenous languages of North America, the survival of Anishinaabemowin is threatened in many ways. The degree to which it is spoken and transmitted intergenerationally varies widely. In some communities it is by far the dominant language and it enjoys complete

intergenerational transmission; in others, it appears moribund, with only a handful of elderly speakers. In some, a wide range of highly technologically advanced language revitalization programs are in effect and in others, absolutely nothing is in place. In many ways it is improper to speak of Anishinaabemowin as a single monolithic entity or speech community, in the way national languages are spoken of in Western contexts. The national languages of Europe went through painful periods of forced standardization in the course of nation-building, destroying rich local dialect difference. This is something which has not happened to indigenous languages. This diversity makes the work of strengthening the language harder. There can be no single centralized Ojibway language policy or materials simply because the language differs so much internally and unlike the languages of Western nation states, there is no move to remove local autonomy by forming a centralized language authority. Whatever language planning that is to happen must come from communities themselves and be tailored to fit that community's needs. We must keep this in mind – when talking about a language we enter into a place of abstraction that is far removed from the multiplicity of realities which exist in the minds and mouths of people.

There is an ongoing philosophical debate in Linguistics about the value of language revitalization efforts, and whether they should be carried out at all. Some take the view of language as inherently shifting and to fight against the decline of one is to fight against an inevitability. That all languages change is a fact, and one used by some Linguists to disengage from the politicized struggles of endangered language communities to strengthen their languages. Impassioned cries have been uttered in opposition to this disengaged view of linguistic change – pointing to the vicious attempts to wipe out languages in an attempt to ultimately do the same to their speakers. Some people frame the struggles for language maintenance in terms of human rights, and others of human cultural biodiversity, but ultimately the reasons are irrelevant. A people's language is integral to that people, and it is crucial that that group be permitted the right to determine the future of their languages for themselves.

The Severn Ojibway community of Bizhiw-zaaga'igan (Cat Lake, Ontario) is representative of one of the ends of the spectrum in which Ojibway communities find themselves with regards to the maintenance of their language. This community is located approximately 180 kilometers north of Waaninaawagaang (Sioux Lookout), itself located in far northern Ontario and is accessed by regular flights and winter roads. In the sociolinguistic ethnography entitled *Making It Their Own*, Lisa Valentine

attributes their aboriginal language's vitality to this remoteness: "that every Native member of the community uses Severn Ojibway within the home, and that most use it in all daily transactions" (29). Not only is Ojibway the de facto language of the home and community, they are served by a community radio station, newspapers and television in the native language. There is universal literacy in the syllabic writing system similar to the one used to write Cree, another language with which a large proportion of Bizhiw-zaaga'igan have a good familiarity, expertly peppering their oral arts with Cree on the radio (which Valentine studied closely). They are also served by the Catholic Church in their native language. While Severn Ojibway is the language of the home, and usually the language of all interaction, English has gained some foothold in the community (Valentine 29-30). And there are mounting pressures on the language. Schooling took place entirely in English when Valentine conducted field work in 1995. At present, two neighbour communities implemented a Junior Kindergarten-Grade 1 'bilingual program', and while only around 10% of the population speaks English at Cat Lake, it is unclear how well the community's isolation can preserve its language with the pressures of a dominant language (Lovisek).

Beyond the aspects of Northern Ojibway traditional society that distinguish it from that of its southern neighbours, it would seem like Ojibway communities in the south are a world apart with regards to language retention. The situation is completely reversed in these areas, with an elderly minority speaking the native language in the Wisconsin reservation of Waaswaagoning (Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin). Joe Chosa, an elder, was raised with the language tells:

I had trouble speaking the English language in school. I'll never forget the time I told my grandfather, I was having a little trouble with some of the words, and I told my grandfather one day,

'Why is grandma always talking Indian to me?'

You know, I talked to him in Indian. I told him,

'You know, I have a hard time in school and she knows she can help me.'

And he said,

'Well, she'll help you. You sit down, I'm going to tell you something. If you're going to keep wondering about why you learned to talk the Indian language.

Ingoding giga-waabamaa inini biidaasimosed, da anishinaabe wonaagozi. Gaawiin dash oga-gashkitoonsiin da anishinaabemo.' [You'll see the day when you'll see a

young Indian man walking towards you. He will have all the features of an Indian person, you won't mistake him for anybody else. But he won't be able to talk the language] (Tornes 153).

Joe Chosa, born in 1921, managed to stay out of boarding school, where so many of his generation were punished for speaking their native language. Raised by his grandparents, who encouraged him in his speech, he is one of the only fluent Anishinaabemowin speakers left (Tornes 147).

One of the greatest problems languages face when they reach a certain degree of decline in any speech community is that of attrition, or the case of a fluent speaker losing their mother tongue. In Waaswaagoning, some people of Joe Chosa's generation recall being fluent speakers long ago:

I could [speak Ojibway]. My mother could talk it fluently. But after a while, I'd ask her a word, she couldn't remember it because she had no one to talk to. It just gradually disappears. Now some of the words I never thought of come back to me once in a while. My cousin lives in Chicago, I was down visiting him one night. He asked me how to say tobacco, and of all the things in the world I couldn't remember it until I got back here (Tornes 95).

Sometimes this is the result of there being fewer and fewer people to talk to in the language, but equally it is representative of internalized racism and inferiority which was so often the result of time at residential school, especially among the oldest generations who grew up in the first half of the 20th century. Negative attitudes about native identity, culture and language were internalized as a result of brutal linguistic genocidal policies inherent to residential schools. Physical abuse was common (Tornes 2004). Attrition can therefore be attributed to outside efforts to eliminate the language in the case of speakers who choose not to speak or pass the language on. As will be seen later, these structural factors will become the target of one aspect of the language revitalization efforts.

These two cases are broadly representative of the continuum along which communities in Canada and the United States lie. In general, American communities fare worse than Canadian ones in terms of absolute number of speakers. However, according to linguist Anton Treuer

from Gaa-zagaskwaajimekaag (Leech Lake, Minnesota), “many Canadian communities are a little more unaware of how dire the status of the language is. There are usually fewer people percentage-wise in Canada with college degrees, teaching credentials, PhDs, etc. People in the US are aware of how bad it is and have more experience with grants and institutional development but have fewer language people to pull into their programs” (personal communication 2009). In Canada more northerly communities generally have more intergenerational transmission, and therefore fare better in longer term outlooks. However, as we have seen in Bizhiw-zaaga’igan (Cat Lake), children are still being taught in monolingual dominant-language (English) school environments. Unfortunately, the lessons of communities with the greatest language loss are not being shared with those who may not recognize the signs of language loss until it may be too late.

Revitalizing Languages

The revitalization of indigenous languages takes many forms, and communities of Anishinaabeg are currently employing many of them on one scale or another. People often target the structural factors which have resulted in the language’s low status, both within the speech community and in non-native society. According to Hornberger’s (1991) framework of language planning, the array of strategies of working with an indigenous language can be divided into three domains: status planning (relating to language use and to larger issues of its place in society), acquisition planning (relating to learning) and corpus planning (relating to the language itself). Status and corpus planning encompasses standardization of dialect and orthography, officialization/nationalization and proscription. Essentially this is work which often takes place beyond the level of the local community. This is inherently problematic because it depends on increasing the language’s value to outsiders, which does little to address the need for non-native approval.

Symbolic strategies such as reclaiming place names can succeed at enhancing the public profile and awareness of the language within the community and outside it. David Crystal suggests a five-step strategy to effect a greater prestige for the speakers of a language within the dominant community (2000):

1. increase their wealth
2. increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community

3. have a strong presence in the education system
4. can write down the language
5. can make use of electronic technology.

The idea on which this theory rests is that fluent speakers will participate to a fuller degree in the transmission and use of their language dependent on greater pride in it but also, a greater image leads to increased interest among learners. Such top-down strategies address the complicated issues of identity and pride so often tied into language shift – and directly address the role identity has to play with issues of language use. People who are proud of their heritage will be more likely to speak or learn their heritage language. Furthermore, people who have a stable foundation in their native languages are better equipped to deal with bi-cultural living (Hoover 1995). It is unfortunate, however, that Crystal's model focuses on perceptions of the endangered language community "in the eyes of the dominant community," where the more central aspect of pride can just as easily be based within the indigenous community itself, rather than seeking seeking the validation of a historically oppressive community.

Joshua Fischman's (1991) theory of reversing language shift (RLS) emphasizes teaching of the language in the home and at the most intimate community levels first. The primary goal, is to achieve a strong home use of the language before focusing on the 'strong side' of language shift, that being the aspects of power-sharing in which speakers of the indigenous language go about gaining greater self-determination and power in the society at large. While he admits efforts may be implemented in any order, and simultaneous engagement of any of the levels may be beneficial, he stresses the 6th step out of 8: "the intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family neighbourhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission. The primary goal of reversing language shift is to reinstate intergenerational transmission of a particular language-in-culture pattern" (King 208-9).

According to this linear model, schools, media, government and education are domains in which to focus revitalization efforts only after the language has reached a critical mass of intergenerational transmission (here termed diglossia). This view sends some positive messages to communities. It asserts that the home is the heart of language revitalization, but it offers little insight into the rationale for saving some potentially powerful tools for language strengthening until a previous stage is attained. The concept of a revitalization strategy suited for a particular stage of language decline is reductionist. To suggest that communities not use all the resources at

their disposal is to ultimately harm their efforts. Most of the tools of these three models are currently in use in Ojibway country.

On the level of status, political bodies such as the Anishinaabek (formerly the Union of Ontario Indians), a political group comprised of most of the Ojibway communities in southern Ontario, has made Anishinaabemowin its official language. The Taskforce on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures (2005) of the Ministry of Canadian Heritage calls for the recognition of all aboriginal languages as national languages by Canada, demonstrating their equal value and importance with French and English. Many First Nations have emphasized their Anishinaabemowin names over their English ones. In the media realm, literature, educational and otherwise, is being produced on both sides of the border. An Anishinaabemowin academic journal, *Oshkaabewis*, is published by Bemidji State University, Minnesota. Radio, newspapers and television are being produced on a local level as well. Traditional and non-traditional music is being produced in Anishinaabemowin on a small scale; there are textbooks, websites and tapes. *Waawaate News* provides a printed newspaper as well as radio available to Ojibway and Cree communities across northern Ontario, both of which are available online through *Waawaate Aajimowinan Biiwaabikok*. Theater is being produced in Anishinaabemowin as well as films. A medium-length mystery entirely in Anishinaabemowin was produced by the National Film Board of Canada in 1999.

Urban Community

Just over half of all aboriginal people in Canada live off-reserve, in towns and cities. Some exciting language revitalization work is being done in Toronto, Canada's largest city, which has the third largest aboriginal population, some 32 000 people, mostly of Ojibway descent (Statscan). The *Ciimaan Language Initiative* started in early 2009 as a pilot project of *Miziwe Biik Aboriginal Employment & Training* and *Mikinaakokamink*, University of Toronto's Centre for Aboriginal Initiatives, as a community project to promote the learning of Anishinaabemowin while simultaneously developing transferable job-skills for the participants. In less than a year it has become an active constellation of people and community organizations united in the fight for empowerment and decolonization through language acquisition.

Ciimaan, which means boat in Anishinaabemowin, operates on two different levels: primarily in developing and implementing programs and events for the community at large as well as strengthening the core members' language skills. Alex Mackay, of *Kitchenuhmaykoosib*, in

northern Ontario explains the name's meaning as representing the initiative's goals to be 'a vehicle for the development of skilled bicultural navigators in an urban environment'. Job skills such as group facilitation, event planning, volunteer coordination, web design, audio editing, and ceremonial assistance to elders are developed alongside linguistic skills. It brings together youth from various communities and backgrounds, native, Metis, and non-native. Inclusion is an important quality of this group – one that goes deeper than membership. They stress that the linguistic divisions of dialect can serve to separate what they consider to be the same language. Most of the resources around Ciimaan are from the northwestern Ontario region commonly called Severn Ojibway, which can differ strongly from more southern varieties and Odawa, which is sometimes considered a separate language in its own right. To Ciimaan, it's all one language, regardless how it is written⁴.

The first main aspect of the project is the personal language skills work of the project leaders. Anishinaabe thought permeates the educational techniques used within the group, which emphasize oral, and peer-based, less didactic methods. The role of teacher shifts among the core members of the group. Teaching material is created by Mackay and Maya Chacaby, the project's head. Brilliantly, even the very grammatical models used in teaching have been reclaimed. Verbal paradigms are expressed with a clear circular diagram devised by Chacaby, aligning grammar with traditional teachings of the Medicine Wheel. Their group language learning also plays a role in the development of curriculum which will be used in other situations beyond the core group. The group provided extended immersion experiences in the form of five-day language immersion camp at Curve Lake First Nation in southern Ontario in collaboration with Nijkwendidaa, a group of local elders.

Giles Benaway, a group leader from Bkejwanong (Walpole Island), in Southwestern Ontario, stresses that the focus for the leaders and for the project as a whole is not just to familiarize Anishinaabeg with their language, but rather "to maintain a core cultural context in order to facilitate active decolonization" (Ciimaan Newsletter). The goal is to make Anishinaabemowin a living language of the modern city, outside of the university which houses the program, and where it originated.

The members speak with pride and excitement about the projects they are actively involved in, and when all the partnerships are accounted for, the group's real power and vitality starts to become very apparent. They have started a series of consultations with the parents of Toronto's native child care centres Gizhaadaawgamik to assess Anishinaabemowin needs

and interest, and have teamed up with Early Childhood Education agency Mothercraft and Native Child & Family Services to start to work with children's acquisition and providing resources to parents. They are offering their services to the parents at the First Nations Elementary School in Toronto. With students at that school, they will work with Native Earth Performing Arts in developing theatre projects as part of a greater project which is just unfolding, to be included in a documentary about Anishinaabemowin learning and cultural reclamation in Toronto.

Operation Full Insurance took members of the team to Naawash First Nation, where they were put to use digitizing oral material from elders for the use of those within the community and potentially outside it too. Also in the works is a resource database called Tehsopitaasowin, which will make all their language resources available online. One major direction they are working towards seems to be the use of technology in increasing the availability of language models and grammatical resources for those who want it.

One of the most popular programs which Ciimaan has brought into being is the Language Social, bringing people together for an evening of fun guided talk from Bingo to speed dating. They have hosted socials at various locations in Toronto and around Ojibway country. Through this as well as language learner honouring ceremonies, they have brought people together to really form an urban community. Ciimaan serves as an example of a group that is injecting life and creativity into the language by utilizing all the tools at their disposal. It is my sincere hope that they can serve as a model for other communities trying to strengthen their languages.

Immersion & Schooling

Despite these powerful methods of ensuring the language's resurgence, immersion programs for children are the best place for language activists focus their efforts to restore wide intergenerational transmission. In the Ojibway territories there are many elementary second language programs, usually limited to the early grades at schools on reservations and in cities. There are around thirty college-level courses offered. Many communities and cities have adult second language programs as well. There are also full immersion preschools: the Biidaaban Kinooaagemak at the Sagamok First Nation near Sudbury, Ontario is one such program with immersion in Kindergarten and Grade 1 and second language classes until Grade 8. The Waadookodaading Ojibwe Immersion School is another example, which offers full immersion from Junior Kindergarten until Grade 4 at Odaawaa-zaaga'iganiing (Lac Courte Oreilles, Wisconsin). Research

repeatedly supports immersion as the most promising form of schooling for fluency however the resources (monetary, human and curricular) to form such programs are in very short supply.

Unfortunately, simply setting up school programs in the aboriginal language is far from enough to ensure vitality. As Mary Hermes attests to in her field work on four American schools' Anishinaabemowin second language classes, the classroom can be a problematic place for the acquisition of language and culture (2005). A common sentiment among Ojibway elders is, as expressed by Marlene Stately, of Gaa-zagaskwaajimekaag (Leech Lake): "All Indian people should speak their native language. You will be pulled to the ways of the Anishinaabe people, to speak and to learn our cultural values" (Waasa-Inaabidaa. Episode Six). The theory of Linguistic Relativity states that a language determines a person's thoughts (the degree to which this is true is the subject of much debate), and elders' sentiments often seem to express these beliefs. However, Hermes finds that too often in second language classrooms, the target language is taught through English translation equivalents – through an English conceptual lens, to the detriment of the children's language and cultural learning (2005). Children may be able to speak the language, but without any of the cultural intricacies which are learned when the language is alive and mediates the experience of everyday life.

The classroom can be a significant detriment to revitalization movements for this reason – by giving a false sense of security. In the cases where the students are actually learning the language, what stilted, artificial aspects of the environment in which it was learned embed themselves in the children's minds? "Language initiatives limited to the school have little maintenance or renewal effect," according to Freeman & Stairs (1995). In the example of an Ojibway community on Chi-minising (Manitoulin Island, Ontario), the parents became complacent once a 20-minute daily language program was established (Freeman & Stairs 1995). When the learning enters the domain of the school, it can often leave the domain of the community, only serving to further the language's decline! This only furthers a pattern in which the speakers are alienated from the language and the indigenous language becomes a foreign language within the community itself. There is a very real danger when revitalization programs target schools at the behest of other locales of language use. What use is a language if it cannot be used and lived by a people? We are brought back to the kitchens and living rooms.

Nevertheless, there are successes associated with school-based programs. Anton Treuer points to the case of the Maori, who, like the

Ojibway, have been widely literate in their native language. There are early immersion schools set up which are seeing great advances. Furthermore, looking beyond the primary goals of schooling programs it is repeatedly found that the cognitive developmental benefits are worth the effort involved. According to Tueuer, “The Waadookodaading Ojibwe Immersion Charter School has a 100% pass rate in English but their teachers never speak English to the kids. The same cohort at the English-instructed school next door has a 60% pass rate on the tests in English when they are taught in English” (personal communication). The same is reported by Fred Genessee at the Kahnawake Survival School immersion program (Hoover 1992). “When kids learn their language and know themselves, the attendant self esteem it develops translates into success at everything. It’s the same with first language learners. If there was one simple the answer everyone would have done it already. However, school-based and community based education is our best hope” (Treuer).

Time and again the issue of intergenerational transmission returns. The heart of any language is its mother tongue speakers, which makes the job of institutionalized language revitalization so difficult. Schools and media may provide help, but for a language to really live, it must be spoken by a critical mass of fluent mother tongue speakers, and precious little can actively persuade someone to speak a language. The reason immersion seems to work so well, when combined with otherwise positive conditions, is that children acquire language so effortlessly in their early childhood (the Critical Period Hypothesis, Lenneberg 1967). The language children receive in their pre-adolescent years also remains with them remarkably well, so if a child receives sustained fluent language input in their early years, they can access it if they decide to build on it at a later point in life.

However, linguists point to the potential problems of children learning languages from non-fluent speakers – in that the non-fluent learner is giving a structurally imperfect model of grammar to the child, which can result in cognitive problems. Language acquisition specialists suggest that parents should always speak a language in which they are fluent (Chambers 1995). While this situation is far from ideal, learning more than one language from early childhood (simultaneous bilingualism) can only benefit them cognitively, as long as the child hears one language from a fluent speaker.

The goals of Anishinaabemowin revitalization are not to isolate from the dominant languages, but rather to restore a sustained bilingualism. As Nettle and Romaine so succinctly put it:

Rather than lament the loss of monolingualism, we should embrace the gain of bilingualism. Many minority languages will survive only as second languages in the future, but that is no small victory . . . Bilingualism has for a long time suffered from bad press. The overwhelming majority of references to it in the media still stress its alleged disadvantages, both to societies and individuals. Bilingualism is not something mysterious, abnormal, or unpatriotic, but has been an unremarkable necessity for most of humanity (190-1).

Sustained bilingualism stands as an attainable goal for the Ojibway people, and, while it will require much work, success is already manifesting itself in the work done in communities such as Ciimaan in Toronto.

The desire for indigenous peoples all over the world to assert their rights to self-determination has united them in an effort to preserve their languages, cultures and lands.
(Nettle and Romaine 2002).

It is within this context that Anishinaabemowin can survive – as integral to the struggle for self-determination. Survival cannot depend on legislation, schools, community perception or on any single solution. A multi-level, community-driven approach infused with the strength and determination of those who love their language is needed. Communities must learn to use every single tool in their arsenal to fight tooth and nail for the preservation of their language. The greatest need of all is for people with passion and intensity to instill in communities an understanding of the value and power of what is at stake and the urgency with which action must be taken. With the talent and dedication of creative language workers and the continued will of communities, the language will not only survive but it will flourish.

Nota Bene

1. Anishinaabemowin covers a vast territory and is divided into an aggregation of dialects (5-9) which vary to the point of near-mutual incomprehension. The situation is complicated with regards to how communities and linguists categorize the languages and dialects. For example, some speakers of Severn

Ojibway in Northern Ontario consider their language to be Cree. Linguists report that the language spoken at Kitigan Zibi (Maniwaki, Quebec) and Pikwakanagan (Golden Lake, Ontario) is closer to Southeastern Ojibway than northern dialects of Algonquin. Prominent Ojibway linguist Randolph Valentine categorizes all Algonquin as a dialect of Ojibway. While this can be problematic for dialectologists and statisticians, the natural diversity of all languages is something positive and to be cherished. Dialects serve to detail linguistic particularities of speech which follow geographical patterns. However, they are also tools of division and create arbitrary barriers which work against the strengthening of the language.

2. The terminology chosen for clarity's sake is Ojibway, the most common spelling in Canada, to refer to the people; and Anishinaabemowin, the language's ethnonym, to refer to the language.
3. Original quote: "Gakina ebimaadiziwaad anishinaabemowaad. Mii go ji maajii-wiigoshkayeg ji izhitwaayeg, ji gikendameg, ji gikendamowaad gaye ezhitwaawaad igo gidanishinaabeg, giwiiiji-anishinaabemong, ji anishinaabemoyeg."
4. Ciimaan uses both syllabic orthography (rare in southern communities and never used in the United States) and Severn double-vowel Roman orthography (used in writing the Severn variety rather than the Fiero double-vowel Roman orthography used in the South).

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The Assimilating Effects of Federal and Provincial Language Policies in Quebec on Aboriginal Language Retention

Quinn Albaugh

According to Canada's 2001 Census, only 24 percent of self-identified aboriginal people (defined as including First Nations, Inuit and Métis) have enough knowledge of an aboriginal language to carry on a conversation. The 2006 Census demonstrated similar results; however, it noted a disparity between First Nations groups and the Inuit, in which only 29 percent of First Nations people are able to carry on a conversation in an aboriginal language, while 69 percent of the Inuit can do the same. Lewis (2009) reports that Canada is home to at least 19 endangered aboriginal languages, including Western Abnaki, spoken on the Abnaki Reserve southwest of Trois Rivières, Quebec. Language retention is a particular issue for aboriginal groups in general because, as MacMillan (1998) observes, they often view language as integral to their culture or identity; for example, Eli Taylor of the Sioux Valley Reserve in Manitoba argued that "our native language embodies a value system about how we ought to live and relate to each other...without our language, we will cease to exist as a separate people" (181). Furthermore, Wright observes that language preservation is often recognized as valuable, particularly because language can serve as "a robust marker of group membership" (2004 225) or because each language may offer a different perspective on the world that is not reproducible in another language (2004 219-221) or because knowledge of certain languages is necessary to contact the past within that language's cultural tradition (2004 223).

Due to this lack of aboriginal language retention and concerns about aboriginal language loss, the Assembly of First Nations, along with other aboriginal groups, have advocated changes to Canada's language policies, including elevating aboriginal languages to equal status with English and French, mandating that "legislative or other instruments directed at Aboriginal peoples be prepared either in print or for broadcast in the several Aboriginal languages" and that the government provide services in

aboriginal languages in areas with substantial numbers of speakers of those languages (MacMillan 1998 181-182). MacMillan has responded to this by arguing that aboriginal languages should not have equal status with English or French due to the presence of a “one-hundredfold difference in size (between French and the largest Aboriginal language),” which offers a rationale for distinguishing in language policy between francophone demands for status and those of aboriginal language speakers (1998 183), though MacMillan also acknowledges that “a case can be made that Aboriginal peoples ought to enjoy special privileges to education in their languages as part of a societal effort to support the rekindling of these languages” (202). This literature demonstrates a need to examine the issue of aboriginal language retention within the context of federal and provincial language policies, in order to assess what role language policy plays in aboriginal language retention.

Quebec in particular offers an illustrative case. In Quebec, both federal and provincial language policies act to promote certain languages – federally, this means official bilingualism of French and English, whereas provincially, this means French alone, though there are some provisions for aboriginal languages, particularly Cree and Inuktitut, within the Charter of the French Language (commonly known as Bill 101), a chief component of provincial language laws. Furthermore, Quebec has both First Nations and Inuit populations, which allows for a comparative analysis of the role of the different historical treatment of these two aboriginal groups with regard to aboriginal language retention.

Federal and provincial language policies in Quebec, despite some provisions for aboriginal languages, neglect of aboriginal languages and the privilege of French or English, which has allowed social pressures within Canada in general and Quebec in particular to push aboriginal language speakers towards assimilation, thus continuing the Canadian state’s historical position of assimilating aboriginal peoples since the adoption of the Indian Act. These social pressures include the need to interact with the state, find employment and receive education in English or French, the two languages that the federal government and the provincial government have promoted. The history of residential schools, in particular, has left a clear legacy of assimilation in education for indigenous people. Such forces have reduced rates of aboriginal, particularly First Nations, language retention, though some geographically isolated languages, such as Cree, Innu and Inuktitut, have largely escaped these pressures.

In order to understand how this is so, one must first examine what different types of language policies exist, including in particular non-

interventionist policies, then determine what types of language policies prevail federally and provincially in Quebec, and how these policies affect aboriginal languages. After that, one must place those language policies within the cultural discourses surrounding them to examine how these narratives ignore aboriginal languages. Then it becomes necessary to situate these policies within a broader historical policy of assimilation of aboriginal peoples. An examination of geographic isolation as a mitigating factor to these language policies and social pressures follows. It is also necessary to examine counter-arguments, particularly that geography determines which aboriginal languages have higher rates of retention, regardless of language policy, that the provisions that federal and provincial language policies have made for aboriginal languages have instead encouraged aboriginal language retention, and that policies such as the reserve system have actually maintained aboriginal languages, since aboriginal language retention is higher inside rather than outside of reserves.

Background: Types of Language Policies

Wardhaugh (2006) distinguishes between two varieties of language planning: status and corpus. Status planning “changes the function of a language or a variety of a language and the rights of those who use it,” whereas corpus planning “seeks to develop a variety of a language or a language, usually to standardize it, that is, to provide it with the means of serving every possible language function in society” (357). This argument limits itself to status planning alone. Furthermore, this argument applies only to the effects of governmental status planning, a primary component of language policy.

Williams (2003), in turn, identifies four different types of language policy: enforcing the primacy of one language in all aspects of society (as in France), maintaining cultural pluralism (as in Belgium or Switzerland), recognizing territorial language rights for a minority group (as in Finland, with its Swedish minority) and the “revitalization” of an indigenous language to serve as the national language of a newly independent country (as in Hungary). Wardhaugh (2006) names the first type as “linguistic assimilation” and the second as “linguistic pluralism”; out of the four, these two are most applicable to the federal and provincial language policies in Quebec. These two types privilege one or more languages, to the exclusion of others, which encourages assimilation to those languages.

Furthermore, one can also identify another form of language policy: non-intervention. Schiffman (1996) observes that policies of non-intervention – or neglect – towards minority languages reflect a covert

objective of assimilation, which one can demonstrate both by examining the history of aboriginal languages and by examining the case of language policy of the United States, a state that has no official language but allows social assumptions to pressure speakers of other languages to learn English, the dominant language of the country.

Wardhaugh writes that “official neglect may result in letting minority languages die by simply not doing anything to keep them alive. This has been the fate of many indigenous languages of North America and is likely to be the fate of many more” (2006 359), arguing that neglect, or non-intervention, has historically allowed these languages to die. Non-intervention allows trends towards use of other languages to proceed in cases of minority or dying languages.

In addition to this historical observation of the effects of neglecting minority languages, a look at the United States, a state with no official language, shows that non-intervention in language policy encourages assimilation to the dominant languages. Such a hands-off policy allows “basic assumptions” of society, including “prejudices, attitudes, biases... and other ‘understandings’” to enforce norms in favour of English, the dominant language of society, even though those norms are not explicitly stated in government policy (Schiffman 1996 213). For example, even in the absence of any explicit language policy, “the acceptance of English by immigrants and their children seems beyond doubt” (Alba et al. 2002 468). These two factors together show that non-inclusion of certain languages within a language policy can allow social pressures to coerce speakers of minority languages to assimilate to the dominant language(s).

Canadian Federal Language Policy

Since the enactment of the Official Languages Act in 1969, Canada has engaged in active promotion of English and French as the country’s official languages, while neglecting aboriginal languages. This policy of official bilingualism guarantees access to French and English language services to individuals within the government of Canada (MacMillan 1998 72). The federal government later saw a strengthening of this language policy with the 1982 adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which constitutionally entrenched the official languages policy, in addition to recognizing “individual rights to the use of either official language” (MacMillan 1998 78). Since aboriginal languages do not have federal language status in Canada, however, they do not gain these benefits from the federal government anywhere in Canada, including Quebec. This promotion of English and French bilingualism, particularly within

the federal government, usually necessitates knowledge of one of the two official languages in order to functionally interact with the government. This policy, then, actively pressures aboriginal peoples to learn the official languages in order to interact with the government, which, in turn, encourages assimilation to those languages more broadly, particularly in situations in which aboriginal groups also face social pressures to use the official languages in other contexts due to their geographic proximity to communities that speak those languages.

Official bilingualism is a form of what Wardhaugh (2006) calls “linguistic pluralism,” in that more than one language receives governmental backing. However, this “linguistic pluralism,” though inclusive of both French and English, excludes aboriginal languages. This amounts to a policy of neglect towards those languages, which, as Schiffman (1996) argues, allows social pressures to enforce linguistic norms in favour of the dominant language(s). This ultimately allows assimilation and language loss to affect aboriginal language communities without any checks from the federal government.

Provincial Language Policy

Quebec’s language policy, in contrast to the federal language policy, only promotes French as a status language; like federal language policy, it also generally neglects aboriginal languages, though a small number of provisions in the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) protect aboriginal language rights.

The chief goal of Quebec’s language policy is the promotion of French, which Bill 22 established as the sole official language of the province (D’Anglejan, 1984, p. 38). Indeed, Laporte observes that

The aims of language planning are comprehensive. They touch not only the legal status of French as Quebec’s Official Language, but all major domains of public life, including politics, governmental administration, education, the working world, the mass media, advertising and labeling. In all these domains the goal is to make French a language of use consistent with the concept of Quebec as an “essentially francophone society” (1984, p. 55).

Quebec’s various language laws attempt to bring reality in line with this conception “of Quebec as an ‘essentially francophone society.’” For example, Bill 22 also contained several provisions that “prescribed specific measures to assure the de facto as well as de jure pre-eminence of French,”

including necessitating the knowledge of French in public service and in professional certification, the use of French in contracts among other reforms (D'Anglejan 1984 38). Similarly, Bill 63 aimed to "ensure that immigrants to Quebec, and their children, as well as persons attending English language schools would have a working knowledge of French" (D'Anglejan 1984 36). Bill 101, in turn, extends the provincial language policy to the point of guaranteeing the rights of workers to use French and "of consumers of goods and services to be informed and served in French" (Chevrier 2003 133). This places Quebec within William's (2003) first type of language policy, in which the state enforces the primacy of one language in all aspects of society, in contrast with the Canada as a whole. This type of language policy is what Wardhaugh (2006) calls "linguistic assimilation." Such a policy uses state means to change people's behaviour in order to create a situation in which "everyone, regardless of origin, should learn the dominant language of society" (358).

However, this linguistic assimilationism is not total; provincial language policy does provide for some aboriginal language rights. As Chevrier (2003) notes, Bill 101 also recognizes "the right of the Amerindians and the Inuit of Quebec to develop their language and culture of origin." Furthermore, s. 87 of Bill 101 states that "nothing in this Act prevents the use of an Amerindic language in providing instruction to the Amerinds, or of Inuktitut in providing instruction to the Inuit," while s. 88 establishes Cree and Inuktitut as languages of instruction for schools under the "Cree School Board or the Kativik School Board." This does provide for some aboriginal language rights, albeit only within the domain of education; aboriginal languages do not receive any promotion within government services or the workplace or drawing up contracts that the French language has within Quebec. The provincial language policy excludes the nine other aboriginal groups within Quebec, the Mohawk, Attikamekw, Algonquin, Abanaki, Mi'kmaq, Malecite, Huron, Naskapi or Innu, from receiving any particular promotion from the provincial government. As a result, apart from the specific provisions regarding Cree and Inuktitut in primary and secondary education, Quebec's aboriginal language policy has also been one of neglect, which, as previously shown, effectively allows social pressures towards assimilation to proceed unhindered.

The Discourse Surrounding Federal Language Policy

The discourse surrounding the adoption of federal language policy since the 1960s has also promoted English and French but neglected aboriginal languages. The central issue in developing federal language policy

from the 1960s onward has been the status of French, since the discourse assumed that English would deserve status by default as the dominant language of Canada. MacMillan (1998) suggests that the discourse on the side of the dominant group was to permit French, as a minority language, equal rights in order to preserve national unity, given the rise of the sovereigntist movement in Quebec. This focus on maintaining a union between French and English Canada and on determining the status of French has neglected any mention of aboriginal languages. Furthermore, though people such as Prime Minister Lester Pearson have argued that this policy is also a matter of equality in addition to national unity (MacMillan 1998 73), that sense of equality includes only French and English speakers, which also contributes to the exclusion of aboriginal language speakers.

The Discourse surrounding Provincial Language Policy

Similarly, the discourse within Quebec behind the development of its language laws has neglected aboriginal languages by focusing primarily on the issue of what rights the colonial languages of Canada, English and French, should have, especially within a narrative of fear of French language loss within the province, though this discourse also reveals itself in criticisms of the provincial language policy, which largely focus on English as a minority language in Quebec.

The Québécois have sought to preserve the French language because they perceived it as central to their identity. As René Lévesque said, “We are Québécois... At the core of this personality is the fact that we speak French” (MacMillan 1998 100). A central component of the discourse in Quebec regarding provincial language laws is the Québécois’ fear that they will lose French (Chevrier 2003 126-127). Due to the centrality of language within their identity, such a loss of language would effectively mean the loss of their culture. This fear resulted from a number of factors. First, social pressures within the workplace, particularly in urban areas such as Montreal, encouraged the use of English instead of French. Indeed, D’Anglejan (1984) observes that “industrialization brought about the decline of the rural community” (29), which caused rural migration to cities that increased contact between francophones and anglophones, since the anglophones held the dominant position in Quebec’s cities; in this environment, francophones had to learn English in order to compete (29). Second, immigrants to Quebec often preferred to use English rather than French (Wardhaugh 2006 375), which created a fear that immigration would anglicize the province (Chevrier 2003 127).

In order to substantiate its right to promote French alone as the

provincial language, Quebec developed a different conception of language rights from the federal government. MacMillan (2003) notes that Quebec's language policy has emphasized a territorial rather than a personal conception of such rights, along with a focus on collective rather than individual rights – in direct opposition to federal policy, which recognizes personal, individual rights to language. Quebec's notion of a collective right to language by a particular group – the Québécois – within a given territory allows it to pursue the advancement of one language over all others, including English, immigrant languages and aboriginal languages.

As a result of this discourse, Quebec enacted its varying language laws; however, it is important to note that, while Quebec was developing its language laws, aboriginal languages remained entirely unprotected, while their speakers were being actively coerced to speak dominant languages in residential schools. The central role of French language rights within the discourse surrounding provincial language laws marginalizes all other languages.

Even the criticisms of this policy favour the dominant languages of Canada. Quebec has faced several court challenges to its language policies under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, including *Nguyen v. Quebec (Education, Recreation and Sports)* (2009), which reinforced the rights of Anglophones within Quebec to access education in English by holding that a provincial update to the Charter of the French language that would prevent parents from sending their children to English private schools for a short period of time, then enrolling them within the English public school system, was unconstitutional. Cases such as this one primarily focus on the status of Quebec's anglophone minority, rather than aboriginal languages, which sidelines aboriginal languages within the provincial discourse.

Contextualizing language policies within a broader history of assimilation

However, these policies and social pressures that have affected aboriginal language speakers have not happened in isolation from Canadian policy towards aboriginal people in general; it is necessary to examine these factors within the context of a broader history of assimilation in Canada that began with Confederation and persists in some respects until today. This history of assimilation includes the adoption of the Indian Act, the creation of reserves and the enactment of residential schooling.

Armitage (1995) identifies six periods of “Canadian Indian policy” (70). The fourth phase, from 1867-1950, is the “assimilation” period (77). A chief component of the “assimilation phase” was the Indian Act, which

established “Indian status,” enfranchisement (a process of a legal “Indian” losing that status and becoming a member of mainstream society), and the reserve system (77-78). Enfranchisement could be voluntary or involuntary. Involuntary enfranchisement usually resulted from a status Indian entering a profession such as law or ministry or from women who had aboriginal status marrying men who did not. These policies prevented status Indians from becoming professionals or status Indian women from marrying non-status men without becoming legal members of mainstream Canadian society, which included a cutting off of ties with their aboriginal community. Reserves, in turn, have placed pressures on status Indians to leave their reserves, if only to escape marginal conditions, such as poor quality drinking water. This then places them within mainstream Canadian society, which has even higher pressures to assimilate than the reserves themselves. As Armitage (1995) notes, “clearly, assimilation was its [the Indian Act’s] objective” (78); this is particularly evident from the lack of any provision to restore aboriginal status once lost in the Indian Act during this time period (78). However, residential schools, a separate current of Canadian aboriginal policy, also contributed to the destruction of aboriginal languages. Residential schooling was not a policy of de facto assimilation by neglect, as federal and provincial language policies largely are today; instead, residential schools actively discouraged aboriginal language speakers from using their languages, in favour of English (Armitage 1995 103).

The Inuit, in contrast with other indigenous people, have largely avoided these policies. They are not administered under the Indian Act, unlike other indigenous groups (Voyageur and Calliou 119); as a result, they avoid the issues of the reserve system, the system of “enfranchisement” and other provisions that have incentivized assimilation. As a result, it is not surprising that the Inuit have higher rates of aboriginal language retention than other indigenous peoples of North America.

Geographic Isolation: A Mitigating Factor

Geographic isolation has allowed some aboriginal groups in Quebec to avoid the effects of the social pressures that federal and provincial language policies have allowed to affect aboriginal languages. Norris observes that

Groups located in relatively isolated regions, away from the dominant culture, face fewer pressures to abandon their language. They tend to use their own language

in schooling, broadcasting and other communication services and, as a result, are likely to stay more self-sufficient. Communities living in the northern regions of Quebec, Nunavut, the Northwest Territories and Labrador — the Inuit, Attikamek and Montagnais-Naskapi [Innu-aimun] — are examples of such groups. (1998)

Indeed, the 2006 Census shows that not all aboriginal groups suffer from such low language retention rates. For example, the Innu of the Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam band area of Quebec live in a community in which 94.7 percent of the population can carry on a conversation in an aboriginal language, while 88.9 percent have an aboriginal language as their mother tongue, and 76.7 percent speak an aboriginal language most often at home, according to the 2006 Census. Similarly, the Inuit in Nunavik have a 99 percent rate of aboriginal language knowledge, along with a rate of 97.6 percent of mother tongue speakers of an aboriginal language and a rate of 93.7 (% of the Aboriginal identity population who speak an Aboriginal language most often at home)” percent of the population using an aboriginal language “most often at home.” However, it is important to remember that the case of the Inuit is often different from other aboriginal peoples, since the Inuit have had a different historical relationship with the federal government.

Counter-Arguments

This argument faces a number of objections, including that geography determines which aboriginal languages have higher rates of retention, regardless of language policy, that the provisions that provincial language policy has made for aboriginal languages in education have encouraged aboriginal language retention more than the promotion of French or the neglect of aboriginal languages other areas have diminished it, and that policies such as the reserve system have actually maintained aboriginal languages, since aboriginal language retention is higher inside rather than outside of reserves.

The observation that degrees of geographic isolation influence the abilities of aboriginal groups to retain their languages despite federal and provincial language policies, as made above, suggests a counter-argument to this approach: that geography determines the varying rates of aboriginal language retention, regardless of language policy. Since the Cree, the Inuit and the Innu all are relatively isolated, whereas many other aboriginal groups in Quebec are not, this does have a certain degree of explanatory power

for the question of aboriginal language retention. However, this position ignores the assimilating effects of government policies. For example, the Innu, as a First Nations group, share in the history of assimilationist pressures from the Canadian state under the reserve system; furthermore, unlike the Inuit, the Innu have not had any support for their language from the Quebec government. The Census data supports this, in some respects, as well, since the Innu have lower rates of language knowledge, mother tongue acquisition and home language use for their language than the Inuit do for theirs. As a result, a geographic explanation alone is insufficient and requires an evaluation of government policies.

Another potential counter-argument is that the policies that the provincial government enacted with regard to particular aboriginal languages, such as Cree and Inuktitut, have been effective, since Cree and Inuktitut tend to be successful cases of language retention. Statistics Canada reports that the Cree bands of Chisasibi, Mistissini, Nemaska and Wemindji all show aboriginal knowledge rates above 96 percent; similarly, it shows the Inuit of Nunavut show an aboriginal language knowledge rate of 99 percent. However, this ignores the role that geography has played in sheltering those groups from assimilating social pressures, as Norris (1998) argues. In addition, this ignores the narrow scope of those policies in favour of aboriginal languages, which only cover primary and secondary education, rather than any other language rights. Though these policies exist and may even aid aboriginal languages in surviving, provincial language policy overall has neglected aboriginal language rights; this non-intervention in other aspects of language policy, in turn, has allowed social pressures towards assimilation to undermine aboriginal language retention.

Furthermore, the 2006 Census data also presents clear evidence that First Nations groups living on reserves retain their languages far more than those that live outside of reserves, at 51 percent to 12 percent, which raises the objection that state policies with regard to reserves have actually aided aboriginal groups in retaining their languages. On the face of it, reserves do appear to help preserve aboriginal languages, due to this disparity in retention rates between on-reserve and off-reserve First Nations people, and due to the tendency of reserves to congregate groups of aboriginal people amongst each other. However, in order to evaluate reserves accurately, one must look at their effects in a broader context. As shown above, conditions on reserves covertly encourage status Indians to leave reserves for wider society, in which they face greater pressures to assimilate. As a result, even though on-reserve aboriginal language rates are higher than off-reserve rates, Canadian reserve policy has actually promoted assimilation of aboriginal

languages.

Conclusions and Further Research

This examination of federal and provincial language policies and the discourses surrounding them within Quebec has shown that, either through the promotion of official languages or through neglect, aboriginal peoples have faced social pressures to assimilate to the dominant language, added to the institutional violence done to indigenous languages in schools, which has caused a centuries-long decline in rates of aboriginal language retention. This has several implications for aboriginal people, federal and provincial governments, and other researchers. For aboriginal people, this reinforces notions that federal and provincial governments could improve their language policies in ways that would increase the vitality of aboriginal language by moving towards greater inclusion of aboriginal languages within government policy, since government policy affects aboriginal language retention. Indeed, this buttresses the Assembly of First Nations' argument that their languages should have more rights than they presently have within Canada, since the current policy, which generally provides them with a lack of language rights, has witnessed low rates of aboriginal language retention. For federal and provincial governments, this argument presents a challenge to their current language policies on the basis that not all languages receive the same treatment, which could present them with equality challenges in the courts.

This also suggests avenues of further research. The arguments here presented regarding federal language policy should apply within Canada generally rather than just Quebec. However, a comparative analysis of different provincial and territorial language policies and their varying effects on aboriginal language retention would place these arguments within a broader context. The Census data for other provinces and the territories would also provide evidence for geography as being a mitigating factor to the overall effects of language policy. Finally, the 2011 Census will provide researchers with additional data that they could use to analyze these trends and further evaluate these claims about federal and provincial language policy and about aboriginal language retention rates generally.

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The Mush Hole

Charlotte Burns

The following is an adaptation of some of my grandma's residential school stories. My grandma is Lenni-Lenape and originally from Munsee-Delaware First Nation. She is also a survivor of the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario. Survivors refer to it as the "Mush Hole". My grandma only ever told me "good" stories about the Mush Hole. She never described any of the severe abuse that she suffered, but I could always sense that there was something else underlying her stories that she was not able to express. I wrote this story while I was still a teenager, when I was only beginning to understand the gravity of what the residential school system was and how it affected the survivors. I was also just beginning to reflect on what it meant for me as a descendant of this unfortunate legacy.

Every night, Melvin wet the bed. And this morning, like every morning, Charlotte made her way to the boys' dormitory to flip his mattress and change the sheets. Sometimes she had to scrounge for unsoiled ones. Sometimes that meant taking sheets that were being used by another little boy. Nobody knew what was wrong with Melvin. All Charlotte knew was that if she didn't take care of her little brother's urine soaked bed, he was going to have to sleep in it.

Charlotte didn't mind. She was nearly twelve years old now. Nobody was about to cause her any trouble. It was her third year at the Mohawk Institute, and by this time, she had managed to establish herself at the top of the mush hole pecking order. Her stubborn and cunning nature had allowed her to survive the worst of the residential school system. Unfortunately, all of the things that Charlotte took for granted seemed to be taking their toll on her young brother.

The smell of ammonia pierced her nostrils as she carefully gathered Melvin's cotton sheets. To make the stench bearable, she took deep breaths with her mouth and held the air in her lungs as long as she could. As her eyes wandered away from the dirty floors and rows of beds to the tall

window that faced the backyard, she remembered that today was Saturday. And it was a special Saturday. Today was visitation day. In the distance she could see the outline of dozens of young boys working outside. She wondered which ones were Melvin and Leonard. She was happy that today they were going to be a family. This school was often a very lonely place to be.

Shortly before breakfast began, Charlotte made her way to the kitchen, which was between the girls' side and the boys' side. This was where she carried out the bulk of her responsibilities. Like all the other girls, Charlotte had to do her share of scrubbing, sweeping, and dusting, but working in the kitchen had its advantages. The storage room was located right next to the kitchen. That's where all of the canned treats could be found. She knew where the administrators kept the key, and she knew exactly when she would have access to it.

Stealing canned peaches and pears wasn't an easy operation. It usually required a team of five or six girls to ensure that no one would be caught. Half of the girls would line up in a zigzag pattern down the hallway, and like a factory assembly line, they rolled cans from one end to the other. The rest of the girls made sure that no one was coming, just in case they had to make a quick break for it. Just as long as the cans were hidden inside a garbage bag, the girls were able to convince the adults that they were taking out the trash. This way, they could hide the cans and retrieve them later on without anyone finding out.

Madge was already in the kitchen preparing the porridge when Charlotte arrived. She was standing on a wooden stool at the stove, wearing an old white apron over her grey cotton uniform. Her shoulder length black hair was hidden underneath a white cap. Besides her siblings, Madge was the only other person in the entire building that Charlotte could trust. Although Madge was loyal to her, Charlotte knew not to get too attached to anyone. It was a matter of survival. The only person she could ever really rely on was herself.

Hi Bear," said Madge, "how did you do this morning?"

"I did fine. I washed sheets yesterday, so there was a whole bunch of clean ones."

"Yeah? Maybe we can go to the fort today. Margaret found a can opener you know?"

"Uh oh – Madge! Shh!"

Charlotte noticed that the girls' supervisor was surveying the dining room outside. If there was anyone that Charlotte didn't want eavesdropping on her conversations, it was Miss Burnham. Neither Miss Burnham's

appearance nor her personality was very pleasant. She was short and stocky and had a permanent frown line across the centre of her forehead due to her constant glowering.

Charlotte and Madge quickly put their concentration back into preparing breakfast as Miss Burnham roamed over to the kitchen. She stopped at the door and looked the girls up and down with a sneer.

“You are to report to Reverend Aldridge’s office right after breakfast,” Miss Burnham snapped.

Charlotte nodded her head. Madge was stunned but nodded her head as well. Miss Burnham seemed satisfied and marched back out into the dining room. Charlotte looked back at Madge with an expression of relief and whispered, “Don’t worry. We’ll go an’ eat some peaches.”

Soon, some of the other girls began to file into the kitchen to get their bowls of porridge. One young girl began to sing the words, “There is a boarding school far , far away; where we get mush ‘n’ milk three times a day,” to the tune of an old hymn. It was a song that children at the Mohawk Institute had been singing since 1895. Although the mush hole diet had improved somewhat in the 50 years since, the song was still a tradition, and the children still risked the strap if they were ever caught singing it.

Charlotte wasn’t interested in being the one responsible for encouraging the chant. She glared at the young girl and muttered,

“Shut up”.

The girl quickly consented and continued getting her porridge. However, today there was no avoiding the strap. Miss Burnham discovered that food was missing from the storage room and Mr. Aldridge, the school principal, planned on lining them all up for a strapping after breakfast.

Because they had to clean up after every meal, Madge and Charlotte were the last to arrive at Mr. Aldridge’s office. They were surprised to see thirty other girls present, but they were glad that they weren’t going to be the only ones to take the heat for stealing the cans.

Everyone knew who the culprits were, but none of them were going to say a word, except maybe for little Louetta. Louetta had very low tolerance for pain. She was quite new to the mush hole and had not adapted to coping in this environment. Mr. Aldridge recognized this weakness in Louetta right away and made it his objective to torture her into sharing her knowledge. The torture, which was usually a series of belt lashes across the wrist, was tolerable for most of the girls. During the first two rounds of the strap, Louetta suffered, but kept to herself. By the third round, she was crying and screaming hysterically at the top of her lungs. This only made matters worse for herself and the other girls. It just meant more

punishment.

Mr. Aldridge was a very tall and lean man. On first impression, he seemed to have a soft and gentle demeanor, but his grip was firm and his voice boomed from hundreds of yards away. Sometimes Charlotte thought that his voice might make her ears bleed.

“Louetta! Just tell me who did it!” bellowed Mr. Aldridge, his face red and his fists trembling.

Charlotte could see that Louetta desperately wanted to let it out. Not because she got pleasure from getting others in trouble, but because she was intimidated by Aldridge’s authority. After Charlotte cornered her in the kitchen during duty, Louetta learned very quickly with whom her loyalty and well-being laid. She didn’t want her mush hole experience to be any worse than it had been already.

Aldridge was becoming increasingly impatient with Louetta, who was successfully keeping quiet. After several bouts of the strap, he reluctantly gave all the girls a warning and sent them back to their dormitory. Charlotte was glad because the punishment would have been more difficult to endure on her own.

Back in the dormitory, Charlotte and Madge planned their escape to their secret tree fort. The tree line was where the boundary for the school yard ended, and beyond it was where they had built the fort. They decided that they would leave kitchen duty a little bit early and climb out a window in a secluded room somewhere in the dormitory. Unfortunately, Charlotte’s little sister Jo-Anne had been eavesdropping on their plan and insisted they take her with them. To keep her from drawing any attention to them, Madge and Charlotte complied with her wish.

Jo-Anne was a very lively and bubbly child. Since Charlotte had been there to protect and provide for her, Jo-Anne was relatively unaffected by her environment. After they made their way outside past the boundary line, the girls made it safely to their tree. Jo-Anne giggled hysterically as she climbed on Charlotte’s back so that she could reach the first branch.

“Hee hee hee! Char! There’s a footprint on your back!” yelled Jo-Anne.

“Shh! Be quiet! One of the teachers might hear you and then there won’t be any more peaches!”

The leaves had grown quite thick on the old oak tree where they had built their fort. It was virtually impossible to find it from a distance. It usually required someone to look up from underneath.

As Charlotte swung her legs over onto the pine boards that lay across the branches, she heard the sound of a fog horn coming from the direction of the school. That indicated that it was lunch time, but Charlotte wasn’t

worried about missing her meal. She was living luxuriously up in that tree.

As Madge gazed through the thick branches, she noticed that Miss Burnham was patrolling the grounds by the fence.

“What are you looking at? Charlotte asked.

“An evil witch.”

Jo-Anne thought that this was the funniest thing she had ever heard and started laughing hysterically. This made Madge’s heart sink. She motioned for Charlotte to take a look through the branches. Charlotte then swiftly tackled Jo-Anne, holding her down with one arm and using the other to cover the girl’s mouth.

It became apparent that Miss Burnham had heard the giggles, because she was headed toward the wooded area where the girls were hiding. All three girls froze in their spots and kept absolutely still. When Miss Burnham arrived at the boundary line, she began surveying the ground, digging around in the dirt for any sign of paper cigarettes. When she came to the girls’ tree, she sniffed at the air as if she could sense that someone or something was there, but couldn’t put her finger on it.

Charlotte, Madge and Jo-Anne were like perfect statues in their tree. As long as Miss Burnham didn’t look up they would be safe. If she had looked up, she would have seen the old pine board in the tree and they would be done for.

Luckily, Miss Burnham looked in every direction except skyward. She seemed irritated that she hadn’t found anything, and after one last survey of the grounds, she reluctantly left the wooded area.

Still nervous, yet relieved, the girls collapsed on their backs. Jo-Anne giggled softly. Then, they happily filled their bellies with peaches until they felt like their stomachs would burst. The chapel bells indicated that lunch time was over. It was visitation time for Charlotte and Jo-Anne.

Charlotte, Madge and Jo-Anne quietly made their way back into the school through an open window. Then, the girls parted ways. Charlotte and Jo-Anne headed toward the front hall. Madge went back to the kitchen.

Near the front entrance of the Mohawk Institute there was an average sized dining room where the teachers and supervisors ate their meals and had their meetings. This was also where the children had their visitations.

When the two sisters arrived, there was already a male supervisor sitting at the table. Soon after, Charlotte’s brothers Melvin and Leonard were escorted into the room by another supervisor. Melvin looked very solemn, but Charlotte could tell by the glimmer in his eyes that he was overjoyed to see her. Leonard appeared to be just as miserable, but Charlotte knew he was also glad to see her.

Before they could take a seat at the large oak table, Melvin ran over to Charlotte and threw his arms around her waist. Although she didn't know what went on over on the boys' side, and although Melvin never said a word, Charlotte knew what he was thinking. She looked down into his big chestnut eyes, smiled, and whispered,

"Don't worry Mel, I'm not leaving here without you."

Indian Control of Indian Identity

Rachel Thorne

“...Everything a Indian does is in a circle,
and that is because the Power of the World
always works in circles...
Even the seasons form a great circle in their
changing, and always come
back again to where they were.
The life of a man
is a circle...”

-Chief Joseph, Nez Percé

Almost as early as the arrival of colonial Europeans in Canada so began their education of the Native populations that inhabited this “New World.” With the intent to “civilize and Christianize” the Indigenous peoples of the nation, the Roman Catholic Church was the first to “[attack] Aboriginal cultures through schooling and other policies, [targeting] Aboriginal world-views,” (Regnier, 1995, p.319). Over time, boarding schools (most often referred to as “residential schools”) took prevalence over the day schools that had originally been instated and the government became involved in their operation. These boarding schools separated Native children from their families and communities for most of the year, preaching Christian values and teaching the same Western practices, traditions and languages across the country. The impact was enormous, and their legacy has been described as “one of cultural conflict, alienation, poor self-concept and lack of preparation for independence, for jobs and for life in general,” (Kirkness, 1992, p.12).

The frustration arising from the consequences of the oppressive system lead to the indignation of Native Peoples, and they became determined to regain control over their education. Before the arrival of European colonists, the Natives of Canada had lived in a state of cultural unawareness in which they had instructed their own children in ways that taught the beliefs and customs of their people. Residential schools, however, brought to

their attention the great rift between European culture and their own and a process of cultural objectification took place. In 1971 their discontent with European assimilation attempts manifested itself in the proposal of the Indian Control of Indian Education (ICIE) act by the National Indian Brotherhood (now the Assembly of First Nations) (Kirkness, 1992, p.12). This was put into action in 1973. Through the creation and the federal recognition of the ICIE, Canada's Indigenous peoples have managed to regain some control over their representations from white Euro-Canadian society and strengthened their voice in the nation. As such, they have taken a small but empowering step back towards the independent and self-sufficient lives they once lived.

In the pre-colonial era, Native education was "inextricably linked with economics [and] learning was for living – for survival," (Kirkness, 1992, p. 6). Therefore, informal lessons focused on practical skills required to prosper in the bush, as they referred to the wooded land of their people and ancestors. Instructors were all the members of a community, who worked together to instil elements of character such as control, courage, endurance, patience, dignity and reverence in all children. Subsistence practices such as hunting, cooking and clothing preparation were taught through the observation of one's parents and/or grandparents, in the bush and the home. Education was "largely, an informal process that provided the young with the specific skills, attitudes, and knowledge they needed to function in everyday life with the context of a spiritual worldview," (Kirkness, 1992, p.7). This meant that, underlying these teachings were their deep, spiritual connection with the earth and, commonly, the widespread belief in the cyclical nature of the universe, that "the year, life, and human growth can attain completion through this natural movement [circular] to wholeness," (Reigner in Battiste & Barman, 1995, p.317).

McMullen & Rohrbach (2003) identify the 5 core beliefs shared by most Indigenous peoples, born of these all-encompassing notions of life and the universe. Each was respected throughout the child's learning process. The first is the "Ethic of Non-Interference" (1) which leads parents and teachers to resist the interference in an individual's actions, including those of children. The suppression of anger (2) is another survival-based ethic and is practiced in order to maintain the cohesion a group as a whole; frustration expressed by the student or teacher was seen as destructive to the learning process. The strong belief that one will pick up a skill or concept in their own time, when they are ready (3), meant that adults did not pressure children to learn at a designated pace. Once internalized, a procedure or idea was exercised mentally by a pupil (4), probably due

to “a need to conserve effort, energy and resources... before the feat [was] actually attempted,” (McMullen & Rohrbach, 2003, p. 74). Lastly, upon the completion of a newly-learned skill, praise was offered by requesting a repetition of the behaviour (5), to discourage any sense of superiority and maintain group equality. The prevalence of these ethics varies across Native communities, but is nearly universally felt.

As different styles of teaching result in different learning styles, generations of unstructured, personal methods of tuition resulted in peoples that came to gain knowledge in ways at variance with European means of teaching. While Euro-Canadian classrooms generally begin by showing pieces of a concept before leading students to put them together, Professor Art More of the University of British Columbia (as cited in McMullen & Rohrbach, 2003) suggests that Aboriginal students are more apt to understand when taught how to view a “whole” before its deconstruction. He further points out that Aboriginal students are more “imaginal”/abstract than verbal/concrete learners and benefit more from visual material and stories than from “dictionary-style definitions” (McMullen & Rohrbach, 2003, p.75). Finally, in congruence with McMullen & Rohrbach’s 4th ethic, Aboriginal students profit less from the usual trial-and-error method of Western classrooms than the reflective nature of bush education.

Unfortunately, instead of adapting to the needs of their Native audience, European missionaries sought to “civilize and Christianize” the population; to impose their ways on Native children in mandatory day-schools. Native peoples were rarely encountered by the general Canadian public and were portrayed by the Church and government as “heathenistic savages”. Missionaries and Christian European Canadians saw the assimilation of “Indians” as their path to “salvation.” Religious leaders believed that the implementation of Western religious and academic instruction was their calling and began its practice as early as the 17th century, using the same teaching methods as those of White European institutions. These were largely ineffective due chiefly to the conflicting teaching and learning styles described above, which were strengthened as children returned home to their parents each night.

It is to this reason that Kirkness attributes the formulation of the “oppressive” residential school system (p. 7&10). Beginning in the late 19th century and continuing well into the 20th, residential schools were mandatory and aimed for the complete assimilation of Native peoples into Western culture. In the face of the earlier day schools’ failures, residential school administration undertook a shockingly forceful approach to their goal. Native peoples underwent the unconscious process of Cultural Objectifica-

tion as the religious and governmental administration attempted to eliminate elements of their "heathenistic" lifestyles that had been previously unquestioned. Among the residential schools' tactics were the separation of children and their families over great distances for many months to prevent the transference of bush-life skills, and the complete forbiddance of Native languages on school grounds. In the schools, training in colonial practices such as farming, mechanics and other trades for boys, as well as European household duties for girls was enforced and students "were expected to spend as much time in this kind of manual labour as in school," (Kirkness, 1992, p.10). Most students felt disoriented and frightened by this experience, but more severe than the level of mental distress were the physical implications of residential school life. The predominance of tuberculosis and other infectious diseases at the turn of the 20th century meant that as many as "50% of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education they had received therein," (Kirkness, 1992, p.10).

In time the government realized the dysfunction of residential schooling. The focus on assimilation gave way to integration, due to their continued will to manage and keep track of all Natives (Kirkness). This system, too, was a failure, mainly because of the universal approach taken on by both educational systems, which denied the cultural variation across Native peoples. In 1971 its shortfalls were made public in a report by the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs that revealed a drop-out rate of four times the national average, a related unemployment rate averaging 50% for adult males, an age-grade retardation rooted in language conflict and early disadvantage, and parents who were "uninformed" in terms of their children's education (Kirkness, 1992, p.15).

Integrative schooling was therefore contested by Natives, who at this point understood the difference and value of their cultures, and had witnessed the plights of their people in modern Canadian society. They sought the repatriation of their rights to culture, voice and representation through the proposal of the Indian Control of Indian Education (ICIE) document. The ICIE policy emphasized parental responsibility and local control of Aboriginal youths' education and "the need for an education relevant to the philosophy of Indian people was recognized as being essential," (Kirkness, 1992, p.16).

The ICIE was federally recognized in 1973, and since then Native bands have been implementing more culturally-appropriate curricula in Native-run schools across Canada. While the quality of Native education appears to be improving, difficulties still arise. Fortunately, local con-

trol has allowed schools some freedom to adapt in beneficial ways, despite them.

The Sto:lo of the Fraser Valley area in British Columbia exemplify a Canadian Aboriginal people producing a Native-adapted curriculum. In the 1970s it was realized that traditional Sto:lo knowledge could no longer be passed on orally in today's Canadian society. At the request of the many public schools with high First Nations enrolment, and the two band schools of the Sto:lo region, elders joined forces with Native educators who identified their students' "school problems with a lack of strong self-identity and insufficient knowledge of cultural differences," (Archibald, 1995, p.297). The result was an elementary social studies curriculum called the Sto:lo Sitel, which was implemented both in the 7 public school districts and the two band schools of the Sto:lo region; Chehalis Community School and Seabird Island School.

The Sto:lo Sitel focused on a different aspect of Sto:lo lifestyles, generally ones also applicable to the wider Native public, at each grade level. The roles of family, community, environmental interaction, food (fishing, plant gathering and hunting), Sto:lo national identity, art & games, and major historical events in the stages of Sto:lo culture were taught in that order. These units were partnered with the usual provincial social studies curriculum and were flexible, allowing for varied levels of emphasis depending on the school and the individual teacher.

Joe Duquette High School (JDHS) in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, benefited even more from the ICIE document and has succeeded in creating a comfortable, effective school curriculum for Aboriginal students in need. Called a "healing place" by the school's parents' council, Joe Duquette High School (previously the Saskatoon Native Survival School) declares in its mission statement that their institution "nurtures the mind, body and soul of its students" by offering "a program of studies which affirms the contemporary worldview of Indian people," (Regnier, 1995, p.314). The administration acknowledges the challenges facing Native youth, and their students have often been exposed to/involved in drug and/or alcohol abuse and sexual and/or physical abuse, therefore treatment services for these issues are provided. Students live in apartments with designated guardians who guide and care for them after class, they are provided with regular contact with a social worker and – in the case of single parents – daycare services.

These services are offered based on an attitude that stresses the importance of addressing the learning barriers that confront Aboriginal students in order to improve their school experience. Joe Duquette's administra-

tion criticizes the secular Western approach to education as ignoring the personal struggles of students and focusing only on getting them through school, regardless of how long it takes or how painful the subjective experience of the process may be. In taking into account the plights of their students and helping them in their defeat, JDHS improves the students' personal lives, resulting in what they believe to be a more fulfilling and efficient educational experience.

Calling upon the belief in the cyclical nature of the universe mentioned earlier, JDHS administration has stated that residential schools, "by removing them from family and community... socially and politically reoriented Aboriginal youth away from the natural cyclical process involving rituals, ceremonies, and gatherings..." (Regnier, 1995, p.319). This process is embodied in "Sacred Circle" symbolism, which draws upon the rising and setting of the sun, the passing of the seasons and other recurring natural patterns, believed to represent "unity, interdependence, and harmony among all beings in the universe..." (Regnier, 1995, p.316). Seeing this worldview as integral to the well-being of Native youth, JDHS incorporates Sacred Circle practices into the everyday school experience in order to heal students' suffering. Extra-curricular activities offered are numerous and include dance and drumming classes offered by elders. Cultural events such as feasts, sweat lodges and sweet grass ceremonies are also held, to instil a sense of community and identity among its students. Traditional talking and healing circles take place in the classroom, with curriculum topics replacing ceremonial subject matter and students are given the opportunity to present oral narrative-style reports that resemble the oral traditions of Aboriginal peoples. All of this, however, is currently structured around Saskatchewan's provincial curriculum material.

As provincial curriculum material is still mandatory in all Canadian schools it is undeniable that Native peoples do not hold total control over their children's education, despite the ICIE document's acknowledgement. The Sto:lo curriculum, for example, allowed for more Native-appropriate material to be taught but did not employ more Native-appropriate teaching methods. Therefore, the same conflicts between Western and traditional Native teaching methods have continued and their consequences continue to be seen in the lower academic performances of Aboriginal students in relation to those of their Euro-Canadian peers. Even in the case of Joe Duquette High School, whose "educational developments were rooted in notions of survival, self-determination, self-sufficiency and cultural revival and moved beyond multicultural, assimilationist, and integrationist ideologies which disregard cultural alienation, poverty, powerlessness, and

a distinct world-view,” (Regnier, 1995, p. 315), Euro-Canadian material is still the focus of education.

It is my submission, however, that regardless of the continuous struggle to attain control of both teaching-styles and classroom material, the very formulation of the Indian Control of Indian Education proposal and its subsequent implementation at the federal level resembles a cyclical movement in itself. The ICIE grabbed the attention of the nation and depicted Canadian Aboriginals as powerful, determined peoples – not the passive victims of assimilation and colonization. Their representation is again in their own hands and defies their portrayal as uneducated savages incompetent of their own governance, which was promoted by missionaries and government officials in previous attempts to control Indian education. While still viewed by some as incapable of self-governance and aggravating in their fight to attain it, the success that Native peoples have achieved in the modification of their educational institutions has ensured that, regardless of mixed reactions, their voices have been heard and their concerns, acknowledged. This means that Indian Control of Indian Education has somewhat enabled Aboriginals to re-construct their own identities and the identities of their children. This is a right that was enjoyed before colonization and through the ICIE a step back (a cyclical motion) has taken place, towards enjoying it again.

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Stories for the Past, Present and Future: Canadian Colonialism and the Emergence of Two-Spirituality

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“What I do know is that I am glad to be who I am.”

- Anon. Two-Spirit Blogger¹

There is an immense history in North America composed of stories, truths, and experiences that have shaped the lives and realities of the peoples living and interacting on the continent. Perhaps one of the greatest tragedies a culture can encounter is to lose those ever so valuable stories, forgetting the experiences and truths of the past. This is the case for the First Nations of North America, and more specifically the Two-Spirit gender tradition. With the arrival of European colonial powers, the history and daily reality of the First Nations peoples was dramatically changed forever. Colonialism is not a simple mechanism; it contains a complex series of power structures that manifest in an array of forms. As such, it is through interlocking colonial forces of oppression that the Two-Spirit history of First Nations was erased. Authentic gender and sexuality constructs were forcibly replaced with hegemonic European notions of what gender and sexuality “ought” to be. However, out of the ashes has risen the dialectic Two-Spirit tradition - a revival of the past, but undeniably connected to the present. Forces combining the movements of Aboriginal solidarity with that of Queer Liberation have provided the ideal space in which Two-Spirituality can emerge, leading the way into a future of diversity. Focusing on the Native Peoples of Canada specifically, the ways in which interlocking colonial systems of oppression have altered the gender structures will be investigated, coupled with an examination of the modern Two-Spirit movement.

A note on terminology and discourse must be made because, as Foucault notes, “discourse joins power and knowledge...[creating] truth, morality, and meaning,” (Michigan State University). A great amount of the confusion about the Two-Spirit tradition can be traced to the folly

of European anthropologists and ethnographers who had a tendency to commingle gender, sexuality and anatomy according to European models: “[Conflating] shows homocentric bias and trans-gender phobia...missing the individual’s personal sense of identity,” (Cromwell, 130). This arises out of the tendency to consider anything that is incongruent with the Christian framework as “deviant” or “abnormal”, treating such differences with repugnance and condemnation. When the first Europeans encountered Native men who dressed in female garb, performing tasks associated with the female gender, an assumption was made regarding sexuality. As such, what would later become known as being Two-Spirit was first labeled as “berdache”. “Berdache” is now understood to be an unfit term² but has been accepted as correct until recently. The etymology of the term is a curious one, given what it is supposed to articulate. “Berdache” is a French term meaning “catamite”, the younger male partner in an age-differentiated homosexual relationship (Roscoe, 7). Literally the term means “kept boy” or “male prostitute”, although over time the term has shifted to the general meaning of a male homosexual (Cromwell, 126). Other terms, including homosexual, hermaphrodite, and cross-gendered, have also been used to discuss Two-Spirits, but with less prominence.³ Ultimately, these terms are simply a European oversimplification of labels or a system of categorization. Often times the only way to escape such impositions was to articulate this gender as being a third or fourth gender, but such terms still fall short.

It was not until the 3rd Annual Two-Spirit gathering in Winnipeg, Manitoba that the term Two-Spirit was officially embraced as an alternative to “berdache” or gay. The term is the English translation of the Anishinabe/Ojibway term *niizh manitoag* (Roscoe 109). It is an important alternative to saying gay, as many gay and lesbian Natives do not identify as Two-Spirit, and vice versa. The term was chosen because despite the fact that there exists a long list of ancestral-specific terms, the Ojibway term was the best at translating the meaning of the term into English. Most of the terms that exist indicate that they are seen as combining the masculine and the feminine, with no particular reference to sexuality, although certain kinds of sexual behavior may be considered appropriate (Lang, 103). Generally, being Two-Spirited refers to specialized gender roles, gender uniqueness, spirituality, with inconsistent elements of same-sex relationships and cross-dressing (Roscoe, 8). As Jessica Yee, Executive of the Native Youth Sexual Health Network, and a Two-Spirited of Mohawk ancestry commented,

In many [Native] languages there are no gender pronouns...
[The term Two-spirit] will never encapsulate what it means

and so they have made up words. It's very frustrating, you want to participate in the English world, but our words have much more meaning to them. I think bigger in Mohawk" (Yee).

However, just because there is a term does not mean there is acceptance. While Two-Spirit individuals and same-sex relationships seem to be increasingly accepted in those Native cultures that provide for multiple genders, attitudes in general towards sexuality, gender, and same-sex relationships has changed dramatically due to long-term exposure to European religions, boarding schools, and media (Lang, 108).

It is estimated that at the time of European contact in North America, there were over 400 tribal groups with "a diverse array of environmental adaptations, subsistence strategies, social organizations, family structures, languages, and religions" (Roscoe, 6). Alternative gender roles were among the most widely shared features of these societies (Cromwell, 7), and a majority of these cultures did not have strict social roles (Cromwell, 128). However, this changed under European supervision.

Changes began with encounters with fur trappers in the interior during the 17th century. As Kinsman notes, "a crucial part of the subjugation of the Native peoples was the destruction of their erotic, gender, and social life and the imposition of European social and sexual organization" (71). Merchant capitalism enabled this via the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company. Both companies developed highly structured systems that caused gender equality and social structure to be undermined. Trading was required to be done through men only. This robbed the women of their social power by forcing them to be dependent on the men. Women were further exploited as traders were permitted to take secondary "country wives", or *mariage à la façon du pays*, for the sake of gaining access to kinship networks to augment trading interactions. However, by the 1820's European women began entering into the domain of trade as well and so the traders repudiated their Native wives for their white ones (Kinsman, 71). Despite the European's dependency on the Natives to provide furs, the Europeans were dominant with their colonial agencies, missionaries, and fur traders, causing a more or less one-way flow of dominant discourse, particularly in the form of Christianity. European constructs of masculinity, femininity, reproductive sexuality, and marriage in the Christian framework steadily displaced the indigenous gender frameworks.

This process of displacement and domination became perfected in the residential school system. The residential school system began

officially in 1879 and existed through to the 1980s, providing over 100 years of neglect and abuse. The foundational history for the residential school system resides in the British North America Act of 1867, out of which arose the Department of Indian Affairs and Canada's self-imposed "responsibility" for the Aboriginal population as set out in section 91:24 (Milloy, xiii). There existed a distinct church-state relationship that remained steady and became embodied in the residential school system. The primary policy during the first term of Prime Minister Macdonald's ministry was assimilation. In 1880 Alexander Morris, one of the primary government negotiators of the recently concluded Western Treaties declares,

Let us have Christianity and civilization among the Indian tribes; let us have a wise and paternal Government...doing its utmost to help and elevate the Indian population...and Canada will be enabled to feel, that in a truly patriotic spirit our country has done its duty by the red men" (Milloy, 6).

This attitude of assimilation and "civilization" arose out of the Pre-Confederation period and such policies toward the Native populations became concrete in legislative form in the first decade after Confederation in 1867. The first major move toward the assimilation of the Native Peoples was the Act of 1869, entitled Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs. The key principles embedded in the Act were that of enfranchisement and giving Native communities "the benefit of municipal government." This latter principle effectively undermined the Native political system, forcing communities to be led by males elected under the eye of an Indian Affairs Department agent, further undermining the gender equality system. The 1869 Act also included a variety of by-laws with "the construction ... of school houses, council houses and other public buildings" being of notable interest (Milloy, *Indian Act Colonialism*). It is here that the beginnings of the residential school emerge, the most "extensive and persistent colonial system," (Milloy, 9). The Act went further by appointing agents of justice and peace for their jurisdictions. Agents were directed to apply the provisions of the Act Respecting Offences against Public Morals and Public irregularities [and] offences against Canadian social and sexual norms," (Milloy, *Indian Act Colonialism*).

The Act of 1869 was formally replaced later with the Consolidated Act of 1876, which reinforced the principles of enfranchisement and cultural extinction of the former. From the Act of 1876 sprung the legislation for

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the federal financial backing of the school system. It was assumed that a transition away from “Indianness” would be best achieved via residential schools. The first two schools were opened in Upper Canada in the late 1840s, but the school system was officially adopted on a national scale in 1879 by Macdonald’s cabinet (Milloy: Indian Act Colonialism).

The vision for the residential schools was anchored in the belief that the children needed to be ripped and kept away from their families and communities, enabling the schools environments for complete re-socialization (Milloy, 30). It was necessary to “kill the Indian in him [to] save the man.” The church strongly supported this on the basis that they believed themselves to be saving youth from savagery, and thus hell (Milloy, 27). The curriculum of the schools focused on “action, thought, speech, and dress,” (Milloy, 34). The enforcing of gender roles was particularly important. Any child displaying any inclination to behave against European norms was immediately corrected. The boys were taught to be boys and the girls were taught to be girls, with no room for anything in between (Milloy, 34-35). A clear connection can be made between the advent of residential schools and the decrease in Third and Fourth genders existing in tribes. The schools did not focus on resocializing sexuality specifically, but behavior that was incongruent with Christian ideals of masculinity and femininity was severely punished. The schools were tightly controlled environments that targeted the most malleable demographic group within Native American populations. As such, there is a direct correlation between the existence of the schools and various social transformations within Native populations. Residential schools enshrined the White European way and so children emerged after many years having had their primary cultural instincts replaced with those of the Christian Europeans. Given that the residential schools existed for over a hundred years, it can be no surprise that the history of the Third and Fourth genders, or being Two-Spirited, was largely distorted and even forgotten over the generations.

As the stories, truths, and experiences of the Native peoples were ripped away in the residential school systems, there emerges a scene in the present day of homophobia within Native communities. Without a clear space for alternative gender, sexual, and spiritual practices to take place, homophobia became rampant as in the dominant Christian-based culture. Throughout the latter half of the 19th century gay and lesbian Natives moved to urban centers in search of more tolerance (Gilley, 26). However, Native men and women who were stepping forward claiming gay and lesbian identities faced strong rejection, disapproval and discrimination from their families and communities both on and off the reserves (Lang,

109). As previously mentioned, Two-Spirited individuals should not be characterized by their sexual orientation. However, this characterization is the basis for their alienation, whether just or unjust (Gilley, 55). Despite this, the social atmosphere of the 1970s was ripe for social change with the development of gay and lesbian movements. Though hoping to find acceptance in these movements, they were instead shunned for their racial ancestry because, as Gayle Rubin articulates, “the realm of sexuality also has its own internal politics, inequities, and modes of oppressions,” (4). Despite the gay rights movement’s claim to diversity, racial minorities saw themselves as explicitly left out, creating a distinction between being gay and white versus being gay and of color. Needless to say, Native gay and lesbians recognized themselves as double minorities (Gilley, 26).

Out of this void grew the Gay American Indians (GAI) organization in 1975, an organization pivotal in the Native gay and lesbian movement for social acceptance. GAI “fought like hell” for recognition and rights, provided a forum for socialization and attacked larger Native issues such as civil rights, land rights, water rights, and fishing rights. When Native gays and lesbians found rejection instead of acceptance within the White queer community, they returned to their Native cultures “searching for an identity, role models, and predecessors,” recovering their Two-Spirit tradition (Lang, 110). This was essential as it affirmed their sexual identity, unique racial ancestry, and their unique social and spiritual role in the Native community (Ibid, 111). To be Two-Spirited is to be “actively living, preserving, and honouring their heritage,” (Ibid, 113).

After GAI, a multitude of other organizations sprung into existence and “all had as their focus the social and personal connection of gay and lesbian Natives with traditional ways as well as the prevention of HIV/AIDS infection among American Indians.” It is from these early organizations that the national network of Two-Spirit societies was eventually founded in the 1990s (Gilley, 28-29). Just as HIV awareness campaigns were crucial in the campaigning for the dominant gay and lesbian movements, so it was for the Native community. Native HIV prevention campaigns created more awareness and discussion of sexuality, orientation and diversity. This openness helped galvanize urban indigenous gays and lesbians to identify and address issues of racism, substance abuse, homophobia, spirituality, and identity (Gilley, 30).

It is clear when examining the struggle of Two-Spirited individuals how many interlocking vectors of oppression have come together to shape the emergence of their new stories, truths, and experiences. Barbara Smith states that, “[all] the major “isms”...are intimately and violently

intertwined” (100). Two-Spirited individuals have risen to face colonialism, sexism, racism, patriarchy, homophobia and heteronormativity. The overall oppression and general sense of terror – terror to be Indian in front of the White man, terror of extinction under genocidal policies, terror of the “Other”, terror of the White man himself, and especially terror of one’s own self embodies the multifaceted manifestations of the colonial vehicle. Drawing on Michael Taussig (as in Razack), “[terror is] the mediator par excellence of colonial hegemony,” (78). The adoption of the term Two-Spirit was motivated by the rejection of “the entire taxonomy of Western discourse on sexuality,” (Gilley, 111). The term deploys itself in an inclusive panhistorical and pantribal mode, allowing Natives to reclaim the malleability of identity that once existed. However, there is still an underlying assumption that “aboriginal” and “Western” are distinct cultural categories. Officially anthropologists have abandoned the view that cultures are holistic, discrete, and closed systems and instead recognize the porous and permeability of cultural borders (Roscoe, 168). The assertion that “Westernized meanings” have no context in aboriginal society overlooks the long history in which there was cultural transmission, exchange, and contamination (Roscoe 184). This begs the questions of what it means to be Two-Spirited today and what it means to be Two-Spirited tomorrow?

Though there is a wide acceptance of the term Two-Spirit, people still fight over claiming the term at all. Jessica Yee elaborates:

They fight because English is a language of the colonizer and it’s a very binary language – they want confines and constructs...but according to tradition you shouldn’t have to pick a particular identity; this is colonialism making you confine yourself to one identity.” Yee goes on to say, “at one time the Kinsey Scale was a major breakthrough but in reality the idea of gender fluidity is very traditional – thousands of years old!” It is difficult to say where the meaning of being Two-Spirited is going as it is still a very controversial subject. “People are more willing to talk about suicide than sexuality. However, 51.5% of First Nations peoples are under the age of 25. The youngest and fastest growing population is aboriginal and so questions of sexual identity expression are critical” (Yee).

The question of traditionalism arises in a segment of society that has been explicitly “bred out” under government policies and so it is in the hands of the youth to connect, internalize and carry tradition. However, there is always internal debate as to what tradition truly is “traditional.” For some, “traditional” means pre-Columbus but for others such as Elders, many of whom partook in the residential school system, their version of traditional is based on the traditions they remember growing up with. It is for this reason why some communities declare that being Two-Spirited is not traditional, because it is not a part of their memories (Yee). It is for this reason that Yee encourages youth to challenge the notion of “tradition”. Yee continues:

No one person has a claim on tradition – this is monolithic.” As for the youth, Yee finds that most are hungry for their histories and traditions. The Elders too need a chance to learn. They have been “tokenized” as being ceremonial figures to open and close ceremonies where at one point there would have been nearly a one to one ratio of youth to elder to disseminate traditions. Elders used to be responsible for sexual education but today at gatherings there is perhaps a one to 500 ratio. “It is a question of how to engage with Elders in a meaningful way...and to [teach them] about being Two-Spirit and that which they didn’t learn,” (Yee).

For youth and Elders alike, there is a wide array of activism that exists today, ranging from support groups, support lines, Two-Spirited societies, meetings, conferences, to online forums for socializing and expression. To this day, gatherings such as the International Two-Spirit Gathering remain among the most important features of the Two-Spirit social world (Gilley, 44).

However, activism does not and should not only exist within a minority community. A truly equal and just world requires people of all backgrounds to participate in justice. There is no particular strategy that is the most effective or the best, because it always depends on the social context in which change is necessitated. However, for those outside of the community, no matter the type of activism one must first and foremost be an ally. To be an ally is to above all make space for the Other so that the Other may remain as Other, but be an equal Other. Making space involves having open dialogue, asking questions, and listening with the

goal of understanding. Ultimately one must build compassionate and understanding relationships in which one both helps and supports. Self-awareness is vital to identify one's social location as to understand where one exists in the cycle of oppression as either the oppressed, the oppressor, the bystander, or the ally (Deranger). Above all, if the social location of the ally is one of privilege then use the privilege. Talk to other privileged people who may not take the time to listen to a minority. Power is a gift that should be approached carefully and used constructively (Yee).

Barbara Smith notes, "homophobia is usually the last oppression to be mentioned, the last to be taken seriously, the last to go" (99). While history is never void of change, and while change is unavoidable, there emerges a social responsibility to try and direct change into a modern era of understanding, compassion, inclusivity, and justice. While some intentions may have been innocent at the time, Canadian history played out tragically for the First Nations. Underlying the Canadian government's rhetoric of "duty" and "civilization" was a fear of the unknown, the Other. This fear is the catalyst of oppression. Two-Spirited individuals bravely faced these fears to reclaim their stories, truths, and experiences, and as we move forward only time shall reveal the stories, truths and experiences of the generations to come. "If we can remember the stories told here, they may yet serve again" (Roscoe, 212).

Endnotes

1 <http://www.experienceproject.com/stories/Am-Two-Spirit/521733>

2 "Berdache" as a term is clearly unfit for a number of reasons, namely that for one, these individuals were not necessarily homosexual and second, the term ignores the presence of females who occupied the male roles. This is because anthropologists have traditionally given the most attention to the male "berdache", leaving very little information about "female berdaches" based on the assumption that cross-gender roles did not exist for females (Cromwell, 127). To say "female berdache" is inadequate for the main reason that it is an oxymoron, as women who occupy alternative roles are not "kept boy prostitutes", (Cromwell, 126). As Walter Williams suggested in his influential book *The Spirit and the Flesh* (1985), "amazon" would be a more suitable term for describing females occupying cross-gender roles as compared to his "linguistically awkward" alternative "cross-gendered females," (Cromwell, 129).

3 At times the term hermaphrodite has been used, but this is similarly lacking. Nor does saying "cross-gendered" or such things as "manlike woman" or "womanlike man" fit (Roscoe 12). The term transsexual is entirely inapplicable as the term assumes that sex and gender need to match, an assumption that arose with the advent of sexual surgery (Cromwell 131). Nor can one use the term transvestite, as saying so "confuse[s]...[how] this...gender embodie[s] a mixture of the social, ceremonial, and economic roles of men and women" (Gilley, 8)

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Colonised Bodies? Chastity and Gender in New France

Anna Robinson

The French imperial presence in la Nouvelle France, more specifically the presence of Jesuit missionaries, was beset by anxiety over cultural differences. These anxieties centered on chastity and its relation to gender and “race” and were dealt with by French colonisers through an elaborate process of attempted francisation of First Nations peoples of region.¹ The way in which the French theorized claiming the land, their reactions to forms of native and non-native female sexual autonomy as well as Jesuit forms of self-definition signify a generalised mistrust of female sexuality. In a number of ways, religion and the realities of colonial life in New France both served to enforce traditional European models of femaleness and virginity as well as to undermine them.

Discourses of virginity common to European colonialism in the Americas were with relation to the land that was to become Canada even before permanent settlement had taken place. Intrepid and devout Frenchmen characterised the land as an untouched but penetrable feminine entity (due to its lack of recognisable signs of ownership), in what Kate McClintock has observed from the “erotics of imperial conquest”.² Such sexualised descriptions of North American invited European violation of the land and exploitation of the people within the commonly-held, preconceived notion of “savagery.” That is, they believed that the indigenous peoples lived without a guiding framework of laws, moral codes or obedience to a higher power and were, by implication, sexually permissive.³

By contemporary European standards of sexuality, indigenous attitudes towards chastity and sexual conduct were not, in fact, simply more lenient. European voices condemned them as shockingly immoral. First Nations groups around the Great Lakes and St Lawrence valley regions functioned within a labour system of gender egalitarianism whereby a gendered division of labour existed, but neither the man nor women’s role was considered more valuable. Iroquois nations were matrilineal and matrilocal, and women exercised an influential political and social voice.

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Sexuality was not confined to marriage, nor was marriage confined to two people or ‘til death do us part’; divorces were frequent, socially accepted and indeed expected, if a marriage was not going well.⁴ Jean de Brébeuf laments that chastity was a “rare commodity” amongst the Hurons. In 1696, Cholenec subtitled his manuscript of the hagiography of Catherine Tegakouita “The First Iroquois Virgin”, and while this a clearly superlative claim, it highlights assumptions that Iroquois women were not commonly chaste.⁵ Chastity was not accorded the cultural meaning it held in Christian Europe in the absence of anxieties of paternity, inheritance and sin. Rather, for native societies which were built around ties of kinship and necessitated equal partnership in marriage, chastity was a temporary state which, if maintained, compromised the functioning of society.⁶ Such noticeable sites of difference allowed an easy epistemological continuation of discourses of ‘savagery’ as well as popular Aristotelian and Biblical conceptions of women as the lustier sex. This is apparent in the terms *indienne* and *iroquoise*, which came to connote sexual vice, rendering the term ‘virginal iroquoise’ oxymoronic.⁷ Thus, First Nations women were understood in terms of their relationship (or lack thereof) with chastity, and rationalised using a thoroughly European mindset - polarities of sin and virtue. There was no acknowledgment of cultural difference and no qualms in condemning native nations for sin, lack of virtue and lust, concepts and words that did not even exist in their native languages.⁸

Conversely, sexual permissiveness for the early modern French encompassed all non-marital sexual activity, relying heavily on these concepts of sin, virtue and lust. Women’s sexuality was policed by misogynist religious rules, fear of witch trials, legal inequalities and community self-regulation. Women required such policing not only because of the legacy of Eve’s original sin but also because of the belief in Gallenic and Aristotelian theories of the body which pathologised female lust.⁹ Unchaste women threatened European patterns of inheritance; men could not be certain of their rightful heirs, and lusty women compromised the god-given masculine power of the husband.¹⁰ By contrast, in Friedrich Engels’ view, the sexual egalitarianism and matrilineality of Iroquois, Huron and Montagnais society made these sorts of concerns irrelevant.¹¹ The identification of such distinctions in attitudes towards chastity served to help define what it meant to be French (and thus moral, civilised, and later, white). Stoler has termed this phenomenon a kind of ‘internal colonialism’ - imperial discourses which attempted to firmly and arbitrarily divide coloniser from colonised.”¹²

However, the liminal space of the French *colonie*, not yet fully French

and yet no longer solely First Nations domain, allowed restricted turns of radical female autonomy, leading to claims that the women of New France were *femmes favorisées*.¹³ This was largely a result of vast gender imbalance of New France, where men could outnumber women six to one.¹⁴ Both cloistered and laywomen – Jeanne Mance, Marie De l’Incarnation, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and Madeleine Véchères to name a few – played integral and independent roles in the founding of hospitals, schools and convents in the 1630s, which in turn provided the foundations for French settlement in Canada. The frequent absences of men due to almost constant warfare with native nations in the 17th century required women to assume greater business responsibility; this was true especially of widows, due to favourable inheritance rights given by the *Coutume de Paris*.¹⁵ Education was, in one of the few times in European history, more readily available to girls than boys, as a result of schools managed by Ursulines and the rural-reaching *Soeurs de la Congrégation*.¹⁶ These slight deviances from traditional women’s roles did not in themselves cause societal uproar, yet the underlying instability they aroused is further developed in relation to the specifically sexual instances of female independence which were associated with the *filles du roi*.

These hints of female sexual autonomy were absorbed into a wider patriarchal discourse of the sin/virtue binary. This is particularly evident in the case of the *filles du roi* (King’s Daughters), several hundred women who came to New France in a wave of government-subsidised female immigration between 1663 and 1673, designed to counter the lack of marriageable (read: Christian, French) women. Their unique position of being severely outnumbered by men endowed these young women with an unusual degree of control over their bodies and their chastity. Men were subjected to a woman-directed interview to determine their worth before any marriage contract was entered into, and Marie de l’Incarnation comments that “[t]he smartest [among the suitors] began making an habitation one year before getting married, because those with an habitation find a wife easier. It’s the first thing that the girls ask about, wisely at that, since those who are not established suffer greatly before being comfortable.”¹⁷ In this way, the *filles du roi* had the privilege of personal choice of spouse (and by implication when and with whom they lost their virginity) as well as the ability to nullify a marriage they were not satisfied with, pointing to a female marital autonomy quite specific to New France.¹⁸

Despite the fact that the *filles du roi* were housed in dormitory-style accommodations and chaperoned by morally unquestionable nuns, societal anxiety about women outside the chastity-protecting frame of the family,

away from any pater family figure, “touched the edges of sexual disorder.” This is perhaps symptomatic of wider anxieties about the unusual autonomy of both indigenous and French immigrant women in New France.¹⁹ From this sprang the fanciful myth that the filles du roi were prostitutes swept off the streets of Paris,²⁰ a view reinforced by Lahontan when refers to them as “girls of average virtue” whom “the spouse would chose ... in a manner much like the butcher who is going to select sheep in the middle of a herd.” This description both tries to remove female agency and contradicts the version of Marie De l’Incarnation - a woman directly involved in the process.²¹ Furthermore, it negates the information widely available at the time, as Charlevoix matter-of-factly points out.²² Thus, the very existence of this historical discourse characterising the filles du roi as morally questionable is evidence of a distinctly misogynist ideological agenda. We see here a resistance to the idea that a woman with sexual autonomy could be virtuous; such a figure had to be rationalised out of existence through association with prostitution. For example, Father Étienne de Carheil of Michilimackinac observed “single women, women without husbands, women who are mistresses of their own bodies, women who can dispose of themselves to these men, and whom the latter know to be willing to do so” and, in a misreading of native customs of gift-giving, he decided that “in a word, they are all the prostitutes of this place.”²³ This resistance to portray sexual autonomy favourably is applicable to observations of both native and non-native women, at least until the 1690s, and there is often an underlying sense that perhaps this type of sexual sin was learned from the the lustful indigenous nations in the French missions.²⁴

By othering native women as, for the most part, incorrigibly lustful, Jesuits could successfully place themselves at zenith of sexual virtue, thereby formulating a positive sense of self and forging connections amongst the Jesuit order as a group.²⁵ As Richard White points out, we must “remove the combination of sexual fantasy, social criticism and Jansenism with which the French often veiled their descriptions [of sexuality],” especially if we take the Jesuit Relations as self-fashioned hagiographies of hopeful future martyrs.²⁶ Brébeuf, for example, presents himself as virtually asexual, whilst the Jesuit Lalemant states directly: “his chastity was proof of his virtue”.²⁷ Consequently, Jesuits were hyper-aware of projecting an image of virtue. Some Jesuits were unwilling to enter longhouses to convert women lest it compromise their public image of being chaste, apparently an occurrence far more devastating than losing a soul.²⁸ Thus, the Jesuits had a complicated relationship with indigenous women’s chastity. They needed it to be faulty in order to validate their own sense of Christian

purpose, and yet they were partaking in a mission to enforce European conceptions of sexual morality on the native peoples.²⁹ Although women were by nature more diabolical than men, French women had Christianity to guide and restrict them whereas native women did not, which placed issues of chastity directly in the realm of the missions. However, since Jesuits validated their personal sense of Christian virtue in opposition to the savage natives, they depended on native sexual difference for their identity.³⁰

Anxieties about female chastity significantly informed the way in which Jesuit missionaries approached the conversion of New France: as a cultural, physical, and spiritual colonisation of First Nations peoples. Stoler notes that an attempt at “control over sexuality and reproduction was at the core of defining colonial privilege and its boundaries.”³¹ For the French colonial officials and Jesuits, privilege was not to be extended to those who overthrew notions of female sexual subversion, like the nations native to Canada, or even those, like the *filles du roi*, who tacitly questioned this system. Although how, when, why, and if a holistic colonisation was achieved is debated, it is clear that racialised female sexuality - and chastity in particular - were embroiled in the process of change that European presence brought.³²

Endnotes

1. I use the term race here anachronistically to denote difference between French settlers and First Nations people, not to suggest that there was a fixed (or even any) concept of racial difference at the time of first contact and settlement in the 16th century. Nor do I wish to suggest that the Jesuits conducted their attempts at assimilation without an encouraging civic framework (Saliha Belmessous, “Assimilation and Racialism in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century French Colonial Policy,” *The American Historical Review*, April 2005 <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.2/belmessous.html>> (19 November 2009).

2. Kate McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995, p.24.

3. This notion that was not systematically debunked in print until the proto-anthropological writings of Joseph-François Lafiteau, see *Moeurs des sauvages américains* (2 vols., Paris, 1723; 4 vols., Rouen, 1724).

4. Karen Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot*, London and New York: Routledge, 1991, p.26.

5. Allan Greer (ed.) *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America*. Boston: Bedford, 2000, p.47; *Ibid.*, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, Oxford: Oxford University Press US, 2005, p.174.

6. Greer, *Mohawk Saint* p.175. Iroquoien society did have a place in the deliberate subordination of sexual desire, just as Europeans did; for example they abstained before hunts, but permanent virginity was not socially viable for their communities, even those who wished to conform to this Christian ideal tended to live chastely within marriage rather than forgo it altogether since. For example, some married couples lived “as brother and sister” (Jean Pierron ‘Of the Mission of the Matyrs in the Country of the Mohawks or the Lower Iroquois 1669-1670 in Greer, *Jesuit Relations*, p.152) The roles of men and women within a married couple were interdependent and the cornerstone of the structure of Iroquoien society. Iroquois were shocked at the idea of virgin nuns (Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Iroquois Women, European Women’ in Lewis, Reina and Sara Mills (eds), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: a Reader*, Taylor & Francis, 2003, p.138).

7. Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, p.18

8. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p.61; Greer, *Mohawk Saint* p.175.

9. Brown, *Brave New Worlds* p.314. These theories of gender difference were re-popularised during the Renaissance and were based on the idea that men and women had different levels of bodily heat and fluids which determined their respective characteristics. See Thomas Lacquer, *Making Sex.: Body and gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Boston, Harvard University Press, 1992.

10. Jan Noel, ‘New France: Les Femmes Favorisées’ in Strong-Boag, Veronica Jane and Anita Clair Fellman, *Rethinking Canada: the promise of women’s history* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p.30.

11. Davis, p.138.

12. Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p.7.

13. Noel has been criticised since this term only really applies to French women with some money, and reprehensibly silences the experiences of native women in New France.

14. This was as a result of the kinds of people who were attracted to or essentially forced to emigrate there – the majority being poor males, primarily engagés (indentured servants) and coureurs de bois (itinerant fur traders). Greer, *People of New France*, p.16.

15. Gender deviance, powerful rich women and business women by no means unheard of in Europe yet the perpetual instability New France was particularly fertile for some degree of fluidity in gender role.

16. Noel, p.29; *ibid.*, p.38.

17. Peter J Gagné. *King's Daughters and Founding Mothers: The Filles du Roi, 1663-1673* Pawtucket, RI: Quinton Publications, 2001, p.22.

18. Here we see echoes of native marriage practises, which were cause for concern for Jesuits (see footnote 24).

19. *King's Daughters and Founding Mothers: The Filles du Roi, 1663-1673* by Peter J. Gagné. Pawtucket, RI: Quinton Publications, 2001, p. 32] *Ibid.*

20. Greer, *The People of New France*, p.17.

21. *Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale...* , Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce La Hontan, 170 3. BnF Philosophy, History, and Social Sciences Department . <http://international.loc.gov/intldl/fiahtml/fiatheme2b3.html>.

22. Charlevoix makes the argument that if the filles du roi had been
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prostitutes, their sinful behaviours would have continued in New France when in fact they made good wives, and their origins from the hospital/asylum La Salpêtrière was easily available (Maurice Lemire, Aurélien Boivin *La vie littéraire au Québec*, Volume, Québec: Presses Université Laval, 1991.p.58). Modern historian Peter Gagnés research support's Charlevoix's claim – police records indicate that of the 770 women only one was convicted of prostitution (King's Daughters and Founding Mothers: *The Filles du Roi, 1663-1673* by Peter J. Gagné. Pawtucket, RI: Quinton Publications, 2001, p 34.)

23. Guillaume Aubert, November 13, 1685 Handout . p.6

24. White notes that by the 1690s, there was greater recognition of relationships between Algonquian women and fur trading Frenchman as having their own particular significance, for example (p.64). Anxiety is detectable in Governor Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville letter to le Ministre de la Marine, “instead of familiarising them with our laws, I assure you that they communicate very much all that they have that is the worst, and likewise all that is bad and vicious in us.”; Greer, *People of New France*, p.85.

25. Davis, p.143

26. White, p.61.

27. Anderson.p. 85.

28. Carol Devens, *Countering Colonisation*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1992.p. 466).; “his chastity was proof of his virtue” (Anderson, p.28).

29. This paradoxical relationship with native virtue can also be seen in the tacit question that plagued Jesuits – if some native women could be chaste, like the Mohawk woman Catherine Tegakouita (see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*) and godly why were they failing in converting others. It is from these dilemmas that we can see a stronger discourse of race and a historically specific racism emerging.

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be chaste, like the Mohawk woman Catherine Tegakouita (see Greer, Mohawk Saint) and godly why were they failing in converting others. It is from these dilemmas that we can see a stronger discourse of race and a historically specific racism emerging.

31. Stoler, p.39.

32 I have chosen not to focus in depth on the specifics of colonisation had on the role native women; whether it completely disenfranchised them as historians such Karen Anderson (in *Chain Her By One Foot* and elsewhere) have claimed, or the view that I favour, in which the changes were more nuanced, less teleological and included a plethora of factors such as the nature of the Jesuit Relations required a progressive narrative which displayed successes (see N.Z Davies, and other analytical approaches to the history of New France).

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Where Once They Stood, We Now Stand: The Idea of the Formation of an Indigenous Identity Among Colonial Descendants in Newfoundland

Derrick Lovell

Throughout history, indigenous peoples in Canada have endured many hardships and suffered greatly under the rule of colonizers. Though all native groups in this country suffered, none suffered the same sort of tragedy as the Beothuks of the island of Newfoundland. According to Marshall (Pg 283, 1996), the Beothuk's population probably ranged from 500 to 1000 souls at the time of European arrival in 1497. They had a unique belief system, language, style of construction of houses and ways of dressing themselves. However, according to Holly (Pg 1, 2000), by 1829, the culture had ceased to exist. Very little is known about their culture, and the information that is known is rather fragmented. Due to the terrible loss of the Beothuk people, their culture has had little to no impact on the development of Newfoundland identity as, according to Marshall (279-280, 1996), the population had long been decreasing up to the point of their extinction. Upon this loss, the culture of the European descendants became the culture with the longest history on this island. This, I believe, has created a feeling of ownership, of seniority amongst people on the island that is unique – a feeling of belonging that strongly resembles the indigenous sense of connection to the land. This paper will explore the idea of the formation of an indigenous identity by the current population of the island of Newfoundland in the time since the Beothuk extinction by looking at what comprises an indigenous identity and how this is present on the Island of Newfoundland.

Before diving into this idea, we must provide an explanation for why we are ignoring the Mi'kmaq people, a First Nation that currently has a small population residing on the island. According to Bartels and Janzen (1990), the Mi'kmaq people only began to inhabit Newfoundland in about 1760, which is considerably later than the first European arrivals. This creates a unique and peculiar situation, as it places the decedents of the European colonizers in a situation where their history in a particular

area is longer than a recognized aboriginal group who inhabit the same area. This, in addition to their small population in the province prevented them from shaping mainstream Newfoundland culture in comparison to other areas with a more traditional and larger Micmac population, such as Cape Breton Island.

To commence this discussion, we need to establish a definition of what exactly an “indigenous identity” is. Since 1982, The United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) defines “indigenous” in the following way:

Indigenous Populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than the institutions of the country of which they now form a part, under a state structure that incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population that are predominant (UNESCO).

Although they have not suffered conquest or colonization, isolated or marginal groups existing in the country should be regarded as covered by the notion of “Indigenous Populations” for the following reasons: a) they are descendants of groups which were in the territory of the country at the time when other groups of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived there; b) precisely because of their isolation from other segments of the country’s population they have preserved almost intact the customs and traditions of their ancestors which are similar to those characterized as indigenous; c) they are, even if only formally, placed under a state structure which incorporates national, social and cultural characteristics alien to theirs. (Inditek International, 1998).

With this definition in hand, we can examine Newfoundland culture,

comparing it to what is accepted internationally to be indigenous. The first section of the definition above tells us, to summarize, that an indigenous population is one that has been reduced from a situation of cultural dominance to one of non-dominance. It also tells us that an indigenous population lives a cultural life much closer to their particular culture than that of the country they now belong. These ideas can easily be applied to the people of the Island of Newfoundland. Since Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, it has been encouraged to embrace Canada and has received a great deal of cultural material as well as a bombardment of Canadian history. The “Heritage Minutes” project is a great example of this. These sixty second commercials, which received wide play in Newfoundland, portrayed Canada’s “national” history, though, for the vast majority of cases, it is not the history of Newfoundland, as technically, anything that occurred in Canada prior to 1949 was, to a Newfoundlander, an international event. An iconic example of this is centred around the first of July, Canada Day, national day of celebrating and showing pride in being a citizen of Canada, complete with nation-wide festivities with fireworks. In Newfoundland however, this day marks a grim anniversary in its history. On July 1st, 1916, the Battle of Beaumont Hamel occurred (Chafe 2002). The Royal Newfoundland Regiment was decimated, suffering ninety percent casualties. Due to this great loss, the government of the Dominion of Newfoundland declared July 1st Memorial Day – Newfoundland’s national day of mourning. The results of both Canada Day and Memorial Day taking place simultaneously is described quite effectively by Rick Mercer (2005) who writes, “It makes for a bit of a schizophrenic holiday. On the day we are supposed to be celebrating the flag, the flags are flying at half mast. Everything is different in Newfoundland.” This quote highlights a key example of how the culture of Newfoundland, its history, is not in line with mainstream Canadian culture, and, like in the definition of indigenous identity above, the culture of Newfoundland is indeed is more home-grown than it is Canadian in nature. This could be compared to part C of the second part of the UNESCO definition of indigenous. One can argue very strongly that Newfoundland is indeed under a state structure which, “incorporates national, social and cultural characteristics alien to theirs” and that, as a nation, Canada has done little to incorporate these traditions into the “national culture”.

This definition also links the culture of the island of Newfoundland to that of an indigenous identity in another way. The UNESCO definition says, to summarize, that due to isolation from other parts of the country, ancestral traditions and culture has been preserved and that these can be

characterized as indigenous. As an island, Newfoundland was, for most of its history, famously isolated, and, with the exception of bigger centres of industry such as Corner Brook and St. John's, remained in a state that, by today's standards, would be considered developing. For example, my hometown, Sop's Arm, located on the West Coast of the island obtained running water in 1970 and electricity in 1972. When my mother moved there to teach in 1986, the area still had no access to cable television, and even the road access to the area was unsealed. In fact, it was not until 1997 that the roads in the town itself were paved. These conditions led to the development of not simply a Newfoundland accent, but regional Newfoundland accents that are so distinct one can tell what part of the island one hails from by simply hearing them speak. This also led to the utilization of natural food sources, as the shipping of food to rural areas was not always reliable and, what did make it to these rural markets was often very expensive. This caused unique cultural food dishes to emerge. One such example from my home region is "salmon on a board". This dish is prepared by splitting a salmon down the middle and nailing it to a plank. The salmon is then propped on its side and cooked next to a fire of beach wood. This is often done in a large group, often times composing of an extended family or even a number of families. Though these culture happenings may not fit the typical definition of indigenous activity, as the Newfoundland dialect is indeed descended from English, it is felt that they deserve this designation as they emerged from rural Newfoundland and are a product of the environment the people who settled there were exposed to in much the same way as more traditional indigenous cultures developed elsewhere.

These views can also be reflected by the average Newfoundlander. Marjorie Lane is a retired librarian. She was born in 1936 on Woody Island, a small, formerly inhabited island off the coast of Eastern Newfoundland. She moved to the island of Newfoundland at a young age for employment. On April 1st, 2009, I interviewed Marjorie, asking her three questions. The first question was: Do you feel the people of Newfoundland have a connection to the island itself? If so, why? Her response to the question was,

Of course we feel connected to the island itself... thank God we're surrounded by water. We're a hearty bunch of people that came over from England. There weren't very many of us, so we pretty much grew from the soil. We feel connected because we had to use the water and soil to sustain ourselves, we were shaped by the land.

This view strongly resembles the view of indigenous identity put forth by Mick Dodson, a former Aboriginal justice commissioner who has had substantial involvement in United Nations indigenous peoples forums (2000), "To understand our (indigenous) law, our culture and our relationship to the physical and spiritual world, you must begin with land. Everything about aboriginal society is inextricably woven with, and connected to, land. Culture is the land, the land and spirituality of aboriginal people, our cultural beliefs or reason for existence is the land... Removed from our lands, we are literally removed from ourselves." Mrs. Lane's feeling of connection to the land, of Newfoundlanders growing from the soil is much the same land-based culture idea as presented by Dobson. This tells us that without the island itself, the soil, the physical surroundings of Newfoundland, its cultural history would not exist. The view of Dobson and Mrs. Lane are nearly the same: they both feel that culture and the land are interconnected. The second question was: Do you feel native to Newfoundland? Is it the place that you feel best describes your "homeland"? She responded to this question by saying,

"We live in paradise, and Newfoundland is certainly our homeland. We've been here through thick and thin - in good times and bad times, and certainly we've had a lot of bad times. Newfoundland will always be our homeland - no matter where you go, Newfoundland is always home. I think that everyone has a connection to Newfoundland, no matter how long their gone. You can take the boy from the bay, but you can't take the bay from the boy.

This statement is certainly very powerful, and effectively portrays the level of connection Newfoundlanders feel towards the Island. Though Newfoundlanders have experienced hardship and poverty for many years, there is still that sense that Newfoundland is paradise and this cannot be replaced. The love and attachment is so powerful we are able to overlook the pain the Island has inflicted on us and our ancestors. These feelings are very similar to the way people almost always feel about their loved ones. Our loved ones have flaws, but because our love for them is so deeply entrenched in our personalities, we are able to put aside the traits we dislike and, most of the time, ignore them. Looking at a Newfoundlander's love of Newfoundland in this light reveals a personification of the island, a love of the island as if it were a single entity, a living thing. This is in

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line with the idea of “Mother Earth” (Hughes, 1983), which is the idea of nature as a being, a being which is to be respected and loved, who provides care and nourishment, support and resources while, at the same time, holding great power for destruction. Newfoundlanders love the island as it protected them, sustained them against all odds, and for that, Newfoundlanders feel eternally grateful. This can be used as an explanation for the feelings of guilt many Newfoundlanders feel when they leave the island. By moving away from Newfoundland, you are turning your back on the land that sustained you and your ancestors for centuries. By leaving, you are not contributing, and, on top of that, you are letting your loved one - Newfoundland - down by leaving her high and dry. Even though Newfoundland has been cruel throughout history, with many starving to death and drowning, we, its people, still feel respect for Newfoundland, much like a child’s feeling towards a parent with firm discipline. The last question asked to Mrs Lane was: Do you think that Newfoundland culture is different than mainstream Canadian Culture? She replied that:

Yes, we have our own music, it’s cultured, no one else got our music. We also have our own language and we even have our traditional meals, that’s a part of our culture. We do a lot of crafts, we knit, much more than the rest of Canada. We have our own way of living too - we live by the sea, and our food came from there. People relied on fish to get them through the winter. Personally, I don’t think there are any people besides the Eskimos and natives who get as much of their food from nature. The people who live on this island are self-sufficient. If the ferry couldn’t cross the gulf, we’d survive, we’d fend for ourselves. If a mainlander got dropped off in Western Newfoundland, I can promise you he’d have a hard time getting across. We’re a hard bunch, lived a life much harder than most people in Canada.

This final quote from Mrs. Lane really speaks to how Newfoundland’s isolation shaped its culture. The development of a distinct language and diet based on natural surroundings strongly resembles the point made in the fifth paragraph of this essay which spoke to the preservation of a unique culture due to isolation. To conclude, I believe it can be said that the opinion and ideas put forth by Mrs. Lane truly support claims made perviously in the paper. She clearly believes that Newfoundlanders have a

strong connection to the land and have developed a unique culture that is well adapted to life in this difficult environment. Though she is just one person expressing her personal opinion, I can vouch for the fact that her point of view is a common one in Newfoundland. Generally, people, myself included, feel that Newfoundland is the place we belong. It is the one and only place where we, as Newfoundlanders feel at home, as, to quote Mrs Lane, “You can take a boy from the bay, but you can’t take the bay from the boy.”

It is clear that the island’s people do indeed have many of the characteristics that comprise an indigenous sense of ownership over the island of Newfoundland. However, I would like to make clear that I do not feel that the sense of identity in Newfoundland is on the same level as that of the peoples considered to be indigenous to Canada. These cultures were formed over thousands of years without any interaction from cultures drastically different from their own and therefore, the sense of belonging to the land is much more strong and indisputable. If anything, I believe the idea of the formation of an indigenous identity by the descendants of colonizers presents a new way of looking at who an indigenous person is, and that an indigenous sense of ownership is something that can be developed, and is not, as it has been often portrayed, a fixed entity. This being said, a Newfoundlander does indeed love Newfoundland – not any particular aspect such as its physical beauty (of which it has an abundance), or the people who live there, but, the island itself, and all that it comprises. Our culture blossomed from the island, and we, as Newfoundlanders are very aware of this and embrace it, feeling pride in each rock and tree that inhabits Newfoundland as, we know that who we are, our identity, emerged from this rugged landscape.

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Akwawasne Pow Wow

Photos by James Ross





Partners

QPIRG- Quebec Public Interest Research Group



The Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill is a non-profit, student-run organization that conducts research, education, and action on environmental and social justice issues at McGill University and in the Montreal community. With such a broad mandate, QPIRG brings together a wide range of activists interested in many different issues.

QPIRG-McGill is opposed to all forms of discrimination on the basis of class, gender, race, sexual orientation, and disability.

QPIRG-McGill is run by a volunteer Board of Directors which is responsible for QPIRG management, budgeting, project development, staff, working groups and the development of the group's political vision. Every March, students are elected at the Annual General Meeting open to all QPIRG members. In addition, the Students' Society of McGill University (SSMU) and the Post-Graduate Students' Society (PGSS) each have one representative on the Board.

Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill University
3647 University, 3rd Floor
Montreal, Quebec, H3Z 2P8
T 514-398-7432
F 514-398-8976
E qpirg@ssmu.mcgill.ca
Hours: Monday - Friday 11 - 5 PM.

We regret that our space is not wheelchair accessible

The First Peoples' House of McGill University



Like most "Houses" across Canada, the First Peoples' House attempts to provide a sense of community and a voice to Aboriginal students that have left their home communities in order to pursue their education.

It is our hope that the education that Aboriginal students receive here at McGill will benefit the communities which they are from. An anthropologist, whose name escapes me, once said, "The mark of a truly sophisticated civilization is its ability to adapt to change." These words reflect the resilience of Aboriginal people since European contact to the present. Education is one of many keys to our survival into the new millennium. Aboriginal students who have graduated from McGill would attest to this fact. Dedication and perseverance have enabled them to attain their goals and perhaps the realization that "they will emerge with their hands held forward to grasp the place in society that is rightfully theirs" (the late Chief Dan George).

However, in order to keep our sense of identity within a large postsecondary institution, we must not forget our roots, our language, customs, traditions and teachings of our ancestors. We must remain true to those teachings and respect one another's differences. As Aboriginal people emerge from the darkness of oppression, we look to the future that we hope is full of light and freedom to control our own destinies. An academic education based on contemporary teachings, combined with our own ancestral knowledge, will allow us to "emerge with our hands held forward" into a promising future.

As our Elders tell us, "We are always learning till the day we die!"

We welcome all indigenous students including Métis, the Inuit, & Native (both "status" & "non-status"), Maori and Aborigines.

Skén:nen - In Peace and Friendship

Waneek Horn-Miller

First Peoples' House Coordinator
3505 Peel Street
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 1W7
Tel.: 514-398-3217

Email: firstpeopleshouse@mcgill.ca



Office of Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE)

The Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE) Office is committed to fostering a fair and inclusive environment that respects the dignity of each member of the McGill Community. By actively educating, heightening awareness, and providing opportunities for dialogue about equity and diversity-related issues, we strive to strengthen the Community in our shared responsibility toward a truly equitable society.

Our Goals

- *Raise awareness and understanding by members of the University Community on matters of equity, diversity, discrimination and harassment;*
- *Make connections between different members of the McGill Community, and the wider communities in Montréal, Québec, and across Canada in order to foster dialogue, networks and learning, and to develop and promote best practices;*
- *Organize events and information campaigns through workshops, guest speakers, and print and electronic media;*
- *Provide members of the McGill Community with help to understand the relevant policies and their implications.*
- *Inform members of the McGill Community of available avenues and mechanisms to which they can direct their concerns.*

Social Equity and Diversity Education Office (SEDE)

3610 McTavish Street

Montreal, Quebec H3A 1Y2

Tel.: 514-398-2039

Email: equity.diversity@mcgill.ca



The McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)

The McGill Institute for the Study of Canada was established in 1994. Its mission is to:

- *promote a better understanding of Canada through the study of our heritage;*
- *develop a clearer understanding of Canada's social, political and economic future;*
- *identify and explore the benefits that a pluralistic society offers;*
- *support the study of Canada across the country and internationally.*

In order to achieve these goals, the Institute:

- *encourages a multidisciplinary approach to the study of Canada;*
- *promotes public as well as university-based education about Canada;*
- *fosters the development of networks in the areas of Canadian Studies;*
- *enhances informed discussion of public policy.*

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)

3463 Peel Street

Montreal, Quebec H3A 1W7

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www.mcgill.ca/misc

The Anthropology Student's Association

The Anthropology Students' Association represents the interests of students in the Department of Anthropology.

Leacock Building

855 Sherbrooke Street West

Montreal, Quebec

H3A 2T7

Email mcgillasa@hebel.com

SSMU- Student Society of McGill University



The SSMU stands for the Students' Society of McGill University! We, in short are your student union. Every undergraduate at McGill is a member of the SSMU. We are here to speak out for you and advocate for your interests. On the local, university levels this means being your representation to the McGill administration. We work hard for fairer academic justice processes, better quality instruction, and better services for students. On the broader level, we are also strong advocates for accessible, quality, public education. We speak up and organize students for better public funding, and against unsustainable tuition fee increases. We also aim to provide you with everything you might need during your time here at McGill that isn't provided by the University itself.

For all general inquiries, please call our front desk at (514) 398-6800
3600 rue McTavish, Suite 1200
Montreal, QC H3A 1Y2
Canada

AUS-Arts Undergraduate Society



The AUS is an elected student government with two aims: to represent and promote the welfare and interests of its members, and to provide activities and services to enhance the educational, cultural, environmental and social conditions of its members.

All undergraduates in the Faculty of Arts are members of the AUS. We are always looking for volunteers and for new ideas so please contact us! We look forward to seeing you and we wish you a fun and successful year!

Leacock Basement, Room B-12, accessible through the Arts Lounge
Phone(514) 398-1993
Fax (514) 398-4431

McGill University
Leacock Building B-12
855 Sherbrooke Ouest, Room B-12
Montreal, QC, H3A 2T7
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Borderless World Volunteers (McGill Chapter)



Borderless World Volunteers sends student volunteers to developing countries for community-development projects. Founded in 2003, the organization seeks to foster links between communities in need and students with a capacity for leadership and support in areas of international development.

We assist in empowering youth to lead and be part of group ventures directed towards the implementation of development projects at the most basic level. We provide a channel through which students can cause specific, measurable and long-lasting impact in the communities in which they work. We encourage our teams to research their proposed field site, develop a viable project proposal with measurable goals and benchmarks, conduct background research, and create a financial assessment of the project. Thus we encourage youth to participate not only in the application of development ideas but also in the generation, verification and assessment of their own projects.

Our Mandate: Developing tomorrow's leaders in development.

Email: borderlessworldvolunteers@gmail.com

Website: <http://WWW.BORDERLESSWORLD.ORG>

IAM- Indigenous Access McGill

What they do

-is provide support to students from First Nations and Inuit communities studying in the Health and Social Services disciplines at McGill (Social Work, Nursing, Occupational Therapy, Physiotherapy, Dietetics and Speech and Language Pathology)

What they offer

- is a dedicated support team of advisors who will offer mentoring and tutoring on all aspects of your studies*
- is a direct link to all the resources available to students at McGill from counseling to study skills, from writing skills to library research and much more*
- is the use of a resource centre in the School of Social work where you can consult documentation, do on-line research, discuss with other students, talk to the tutors*
- is an opportunity to get together with other First Nations and Inuit students and to support each other*
- is a summer support program for First Nations and Inuit students who have been accepted into the social work program or one of the health disciplines mentioned above - two weeks of mini-courses, field placement visits, introduction to McGill support services*

Indigenous Access McGill Office
McGill University School of Social Work
3506 University, Room 319
Montreal QC, H3A 2A7

Aboriginal Health Interest Group of McGill

We are a group based in the Faculty of Medicine at McGill, but welcome everyone interested in promoting and improving the health of aboriginal people, families and communities in Canada.

Our VISION: Healthy and vibrant Indigenous nations, communities, families and individuals supported by an abundance of well informed Indigenous and non-Indigenous health care practitioners working together.

Because... HIV, TB, diabetes and suicide rates in Canada's First Peoples are unacceptably high; there are incredible young Aboriginal leaders that would make terrific doctors and nurses if given the opportunity; a lack of sustainable health care workers for northern communities; a lack of interest among medical students in pursuing a northern career; a need to inform health care workers of traditional healing and cultural practices; environmental health impacts of climate change, Hydro development, persistent organic pollutants; Justice for all.

Our areas of action:

ADVOCACY-

Locally= Lobbying to improve conditions in Montreal

Broadly= Lobbying to increase enrollment of aboriginal students in the health professions

AWARENESS-

Locally= Hosting events, engaging media, reaching out to raise awareness

URBAN HEALTH-

Locally= Connecting volunteers with local organizations including the Native Friendship Centre and the Native Women's Centre

RURAL HEALTH-

Locally= Training medical students in cultural sensitivity and preparedness

Beyond= Funding options, SARROS, etc

Contact: If you want to get more actively involved, join the googlegroup at <http://groups.google.ca/group/aboriginalhealth>

Aboriginal Health



Resources



The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM)

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM) is a non-profit, non-sectarian, autonomous community development agency whose principal mission is to promote, develop, and enhance the quality of life in the urban Aboriginal community of Montreal.

The NFCM, being part of a regional and national initiative that bridges the gap between two cultures, serves the Aboriginal population of the eleven nations of Quebec. These nations include the Inuit, Cree, Mi'gmaq, Naskapi, Algonquin, Montagnais, Abenaki, Mohawk, Attikamekw, Huron and Malecite. The NFCM also works with nations found throughout Canada and the United States.

The NFCM, recognized as an information and referral centre, is also a reference point for other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations.

The number of Aboriginal people in the Greater Montreal region is approximately 44,500 (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census). First Nation, Métis and Inuit people who want to pursue their studies, who are patients in need of treatment away from their communities, who need respite or a warm meal or need further training come to the NFCM for assistance.

Our Mission

The mission of the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM) is to promote, develop and enhance the quality of life of Montreal's urban Aboriginal community.

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal is part of a national initiative that bridges the gap between two cultures.

Native Friendship of Centre Montreal Inc.
2001 St. Laurent Boulevard
Montreal, QC H2X 2T3

Telephone: (514) 499-1854

Email : info@nfc.org



Native Women's Shelter of Montreal

The shelter is constantly evolving and striving to offer the best possible services to Aboriginal women and children.

Since its incorporation in 1987, the Native Women's Shelter of Montreal has provided shelter and support to Aboriginal, Inuit and Métis women and their children who are in difficulty. Our clientele are self-referred or referred by community resources.

The shelter provides an environment where women can focus on their various challenges and rebuild their lives. We offer in-house programs and services as well as outreach services that help in the healing process of the women while assisting them in re-establishing a balanced lifestyle.

The Native Women's Shelter works within an Aboriginal framework. We incorporate many different teachings from the various cultures of First Nations, Inuit and Métis. We combine traditional healing techniques with contemporary approaches to give the women a multitude of options to address their immediate needs and issues.

Native Women's Shelter of Montreal

P.O. Box 1183, Station A

Montreal, Quebec

H3C 2Y3

Tel: (514) 933-4688 or 1-866-403-4688

Email: louannstacey@gmail.com



Young Artist Warriors (YAW)

Young Artist Warriors is an organization founded in the summer of 2008. Its mission is to raise cultural and self esteem in today's First Nations youth. The first project of Young Artist Warriors features large scale portraits of First Nations youth who attend the Inter-Tribal Youth Center of Montreal. These paintings show the youth in a proud and positive light, incorporating aspects of the youth's heritage.

Given the historical context of portraiture as a mode of painting commissioned by the powerful, wealthy elite of colonialist culture for their edification, the use of the medium proved to be a powerful tool to raise the esteem of the youth, many of whom are unaccustomed to consistent positive attention.

During the portraiture project Jeska Slater facilitated creative projects from the youth in a medium of their choosing. The youth's projects include paintings, spray-can art, rap songs, carvings and dream catchers with poetry woven within. This aspect of the project gave the youth, many of whom are homeless and struggling with issues of poverty, something positive to focus on and a sense of accomplishment. It also provided a forum for the youth to voice concerns, experiences and hardships experienced growing up in today's urban environment.

Both the works of the portrait artist, Jeska Slater, and those of the Youth, were shown in a vernissage at the Native Friendship Center of Montreal on Friday July 24th 2009. This was a time for the First Nations community of Montreal, and the friends and family members of the youth to celebrate the accomplishments and positive aspects of the youth involved.

Young Artist Warriors has garnered an astounding amount of positive attention since its inception, culminating in a Documentary that is currently being filmed about the project, and its participants. This is a costly endeavor, but will provide the organization with a concrete overview to present to potential funding bodies, and communities that wish to implement the program.

Initial funding was graciously provided by Jeunes Volontaire, an extension of Emploi Quebec. This funding has been exhausted and the program is currently being run on donations. We have applied for funding from Canada Council of the Arts, and Crime Prevention Programs. With your help Young Artist Warriors will continue to thrive and grow. Join us and take part in raising the cultural and self esteem of high-risk youth across North America.

Through creativity and the renewal of traditional teachings, we can stop negative patterns, including drug, alcohol abuse, violence and crime, that stem from the transmission of cultural shame. Young Artist Warriors wishes to reveal that our paint brushes, microphones and chisels are the new weapons against cultural oppression and racism. The First Nations Youth of today are eager to share their stories and traditions with the world through creative expression.

Contact: youngartistwarriors@gmail.com

Terres en Vues



Founded in 1990, LANDINSIGHTS has gone through the turbulence of an exhaling growth. Each year, the founding members, André Dudemaine, Daniel Corvec and Pierre Thibeault have added an upright or a crossbeam to build a bridge between nations — a fine monument for the new millennium.

LANDINSIGHTS is guided by an eleven-member board with members from the Mohawk, Huron-Wendat, Abenaki, Innu and Cree nations.

LANDINSIGHTS is the driving force behind the First Peoples' Festival, making Montreal the nerve centre of Indigenous Creativity from the three Americas for ten days in June.

LANDINSIGHTS has proven able to create a space for affirmation and recognition, in its organisational structure and its activities. If the bridge we have built may still seem fragile, the confidence our many partners as well as artists in all disciplines have shown for eleven years gives its existence its full meaning and confirms its necessity in our eyes

6865, Christophe-Colomb St. # 102

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The Eastern Door

The Eastern Door serves the Mohawks of Kahnawake regardless of birth, sex, age, language, politics or religion. The paper and website strive to be a factual, balanced, authoritative source of information with access to all segments of the community.

Founded in 1992, The Eastern Door covers news to sports to politics to human-interest stories to keep community members informed and up-to-date on issues that affect them.

The Eastern Door is a proud member of the Quebec Community Newspapers Association, the Canadian Community Newspaper Association, the Native American Journalists Association and Chateauguay Chamber of Commerce.

The Eastern Door

P.O. Box 1170

Kahnawake, QC J0L 1B0

Canada

Tel: (450) 635-3050

Fax: (450) 635-8479

Native Education Center of Concordia

The Centre for Native Education is devoted to helping First Nations, Métis and Inuit students at Concordia University achieve their highest academic potential. To this end, the Centre for Native Education:

-Provides direct services and programmes which promote the academic, personal growth, and holistic development of First Nations, Métis and Inuit students.

-Encourages the academic and administrative units of Concordia University to provide services that meet the needs of Aboriginal students, improve the quality of their experience, and promote their well-being.

-Networks and maintains good relations with other Aboriginal service organizations to promote, and better meet the interests and needs of Aboriginal students.

-Promotes the benefits of a post-secondary education to potential Aboriginal students.

-Acts as a resource centre on Aboriginal cultures, languages, history and contemporary issues.

Inter-Tribal Youth Council



Mission

The Intertribal Youth Center, a project of the Montreal Native Friendship Center, aims to represent the specific needs of the urban native population and offer a welcoming and supportive environment in order to facilitate their social, cultural and educational empowerment.

Vision

Through encouraging, recognition and respect for the native youths voices, the Intertribal Youth Center aims to increase public awareness about the challenges faced by the native community today, to enable the young people to become positive citizens, role models and eventually leaders of today's and tomorrow's society. Together, our unified voices will help to change the prejudices and negative stereotypes attached to the aboriginal youth of Montreal.

Tel: 514-499-1854

Fax: 514-499-9436