

**A Comprehensive Overview of Sports and Recreation
Issues Relevant to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada**

by Neil Winther
University of Manitoba

Paper prepared as part of the
Research Program of the
Royal Commission
on Aboriginal Peoples

August 1994

Contents

Executive Summary iv

Introduction 1

 The Purpose 1

 Objectives and Scope 2

 Methods 3

 Overview 3

 Limitations of the Report 3

The History of Aboriginal Sports and Recreation in Canada 4

 Aboriginal Sport Role Models 4

 Aboriginal Sport is Absent from Canadian Historical Accounts 7

 Sports and Recreation in the Lives of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples 9

 Lacrosse — The Oldest Athletic Competition in North America 9

 The History of Discrimination Against Aboriginal People in Canadian Sports 10

The Aboriginal Perspective of Sports and Recreation: Mind, Body and Spirit 12

 Cultural Awareness 12

 Aligning Sports with the Traditional Cultural Values of Aboriginal Peoples 14

 Cultural Tensions 15

The Relationship Between Alcohol and Drug Use and Access to and Participation in
Sport and Recreation Activities 18

 Substance Abuse in Aboriginal Communities 18

 The Purpose of Drinking 20

 Alcoholism: A Constraint on Leisure 22

 Is Substance Abuse a Leisure Behaviour? 23

 Recreation as Substance Abuse Treatment 24

The Relationship Between Involvement with Criminal Justice and Access to and
Participation in Sport and Recreation Activities 25

 Theories of Delinquency 26

 Leisure Education and the Delinquent Adolescent 28

 Good Children and Dirty Play 29

 The 'Criminal Mind': Absent in Most Aboriginal Crime 30

 Benefits of Sport Programs to At-Risk Youth 31

 Summary of the Crime Prevention Impact of Sports and Recreation Programs 32

The Relationship Between Education and Access to and Participation in Sport and
Recreation Activities 33

 The Buffalo Hunt 33

"I'd be in the NHL" 34	
Academic and Athletic Excellence 34	
Recreation Training Programs for Aboriginal People 35	
The Relationship Between Health and Access to and Participation in Sport and Recreation Activities 36	
Culturally Appropriate Health Education 36	
Unique Demographics 36	
Increased Incidence of Lifestyle Diseases 37	
Life Expectancy 37	
Suicide Rates 38	
Sports and Recreation Initiatives That Have Benefited At-Risk Youth 38	
The Chevak Village Youth Association 38	
The Selkirk Friendship Centre Youth Club 39	
The Northern Recreation Director Training Program 39	
The Arctic College Recreation Leaders Program 40	
Outward Bound 40	
Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Inc. 41	
The North American Indigenous Games 44	
Discussion of Issues 44	
Meaning of Terms 44	
Play 45	
Leisure 45	
Recreation 46	
Physical education 47	
Sport 47	
Games 48	
The Need for a Multi-Disciplinary Approach to Aboriginal Sport and Recreation Development 48	
Barriers to Access to Sport and Recreational Opportunities for Aboriginal People 49	
Greed 49	
Discrimination 52	
Sport: a class phenomenon 52	
Power issues 53	
The 'poultry principle' 54	
Sport and enforced leisure 54	
Lack of Aboriginal history 55	
Jurisdiction 55	
Gender equality 55	
The Potential for Sport and Recreation Development 57	
Sport and values 57	
Deterrent to delinquency 57	
Research Questions and Problems in the Field 57	

Aboriginal Sport History	57
Role Models	58
Mainstream Sport and Sport Within Aboriginal Culture	58
Models for Sport Development	58
Program Options	58
Library Project	58
Physical Education Programs in the School	59
Specialized Sports Programs for Aboriginal Youth	59
North American Indigenous Games	59
Instructional Techniques	59
Who is Responsible?	59
Develop a Clearer Sense of 'What Matters'	59
Nisga'a Child Welfare System, Hazelton, B.C.	60
Cultural Appropriateness	60
Funding	60
Suicide	60
Substance Use and Abuse	60
Athletics as a Deterrent to Delinquency	60
Leisure Education Programs	61
Unemployment	61
Rapid Acculturation	61
Sport As an Agent of Social Change	61
How Research Regarding Sports and Recreation Can Be Addressed in the Context of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Research Program	61
Qualitative Data	63
Conclusion	64
Bibliography	64

Executive Summary

The report presents an overview of academic and research literature dealing with sports and recreation issues relevant to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The intent is to move beyond the obvious and provide information on sports and recreation development that should be considered in establishing public policies affecting Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In addition to a detailed review of relevant scholarly works, the report also includes the views of many Aboriginal people who have benefited from participation in sports and recreational activities at many different levels.

The report presents a brief overview of the history of Aboriginal sports and recreation in Canada. This is followed by some insights into the uniqueness of Aboriginal culture. The four sections that follow deal with sport and recreation involvement by Aboriginal people as it relates to alcohol and drug use, involvement with criminal justice, education, and health. A number of Aboriginal sports and recreation 'success stories' are reviewed, and the issues that emerged from the literature are discussed in detail. Questions that could be addressed in future research are outlined, and potential future research as it relates to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples is discussed.

The report concludes that although sports and recreational activities have been shown to have a positive impact on the quality of life of Aboriginal people in Canada, the present sport and recreation delivery system does not meet their needs. The suggestion is made that future sport and recreation development initiatives must consider the uniqueness of Aboriginal culture and acknowledge the value of traditional Aboriginal sports and recreational activities.

A Comprehensive Overview of Sports and Recreation Issues Relevant to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada

by Neil Winther

Introduction

There is little doubt that participating in sports and recreational activities can enhance the quality of life of children, youth and adults. Most Canadians are enjoying an increase in the number of opportunities for participation in sports and recreational pursuits. Improved access can be attributed in part to research that has demonstrated the benefits of 'active living' as well as advances in teaching and coaching techniques and improved facilities and equipment. This heightened interest in healthy lifestyles is evident in all age groups, and generally speaking, more opportunities are being made available to most Canadians.

However, Aboriginal people are 'outsiders' to this sport, recreation and fitness development movement. (Scott, Paraschak and McNaught 1987) The sport and recreation system that has served urban Euro-Canadian communities well has for the most part ignored the special needs of Aboriginal people. This report attempts to shed some light on these and other issues that must be addressed if Aboriginal people hope to benefit from involvement in sports and recreational activities in the future.

The Purpose

The pamphlet "Framing the Issues — A Summary", produced by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, suggested that "the anger and frustration expressed" by Aboriginal people during the first round of the Commission's public hearings was "symptomatic of a more fundamental problem — a problem in the basic relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada". The pamphlet went on to suggest that the second round would be "devoted to looking for solutions".

In searching for those solutions, Chief Henry Skywater of the Birdtail Sioux First Nation feels that sports and recreation can be used far more effectively as vehicles for enhancing the quality of life of Aboriginal people in Canada. In further support of this notion, Grand Chief

Philip Fontaine, of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, stated that "sports initiatives should cut across boundaries and borders, they must be status blind" , thus suggesting that sports could be a means to bridge the gap between different cultural groups. (Manitoba Native Sport Development Group 1992, p. 3)

However, when embarking on such an important mission, it is important to have a clear understanding of all the relevant issues that might arise. Many of these issues have been pondered, described and discussed in scholarly papers and other academic and research literature. In addition, numerous sport and recreation development initiatives have been implemented over the years with varying degrees of success, and one can learn by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of these projects.

Objectives and Scope

The report presents an overview of academic and research literature dealing with sports and recreation issues relevant to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In coming to a deeper understanding of these issues, the intent is to move beyond the obvious and provide information on sports and recreation development that should be considered in establishing public policies affecting Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In addition to a detailed review of relevant scholarly works, the report also contains the views of many Aboriginal people in Canada who have benefited from participation in sports and recreational activities at many different levels.

The primary objectives of the report are as follows:

- to review and analyze academic and research literature on the general topic of sports and recreation and Aboriginal peoples;
- to review and analyze the research concerning the relationship between education/health/alcohol and drug use/involvement with criminal justice and access to and participation in sports and recreation;
- to explicate outstanding research questions and problems in the field; and
- to suggest how research regarding sports and recreation can best be addressed in the context of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' research program.

Methods

The methodology employed in this overview involved library research and discussions with

scholars, Aboriginal leaders, Aboriginal athletes and government officials who are involved with Aboriginal sports and recreation in Canada. The study was limited by the fact that Aboriginal sports and recreation history and current initiatives are poorly documented. The field research that would have been necessary to describe current Aboriginal interests in sport and recreation could not be accommodated in the scope of this project.

Overview

The report presents a brief overview of the history of Aboriginal sports and recreation in Canada. This is followed by some insights into the uniqueness of Aboriginal culture. The four sections that follow deal with sport and recreation involvement by Aboriginal people as it relates to alcohol and drug use, involvement with criminal justice, education, and health. A number of Aboriginal sports and recreation 'success stories' are reviewed, and the issues that emerged from the literature are discussed in detail. Questions that could be addressed in future research are outlined, and potential future research as it relates to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples is discussed.

Limitations of the Report

Aboriginal interest in sports and recreation is very diverse, and the literature on this topic is limited. For these reasons, the most meaningful approach to conducting a comprehensive review of this topic would be to undertake a large-scale field research project. However, field research was not feasible in this study, and therefore the following paper is based on a review and analysis of information documented in several hundred scholarly works that focus on the general topic of sports and recreation and Aboriginal peoples. Unfortunately, most of this literature was not written by Aboriginal people and consequently it may not adequately reflect the Aboriginal perspective.

The History of Aboriginal Sports and Recreation in Canada

Aboriginal Sport Role Models

In 1990 the board of governors of Sask Sport Inc. began searching for ways to increase and encourage Aboriginal participation in sports. After extensive research, they decided to develop and implement an Aboriginal role model poster campaign. The purpose of the campaign was as follows:

1. To provide positive Aboriginal role models for Aboriginal youth.
2. To raise the profile of successful Aboriginal athletes.
3. To encourage and increase Aboriginal participation in sport.
4. To increase awareness of sport programs within the Aboriginal community.
5. To develop stronger relations between the provincial sport governing bodies and the Aboriginal community (Sask Sport Inc. 1991, p. 1)

Posters portraying five Aboriginal athletes from Saskatchewan were distributed to all 70 Indian bands, all Métis communities, Indian and Métis provincial and regional organizations, and all schools and recreation centres in urban areas in Saskatchewan. An evaluation of the project revealed that 96 per cent of the respondents surveyed agreed that the campaign was an effective way to encourage Aboriginal participation in sports, and 94 per cent agreed that the campaign should be continued.

There are numerous examples of Aboriginal sport role models. For example, in 1984, Alwyn Morris, a Mohawk from Kahnawake in Quebec, became the first Aboriginal athlete from Canada to win a medal at the Olympic Games. In fact, his gold medal victory with Hugh Fisher in the 1000-metre kayak race (he also placed third in the K2-500M) made him the third North American Aboriginal athlete, after Americans Billy Mills and Jim Thorpe, to win a gold medal at the Olympic Games. The image most sports enthusiasts remember from that historic day is Alwyn holding an eagle feather — symbol of life, honour and courage — during the medal awards ceremony. This gesture was his way of honouring his late grandfather, Tom Morris. (B. Zeman 1988)

In 1990, Angela Chalmers, a member of the Birdtail Sioux First Nation in Manitoba, became the first woman in the history of the Commonwealth Games to win both the 1,500 and the 3,000 metre race. However, her crowning achievement as a amateur athlete was her bronze medal performance in the 3,000 metre race at the summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain in September 1992. (Robertson 1992)

Angela Chalmers and Alwyn Morris achieved international recognition and respect for their athletic accomplishments. However, many other Aboriginal athletes in Canada have achieved national and international status in amateur and professional sports. The following list, taken from Brenda Zeman's book, *To Run With Longboat: Twelve Stories of Indian Athletes in Canada*, gives some sense of the range of success achieved by Aboriginal athletes:

- **Joe Keeper**, Manitoba, fourth in 10,000M, 1912 Olympics
- **Alex DeCouteau**, Saskatchewan, 18th in 10,000M, 1912 Olympics
- **Tom Three-Persons**, Alberta, Saddle Bronc Champion, 1912 Calgary Stampede
- **Donald Edwards**, British Columbia, Canadian Boxing Champion
- **George Armstrong**, Captain, Toronto Maple Leafs
- **Jim Neilson**, New York Rangers
- **Dan Hodgeson**, Fort McMurray, Alberta, Vancouver Canucks
- **John White**, All-Star Field Lacrosse
- **Stan Jonathan**, Oshweken, Ontario, Boston Bruins
- **Reggie Leach**, Flin Flon, Manitoba, Philadelphia Flyers
- **Freddie Sakamoose**, Saskatchewan, Chicago Black Hawks
- **Tom Longboat**, Brantford, Ontario, winner, Boston Marathon, 1907; 1909, defeated world champion Alfie Shrubbs; 1912, world record in 15-mile race
- **Paul Acoose**, Saskatchewan, 1908, 3- and 5-mile champion for western Canada; 1909, world record in 15-mile race; 1910, 2nd place 20-mile race
- **Fred Gladstone**, Standoff, Alberta, 1948, 1950, Canadian Calf-Roping Champion
- **Jim Gladstone**, Cardstone, Alberta, 1969, 1971, 1973, Canadian Calf-Roping Champion; 1977, World Calf-Roping Champion
- **Roger Adolph**, Fountain Valley, B.C., 1963, 1965, Canadian Bantam Boxing Champion; 1965, Golden Gloves Triple Crown
- **Wesley Sunshine**, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canadian Senior Lightweight Champion; Canadian Featherweight Champion; Member, Canadian National Boxing Team
- **Sharon Firth**, Aklavik, N.W.T., 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, Member, Canadian Olympic Team; 1987, Member of the Order of Canada
- **Shirley Firth**, Aklavik, N.W.T., 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, Member, Canadian Olympic Team; 1987, Member of the Order of Canada
- **Steve Collins**, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1979, Member, Canadian National Team; Tom Longboat Award winner; 1980, 90M winner, World Junior Championships; 1980, 1984, Member, Canadian Olympic Team; 1988, Calgary Olympics
- **Alexander Ross Powless**, Hagersville, Ontario, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, Member, Peterborough Timbermen, Mann Cup Champions
- **Gaylord Ross Powless**, Oshweken, Ontario, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, Member, Oshawa Green Gaels, Minto Cup Champions; 1971, Member, Brantford Warriors, Mann Cup Champions
- **Jack Jacobs**, NFL football with Cleveland Rams, Washington Redskins, Green Bay Packers; 1947, leading NFL punter; 1950-54, Winnipeg Blue Bombers; 1963, Canadian Football Hall of Fame

The preceding list illustrates that Aboriginal athletes from Canada have been achieving world record performances for almost a century, with Alwyn Morris and Angela Chalmers as the most recent reminders of this fact.

In listening to Angela Chalmers speak, one cannot help but become enthusiastic about the potential of sport as a vehicle for personal development:

If they have a dream, then they really have to believe in it. I think that it's

excellent to have this kind of recognition, because I think there's a great deal of potential in the aboriginal people in terms of sport. I feel that I'm a role model, not just for the Natives but for all the children — and women — in sport. (Robertson 1992, p. 20)

Alwyn Morris (1992) also sees sport as a vehicle for personal and community development. He emphasizes the need for government departments to co-ordinate efforts at the community level so that community health issues will be dealt with properly. He also emphasizes the need to understand the culture of the communities being served and the demographics within these communities.

However, in listening to Alwyn Morris articulate his vision of sport development for Aboriginal people in Canada, one quickly senses his frustration over the lack of progress that has been made in this area since he stood proudly on the podium in Los Angeles eight years ago. Why are so few of Canada's 1.5 million Aboriginal people achieving athletic success and competing at the national level? Why has sport and recreation development occurred at such a slow rate in Aboriginal communities? Why do Aboriginal people in Canada not have the same opportunities to develop sport skills? Why is the development of recreation leadership and facilities not seen as a priority for Aboriginal people? (Manitoba Native Sport Development Group 1992, pp. 3-4)

So where lies the problem? Why have Aboriginal people become outsiders to the federal sport and recreation development mandate? (Scott, Paraschak and McNaught 1987) Alwyn Morris and Angela Chalmers have demonstrated that participating in sports and recreational activities is a valuable experience for Aboriginal youth. The six Inuit children in Davis Inlet who recently attempted suicide by sniffing gasoline fumes have demonstrated there is a need for healthy activities to occupy the idle hours of frustrated youth. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, 28 January 1993, p. A3)

Robert Couchman speaks to these ethical issues in the following excerpt from his thought provoking article, "The Social Responsibility of Recreation":

If we justify programming for healthy adults and children because we believe that recreation, as a component of our lives, is fundamentally important to human well being, do we not, following the same logic, provide compelling justification for the provision of specialized recreational resources for people whose sense of well being is fragile.

It is said that the measure of a civilized society becomes evident in the manner with which it cares for its most needy citizens. Any recreation department which

chooses to ignore its social responsibility in programming for special needs is, therefore, overlooking a major human responsibility. (1989, p. 10)

Aboriginal Sport is Absent from Canadian Historical Accounts

There is no comprehensive written history of Aboriginal sports and recreation in Canada. According to Paraschak, Canadian sport history has not reflected the athletic achievements of Aboriginal people since the turn of the century. In her words,

Native people seem to have lost their significance in historical accounts of sport after the early 1900 time period. (1989, p. 57)

Her conclusion was based on a review of papers in sport history dealing with Aboriginal peoples. Of the 32 articles Paraschak reviewed, none dealt with the period between 1912 and 1970, and only seven articles dealt with the post-1970 period. (1987 and 1989) Paraschak summarizes the dilemma in Canadian Aboriginal sport history as follows:

Hopefully, in time, native historians will emerge to help set the record straight. Meanwhile, sport historians have much to gain as they correct and improve historical accounts of Native people. At the same time, they will be acknowledging a social responsibility to contribute to the fight against Native oppression, ultimately assisting native people in their search for a more meaningful existence in present day society. (1989, p. 64)

Zeman has made an attempt to fill this gap in her collection of biographies, *To Run With Longboat*. (1988) But this book does not present a comprehensive historical account of Aboriginal sport in Canada.

In contrast to the publications dealing with Canadian Aboriginal sport history, Oxendine's *American Indian Sports Heritage* provides a detailed history of all aspects of American Indian sports, games, play and recreational activities. His motivation to write the book came from his awareness that although many Aboriginal youth had considerable athletic potential, few were interested in participating in sports at elite levels. Oxendine concluded that many of these young people might not be aware of the heritage of sports excellence among American Indians.

I became convinced that providing visibility to Indian sports heroes, past and present, as role models might serve to promote pride and ambition among young people on the reservation. Developing a greater awareness of the strong Indian sports tradition might also contribute to a sense of community pride.

It soon became clear to me that to understand Indian sports and to appreciate personal performances, one must first place these activities in historical perspective. (1988, pp. ix-x).

In Canada, sports and recreational activities have been a part of Aboriginal life for many

centuries, and as Oxendine (1988) and Paraschak (1989) have stated, it is important to have an understanding of one's past before making plans to address the challenges of the future. An example of this notion is illustrated in a scholarly project completed by the community of Pukatawagan, an isolated Cree community in northern Manitoba. As a part of a community development initiative, the people of Pukatawagan, took on the challenge of writing a history of their people. Marie Adele Bighetty, the author of the new work, *Missinippi Ethiniwak* ("Big River People"), introduced the book with the following comments:

This book is about the Missinippi people of the Pukatawagan area. The stories you are about to read are taken from historians and from the elders, whose contents were passed on by word of mouth from their forefathers. The stories will take you to prehistoric times (before the coming of the whiteman to the Missinippi area), historic time, the present and predictions which will take you far into the future. I hope that you will read on. (1986, p. vii)

Sports and Recreation in the Lives of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples

Some Adventures of Wisakedjak — A Cree Legend

"Younger Brother," said Wisakedjak, "I am going to have roasted ducks for supper. These birds I am cooking are about done. If you want to eat some of my good supper, you will have to run a race with me.

"We will run around the lake. One of us will run in one direction, the other in the opposite direction. If you get back to the fire first, you will join me in eating. If I get back to the fire first, you will have to sit and watch me eat." (as related by Albert Lightening in 1954, quoted in Clark 1992, p. 11)

This excerpt from a Cree legend speaks of Wisakedjak, a spirit in the form of a human being.

Legend has it that he was the first being when all the world was created and that he could talk to all living creatures as well as the rocks, wind, water and trees. Wisakedjak was older than all other living plants and animals, so he referred to them as "younger brothers". The race that took place was between Wisakedjak and his younger brother, the Silver Fox. Needless to say, the crafty fox outwitted Wisakedjak and had eaten the ducks by the time he finished his run around the lake. The race described by Albert Lightening illustrates that even in legends, athletic competitions played an important part in everyday Aboriginal life. (Clark 1992)

Lacrosse — The Oldest Athletic Competition in North America

In 1636 the Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf observed Huron playing the game of lacrosse or 'baggataway' as it was called by most tribes at that time. Lacrosse is often referred to as the

oldest athletic competition played in North America and, according to most historical accounts, was the most common game played by Indians. (Alexander and Roberts, cited in Jones 1983)

The original game of lacrosse was often a contest between two villages or tribes, with 500 or 600 players on each team playing over a field that could vary from several hundred metres to several kilometres. The playing field had no limits and would even extend into the forest. Lacrosse games were officiated by the medicine men, and although the contests ended at sunset, they often started again at sunrise and continued for several days. (Barnes 1988; Jones 1983)

The game had one simple rule: the ball could be moved only with the lacrosse stick. Beyond this rule, the game was played with an equal number of players on each team, and there was no limit on the number of athletes who could be goaltenders or in offensive and defensive positions at a given time. With few exceptions, lacrosse was played by men only and was sometimes used as a religious rite or for warrior training. The games were played primarily for fun, but winning was important for the spectators who bet on the outcome of the games. (Barnes 1988) By 1800 the game was played with fewer players and over a much smaller field.

In 1844 Euro-Canadians played their first lacrosse game at the newly established Montreal Athletic Club. Lacrosse matches took place between Indian and white teams, with the Indians almost always winning these competitions. (Barnes 1988) According to Barney (1978), Aboriginal people had a great influence on the establishment of sports and physical education in Canada.

Pakes (1990) emphasizes that most traditional Plains Indian games were played with a practical purpose in mind. For example, horse riding was an essential skill for the Plains Indians, and most five-year-old boys and girls were able to ride. Historical accounts attest to the tremendous physical feats of Plains Indians.

Young boys were expected to toughen their bodies for the challenges they would experience as warriors and hunters. There are many traditions of boys having to break the ice of lakes and rivers and take a morning plunge in winter. (Pakes 1990, p. 27)

Most children's games were played under the watchful eye of an elder. In many cases games were seen as the beginning of a training program for the battles they might encounter in adulthood. Pakes states that Indians had a more holistic view of recreation, so that to win in a competition was not so much a personal victory as an accomplishment of all the people in the

tribe.

The History of Discrimination Against Aboriginal People in Canadian Sports

There are those who claim that today sports are a 'class phenomenon' and have become the 'preserve of the rich'. This idea is not new. In fact, until the nineteenth century, the upper classes were the only social group with the time to participate in sports, because the working classes were labouring all day. As time went on, this situation changed:

It soon became apparent, however, that once time became available to the labouring classes, the possibility of social 'inferiors' competing with and defeating their 'betters' was very real. (Costentino 1975, p. 75)

During the nineteenth century, snowshoeing and lacrosse became popular sports among Canada's white upper class. Many Aboriginal people were very proficient in these sports, having participated in them for some time. Within the slate of competitions, organizers scheduled races for Indians and 'open races' where it was stated clearly that Indians were not allowed to compete. (Costentino 1975)

One might think that such discrimination occurred because formal sports governing bodies were not in place, but this was not the case.

When the Amateur Lacrosse Association was formed in 1880, all Indians, by virtue of their race only, were automatically ranked as professionals. They were only able to play with whites in exhibition matches or act as trainers. (Costentino 1975, p. 76)

This discrimination did not end at the turn of the century. Aboriginal athletes such as Tom Longboat made a great contribution to Canadian sport history, but many of them failed to receive the recognition they deserved and were also subjected to racism and exploitation. (Kidd 1983; Salter 1976; Jones 1972) An even more troubling issue is the contention that Aboriginal athletes continue to be outsiders in the Canadian sports world. A recent Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport reinforced this assertion:

Canada's indigenous peoples are another group that does not have equity and access within the sport community. Although sport is deeply rooted in the cultural history of indigenous peoples, they are not really a part of the Canadian sport system. Few indigenous Canadian youths reach national or international levels of competition. (1992, p. 153)

The report emphasized that Aboriginal people have a unique Canadian sports heritage. However, the history of Aboriginal sports and recreational activities, and in particular the biographies of prominent Aboriginal athletes since the turn of the century, have not been adequately documented. It is important for Aboriginal people to have a clear understanding of

their own sports history. Ballem (1983) commented on the need for positive Aboriginal role models in sports. Paraschak also emphasized the benefits of writing a comprehensive Canadian Aboriginal sports history:

While the examination of Native athletes competing successfully within North American sport attests to Native effectiveness within mainstream society, the development of records on sport and games in Native culture can provide an equally needed sense of uniqueness for Native athletes. (1989, p. 63)

The fact that some of the existing Aboriginal sports history indicates Native people have been the targets of racism, exploitation and ethnocentric distortion reinforces the need to write an authenticated Canadian Aboriginal sports history. (Paraschak 1989)

The Aboriginal Perspective of Sports and Recreation: Mind, Body and Spirit *Cultural Awareness*

Sport and recreation development cannot proceed effectively without a knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal culture within the sport and recreation development field. As Malloy states,

This cultural awareness may very well lead to the appreciation that Native perceptions of administrative processes may differ considerably in content as well as intent from the non-native view of 'proper' administrative functioning. (1991, p. 40)

The Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport reminds us that the Aboriginal perception of sport is different from the model accepted by other people in Canada:

The indigenous concept of sport is not consistent with the model of institutionalized sport prevalent elsewhere in the country. Sport in the indigenous community is (and must be) based on a pragmatic approach, where traditional aspects of sport are closely integrated with other features of social life. The indigenous approach to sport closely parallels the original Olympic ideal of blending sport with culture. (1992, p. 153)

Alcoze supports the notion that Aboriginal people have a much more integrated view of learning and do not separate sport and recreational activities from other educational experiences:

For the survival of the individual and the community, sports education becomes a part of the whole educational process that will prepare the individual for the responsibilities and expectations of adult life. (1988, p. 276)

The observation in the Task Force report that "sport in the indigenous community is based on a pragmatic approach" is supported by Pyke's research on the purpose of Indian games and pastimes.

The orientation and purpose of Native sports training is a culture-based method that develops the mind, body and spirit of individuals and allows this experience and knowledge to be focused on a particular and practical life skill requirement. Sports thus becomes an essential and elemental aspect of each individual's training for life as a contributing adult within a community. (1990, p. 278)

This holistic view of life is revealed in the way Aboriginal people approached the game of lacrosse. Lacrosse was played to thank the Creator, to honour members of the community who had made exceptional contributions, and to assist in healing the sick. All members of the community were involved in the event, and the emphasis was on having fun rather than winning. (Barnes 1988) Community-based cultural events such as the York Boat Days in Norway House, Manitoba or the Bannock Festival in Ste. Theresa Point, Manitoba, are examples of similar events today. (Winther 1988)

In July 1993, the North American Indigenous Games were held in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. The link between sport and other aspects of community life is illustrated in the rationale of the North American Indigenous Games.

The strength of the traditional First Nations society rested within the spirit of its community.

The community spirit will be present during the Games as athletes compete for the pride of their communities. The showcasing of Indigenous talent in athletics and numerous cultural events allows for complete family participation. With this in mind, the quality of family life is improved as well as the general happiness and welfare of the community.

The North American Indigenous Games are a revival of cultural customs and ways. The elders will play an integral part of the Games in keeping with the traditional First Nations society. (*Overview of the Games*, 1993)

However, Harold Cardinal, an Aboriginal leader living in Saskatchewan, points out that culture varies greatly from one Aboriginal community to another. For this reason, sport and recreation personnel should not make assumptions about the cultural values of various Aboriginal groups.

There isn't one Indian culture that is homogeneous throughout the province [Saskatchewan]. The people are from a variety of First Nations who each have their own culture, in many cases their own distinctive languages which, in some respects are as different as English and German.

The first thing to realize is that there is not one way to deal with Indians — you are dealing with many different groups. The second is that there also has to be some sensitivity to where the Indian clientele are located because generally, when you get closer to the urban areas where the process of colonization has perhaps

occurred for a much more intense and longer period of time, you may find the Indian people are not significantly different in cultural terms, other than language and some features, from their white neighbours. (Malloy 1991, p. 40)

Aligning Sports with the Traditional Cultural Values of Aboriginal Peoples

It is the time of the seventh generation since the signing of the treaties between the forebears of the Aboriginal people and the British Crown. It was prophesied that this would be a time of great change, that this generation of Aboriginal people would stand up and command respect. (Sinclair 1992b; Highway 1989; York 1989) The events foretold by this prophecy have begun to happen. Inherent right of self-government and self-determination are common phrases of the day. Aboriginal people are demanding respect and are asking to be treated as equal partners in Canada.

Before the coming of the Europeans, Aboriginal people led very active and spiritual lives. In a hunter-gatherer society, there was more time for leisure pursuits, and often these prepared the people for the challenges of their everyday life, but this was not always the case. There were also times of merriment, singing, dancing, and story-telling. (McArthur 1987) Summer festivals brought bands together; winter was a time for games and stories. What we call recreation today was a large part of the lives of Aboriginal people. (Picken 1992)

Traditionally all aspects of life were integrated for Aboriginal people. Work, play, leisure and religion were interconnected. Life was based on the need for fitness in order to survive: fitness of the body, mind and spirit. Aboriginal people led very physically active lives, with many of their games and recreational activities relating to survival. (Picken 1992) Neal (1989) states that many of the games and contests were not so much for recreation and entertainment but were preparation for life, both physically and spiritually. Cheska (1979) reports that sports were the most popular choice for Aboriginal youth. Traditionally Aboriginal people adopted a holistic approach to sports and recreation that encouraged the participation of all community members, regardless of age, sex or skill level, de-emphasized winning, and celebrated their culture and religion.

Morris states that the differences between Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal cultures have resulted in differences in the way sport and recreation have developed in these two groups.

The Aboriginal view of these activities remains one with a holistic concept imbued with religious significance. The eurocanadian experience has always been more reactionary in nature, favouring from time to time one or the other element depending on evolution in thinking and practice. To date, the eurocanadian has

largely eschewed the holistic Aboriginal perspective and has primarily focused on the competitive component in order to achieve satisfactory status among the sporting nations of the world. (1992, p. 5)

There is support for the notion that traditional Aboriginal sports can be effective vehicles for self- and social development in Aboriginal communities.

Surveys conducted in the Interior and Sto:lo Nations have identified that the youth have a strong desire to incorporate more sports and recreation into their lifestyles. These surveys have also identified that youth want and need to learn and incorporate a more traditional way. Traditional sports hold the answer to both of these needs. Traditional sports are a recreation activity as well as a method of enhancing cultural retention. Many of the games promote values that were practised traditionally.

Some games promote a spiritual value, others identify the high level of respect the people displayed for all humans, specifically women. Still others had a dispute settling purpose. Traditional training respects and fosters strength; spiritually, mentally, physically and emotionally. Traits needed to be instilled in our youth today for their personal growth. (Morris 1992, p. 45)

The challenge will be to ensure that Aboriginal sport is included in any redefinition of sport in Canada. The proposed Aboriginal Sport Secretariat sees this as one of its responsibilities.

Cultural Tensions

Considerable debate centres on how the distinctiveness of Aboriginal sport culture can be preserved at the same time as Aboriginal sports and athletes are being brought into the mainstream. The Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy addresses this issue as follows:

Sports leaders in indigenous communities are seeking ways to develop relationships with the sport system. As with other aspects of indigenous life and society, a paternalistic or directive approach to greater association with the sport system will not work. Increased involvement can only be achieved through community leaders and a consultative process with the sport community. A main consideration is the willingness and understanding of the sport community to accept the cultural basis of indigenous sport. (1992, p. 155)

Mrozek says there is a "potential contradiction between the social role of Native games and the social structure of 'Western' sport". (1987, p. 35) The Aboriginal view of games is a holistic approach that focuses on culture, education, health and the spiritual significance of sport. 'Western' sport focuses primarily on high levels of competition, with winning being the ultimate goal. In her study of the Arctic Winter Games and the Northern Games, Paraschak refers to a "power bloc" that "reproduces relations of oppression in northern society and which, in part, is

relatively structured along racial lines". (1991, p. 75) She defines the power bloc as the side with the cultural power to decide what belongs and what does not — in other words, "the monopolistic capacity to define what sport is and what sport should be". (p. 75)

Scott, Paraschak and McNaught describe Aboriginal people in Canada as the "true outsiders...who cannot obtain federal sport recognition because of differing cultural realities". (1987, p. 10) They point out that the initial thrust for federal involvement in Aboriginal sport development came from John Munro, then minister of Indian affairs, who approached the Fitness and Amateur Sport branch and encouraged the department to fund a sport development project for Aboriginal people. As Scott and colleagues report,

Although these activities were planned for Indian, Inuit and Metis clients, Fitness and Amateur Sport expected that any projects funded would be solely Euro-Canadian forms of sport. In contrast to this, the nature of native sport and recreation was much more culturally oriented.... The Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch, with its more narrow view of sport, ended up constantly struggling with the legitimacy of funding culturally based activities under their developmental sport mandate. (1987, p. 11)

This special project finally ended because of a flaw in the initial objectives of the program. Inherent in the objectives was the assumption that integration was the desired goal of Aboriginal sport and recreation. Scott and colleagues go on to describe how Iona Campagnola, the minister of state for fitness and amateur sport, bungled a meeting with Aboriginal leaders. The meeting was called to "set priorities for the future of Indian sports in Canada". (p. 12) At the meeting, held on 12 December 1978, Campagnola made the following statement:

...if you think that what I am trying to do is assimilate you, you are right, because with sport there is no other way...except to compete with other people. It does not mean cultural assimilation of the Indian people. It simply means that you get into the mainstream and compete like everyone else. (p. 12)

"The native response was equally blunt," report Scott and colleagues. "They informed the Minister that assimilation in sport was comparable to assimilation in other areas of life, which threatened Canada's Indian people and their culture." (p. 12)

Paraschak (1991) gives the example of Inuit people resisting the imposition of a Euro-Canadian model for the Northern Games. These games were developed in opposition to the Arctic Winter Games, which involved Euro-Canadian sports with winning being the primary purpose. In contrast, the Northern Games included traditional physical activities such as bannock making, tea boiling, seal skinning, muskrat skinning, fish cutting, one- and two-foot high kicks, ear pull, knuckle hop and head pulls.

Paraschak's examples, the recommendations of the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy, and Mrozek's description of acculturation in the Arctic provide valuable information for future Aboriginal sport development initiatives in Canada. All three sources reinforce the notion that Aboriginal peoples have their own culture, and their perceptions of sports and recreation are different from those of Euro-Canadian society. According to Morris, these cultural differences are significant enough to justify the establishment of an Aboriginal Sport Secretariat.

...[cultural differences] are the essential reason why there can be no substitute for an Aboriginal Sport Secretariat.

The Aboriginal Sport Secretariat is the needed symbol of pride and self-worth. As a guarantor of Native perspectives in fitness, sport and recreation activities, the confidence will be there to reach out to the non-Native world of fitness, sport and recreation in Canada in a spirit of association and coordination. (1992, p. 4)

The efforts of Sask Sport Inc., a non-profit federation in Saskatchewan, suggest that another approach can be taken. Greg Murdock and Lyle Daniels are working with Sask Sport Inc. to promote Aboriginal involvement in sports. Daniels describes the situation in Saskatchewan as follows:

There is a tremendous network of recreational and sport activities in this province. However, these people don't know how to make it into the Native communities, because they do not have the contacts.

One problem is that they do not know how to communicate with Native people. We are able to help them overcome this problem. Sask Sport is opening up lines of communication with Native people. (Nahanee 1991, p. 37)

There is no clear consensus in the literature or among Aboriginal leaders on the model that should be favoured in future Aboriginal sport development initiatives. There is, however, a suggestion that externally derived programs are often not sufficiently aware of the role of culture. Some Aboriginal leaders have suggested that the personnel working in existing sports and recreation delivery systems should be educated to the differences between Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian cultures. Others feel that the cultural differences are so great that separate agencies managed exclusively by Aboriginal people would be necessary to ensure that the needs of Aboriginal people are met.

If sport and recreation are viewed as means of bringing different cultures together, it would be beneficial to have Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people working together during all phases of the planning process. This model would encourage dialogue between different cultures

rather than separating Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people into two distinct groups. Sport and recreation would become the bridge between the two cultures.

The Relationship Between Alcohol and Drug Use and Access to and Participation in Sport and Recreation Activities

Substance Abuse in Aboriginal Communities

A review of the history of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in Canada indicates that Aboriginal people were first introduced to alcohol by European fur traders. Aboriginal trappers refused to trap more animals than they needed to supply their basic needs. This concept of living in harmony with nature and working to satisfy present needs rather than accumulating wealth frustrated the traders, who wanted large quantities of furs to supply European markets. The traders responded to this problem as follows:

In looking for a way to deal with these impediments to trade, the Europeans followed the lessons of other trade relationships and introduced alcohol in order to lower their resistance and to make them more compliant. Alcohol served the needs of the trader simply because it loosened the inhibitions of the Indigenous people. Additionally, significant profits were made through the sale of alcohol. (Clarkson et al. 1992, p. 20)

Today, trapping furs is no longer profitable, but substance abuse has become a serious social problem for Aboriginal people. Research by Merskey and colleagues (1988) revealed that almost 50 per cent of the Aboriginal people attending a clinic in an isolated northern Ontario community showed some evidence of alcoholism. Substance abuse is a significant factor in many of the crimes committed by Aboriginal people; in fact, police reports indicate that the majority of offences they deal with are alcohol-related. It is clear that substance abuse is not a cause of Aboriginal crime, but rather a symptom of a much more complex social disorder. The commissioners of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba stated, "We believe that Aboriginal alcohol abuse arises from the same conditions which have created high Aboriginal crime rates". (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 88)

The commissioners were referring to the extreme economic and social deprivation that is evident in many Aboriginal communities. Jarvis and Boldt summarize these conditions as follows:

By virtually every available measure of economic and social well-being used in North American society, Native Indians remain the most destitute of all groups in Canada. Fully three-quarters of Canadian Indian families fall below the officially set 'poverty line'. Official health and mortality statistics reveal that Natives

experience the highest morbidity rates and the lowest life expectancies of any major group in this country.... [U]nemployment exceeded 70% — 10 times the national average. (1982, p. 1346)

Jarvis and Boldt also report that the death rate for Aboriginal people between the ages of 30 and 39 is seven times the national average. In the population as a whole, 8.6 per cent of deaths result from accidents; among Aboriginal people, however, a startling 32.4 per cent of deaths are from accidents. Approximately one death in ten is suicide, and Aboriginal people are six times more likely to be murdered. Table 1 shows the proportion of Aboriginal people who died from various causes and who were under the influence of alcohol at the time of death.

Table 1
Aboriginal Deaths and Presence of Blood Alcohol
(percentage of deaths, by cause)

Blood Alcohol	Motor vehicle accident	Fire	Other accidents	Suicide	Homicide
No	29.4%	10.0%	36.8%	27.8%	0.0%
Yes	70.6	90.0	63.2	72.2	100.0

Source: Adapted from Jarvis and Boldt 1982, p. 1349.

Jarvis and Boldt conclude their study with the following comments:

For all types of violent death, the great majority of victims had been drinking excessively. Deaths directly attributable to alcohol abuse constituted at least 40% of all deaths, or 4 out of 5 deaths which are not from 'natural' causes. (p. 1349)

Again, one must be reminded that this problem was visited on Aboriginal people by the dominant society. Jarvis and Boldt offer the following thoughts on future change:

Unless there is a genuine transformation of social, political and economic institutions and attitudes of White society, towards and including Native Indians fully, equally, democratically and fraternally, we cannot expect a meaningful reduction in this needless waste of valuable life. (p. 1350)

The Purpose of Drinking

In his study of the Cree community of Rupert's House, Quebec, Kupferer says that the function of drinking is to relieve tension and anxiety, enhance social solidarity and increase sociability. He also states that the amount of consumption can be an indicator of the degree of social or cultural

disorganization within a group. Kupferer also reports that the great range of behaviours people display when drunk are learned rather than a result of the effect of alcohol on the brain. In his words, "the way people comport themselves when they are drunk is determined not by the alcohol's toxic assault upon the seat of moral judgement, conscience or the like, but by what their society makes of and imports to them concerning the state of drunkenness". (1979, p. 199) In the case of Rupert's House, Kupferer claims drunkenness gives the people "time out" from daily activities and tasks.

Lithman describes four different types of drinking situations that occurred in an Aboriginal community in Manitoba. In one situation (a hunting trip) alcohol did not matter in the structure of the situation, while in three other situations — a male peer group discussion, a house party and an ethnic brawl — it did. Lithman concludes as follows:

In the male peer group drinking and the drinking party, they symbolize time out and the fact that nobody can be held responsible for whatever is said or done. In the ethnic brawl, they symbolize that white men's sanctions against Indians are of no concern. (1979, p. 131)

Morinis completed a study of Indians living in downtown Vancouver in an attempt to understand "why Skid Row Indians behave the way they do". (1982, p. 193) People in the study group had abandoned their rural reserves in a search for a more interesting life in an urban setting. Morinis's description of the group places them at the bottom of all urban social classes:

The Indian Community in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada is typical of the impoverished urban Indian groups to be found in the "Skid Row" areas of most major North American cities. This group suffers illness, accidents, crimes of violence, arrests, alcohol problems, and material deprivation far in excess of general Canadian standards or norms for impoverished rural Indian reserves or even the general condition of non-Indians on Skid Row. (p. 193)

Morinis explains that this group did not "accomplish a social transition...but, for clear and logical reasons, gravitated to the poorest, most unsanitary, most unhealthy, most violent part of town...". (p. 194) He also notes that the majority of anthropological literature describes their behaviour of drinking, begging, sharing, parading and fighting as deviance from dominant urban social patterns. However, in contrast to this view, Morinis demonstrates that this so-called deviance is "culturally patterned and provides a logical and satisfying response to the psychological stresses of their social circumstance". (p. 194)

Morinis concluded that the study group was in a state of "passive hostile rebellion against White society". (p. 193) The group expressed their position by inverting accepted behavioral

norms. For example, getting drunk is referred to as "getting straight". As Morinis comments, "Inverted behavioral norms are a consistent symbolic political act made by a powerless group and presented on the stages of their personal minds and bodies." (p. 193)

Morinis describes alcohol as a central feature of Skid Row life. "In many ways, life revolves around drink. Heavy drinking is the norm. Bars are important arenas for social interaction." (p. 200) "Drunken behaviour is the means by which Indians give offence to passers-by on the street, have themselves thrown out of restaurants and hotels, get themselves untreated in hospitals, and generally earn rejection." (p. 205) This deviant behaviour is an overt form of resistance to the norms and values of a society that won't accept them.

Alcoholism: A Constraint on Leisure

In a study of alcoholics, McCormick found that Alcoholics Anonymous members had deep feelings of deviance and that these feelings affected their participation in recreational activities. His study shows that alcoholics are not as active in recreation and do not perceive leisure to be as positive an experience as non-alcoholics. (1991, p. 346) McCormick's literature review revealed the following information on studies of leisure among people with alcoholism:

- subjects showed little interest in any form of leisure other than drinking;
- alcoholics participated in fewer sports and outdoor activities than the general population;
- alcoholics preferred activities requiring little skill, equipment and commitment;
- leisure activities appear to be related to drinking for people with alcoholism. (p. 349)

McCormick found that alcoholics are very unhappy with the fact that they were "different. This experience of uneasiness with self impacts on one of the principal concepts of leisure. In a general sense, the uneasiness with self constrains one's freedom to be oneself." (p. 356) Subjects in McCormick's study commented that they were "asocial and a-leisurely". (p. 354) The subjects felt that as they grew to like themselves more, they would be able to relax and play more.

McCormick refers to Piper's (1963) conceptualization of the ideal of leisure as a condition of the soul. He contends that this condition is possible only "when people are at one with themselves". If an alcoholic does not like him/herself, "it is unlikely they will be able to attain the condition of the soul in which the ideal of leisure is possible." (p. 356)

Is Substance Abuse a Leisure Behaviour?

Research by Iso-Ahola and Crowley revealed that substance abusers appear to have personality predispositions toward sensation seeking and prefer active leisure lifestyles. (1991, p. 260) They suggest that involvement in physical activities can provide an alternative to drug use, making it important for young people to acquire the basic skills they need to participate.

If adolescents lack personal leisure skills and/or are constrained from participating in meaningful leisure activity (i.e., lack of control of their behaviours), boredom results and may lead to attempts to lessen this negative state through mood-altering drugs. (p. 262)

Iso-Ahola and Crowley drew the following conclusions from their research:

- the use of substances becomes an activity choice and can therefore be viewed as a leisure behaviour;
- substance abusers had a tendency to be more active in general;
- substance abusers participated more frequently in football, baseball, gymnastics;
- substance abusers are more likely to be sensation seekers and have a low tolerance for repetitious or constant experiences;
- school does not provide enough external stimulation for substance abusers;
- because of their personality, substance abusers seek social contacts for external stimulation and thereby come under peer influence;
- adolescent substance abusers are still bored despite active leisure lifestyles, therefore they should be provided with copious opportunities to experience leisure activities that meet the same needs that were formerly met through substance abuse;
- substance abusers need opportunities to acquire, develop and practise leisure skills and social skills. (p. 268)

Recreation as Substance Abuse Treatment

In describing methods to prevent substance abuse among Indian young people, Schinke and colleagues gave the following advice:

Group leaders can relate drug and alcohol facts to Indian culture by helping youths compare the merits of substance abuse to the natural highs resulting from spirit dancing, questing, singing, and drumming. Indian athletes, artists, musicians, craftpersons, and older youths can tell young persons how life is richer for those who do not abuse drugs and alcohol. (1985, p. 215)

Recreation can be a change agent for the alcoholic. Navar states that in order for an

alcoholic to recover, something must replace the sense of relief that alcohol provides.

"Professional programs attempting comprehensive approaches are including recreational programming and leisure counselling as a means of providing the alcoholic with resources to find alternatives to drinking." (1975, p. 110) Ryan (1991) also sees recreation as a valuable tool in reducing substance abuse and other anti-social behaviours.

Substance abuse by children and adults continues to be a very significant problem in remote communities. This problem was given national attention by the media coverage of events in Davis Inlet. In communities such as Shamattawa, Manitoba, gasoline sniffing has been identified as the number one social problem. Scott and Myers (1988) contend that physical training can be an effective strategy for dealing with Aboriginal adolescents' substance abuse. A recent analysis of solvent abuse statistics completed by the RCMP in Shamattawa supported this contention. The analysis showed a dramatic decline in the number of children detained for sniffing during the operation of a summer recreation program in 1990. Alcohol and solvent abuse have long been a problem in remote communities, and the body of literature dealing with this is extensive. (Boechx 1977; Postl 1978; Dauber 1980)

Peyrot states that recreation services are particularly suited for community-based drug abuse treatment.

At several agencies a substantial portion of resources are devoted to providing neighbourhood youth with recreational activities, including ping pong, pool, sports, dances, and excursions. When asked how this qualified for drug abuse funding, agency personnel offered a theory of drug use as a form of recreation, contending that recreational services were drug preventive because they provided a legal alternative. Recreation prevents drug use because 'if they weren't here, they'd be shooting or smoking dope'. (1991, p. 28)

Peyrot mentions that sometimes drug treatment agencies use recreation as a vehicle to attract youth to their programs and may even avoid identifying the recreation program with drug treatment so parents will allow their children to attend. The Selkirk Youth Group (Winther 1992) found some parents did not want their children to attend Youth Group recreational activities because they did not want them to associate with drug users.

One of the problems inherent in integrating drug counselling with recreation is the dual role personnel must play. It is difficult for staff to be well qualified in two areas of expertise. The interaction between staff and clients during recreation is a form of informal counselling. This setting offers an opportunity to establish a relationship with the youth in a non-threatening

environment. The work Hellison (1990) has completed with inner city at-risk youth in Chicago and Portland demonstrates clearly that the gymnasium is an excellent setting for teaching values to children and youth.

Scott and Myers examined the effect of physical training as a self-enhancement strategy for dealing with Aboriginal substance abuse. Their study showed that substance abuse was more prevalent among Aboriginal secondary students than in a non-Aboriginal sample. The availability and acceptability of drugs and alcohol, the lack of counselling, and the lack of recreational facilities were identified by the youth as the primary causes of abuse. Scott and Myers made the following observations:

Involvement in physical activity may provide a constructive alternative to recreational alcohol and drug use. The most frequently given reasons for being physically active were to have something to do and to feel good. (1988, p. 428)

The Relationship Between Involvement with Criminal Justice and Access to and Participation in Sport and Recreation Activities

The effect of recreation programs on the quality of life has been a topic of discussion for some time. Early studies looked at whether recreation services and facilities aided in the reduction of delinquency. (Burns 1907; Shanas 1942). In fact, the playground movement, initiated at the turn of the century, developed out of a concern for delinquent youth. (McFarland 1970) Yiannakis (1980) refers to this notion as the "deterrence hypothesis", that is, recreation plays a role in curbing delinquency. Hellison (1985, 1989, 1990, 1991) contends that the primary benefit of recreation programs directed to delinquency-prone youth is that they offer a vehicle for teaching self- and social responsibility. He suggests that programs offered in small communities can become a kind of "micro-society" where the "rules" are changed even if it is only for a short while.

Hellison made several important observations about Aboriginal sports and recreation programs during his visits to Manitoba. He argued that it is not the intrinsic qualities of sport and recreation that 'teach' the values of self- and social responsibility, but rather the highly interactive and emotional character of 'life in the gym', where physical activity serves as a medium to teach these values.

Most educators, criminologists and government institutions, including the commissioners of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, believe there is a strong relationship between delinquency and the lack of opportunities to participate in structured recreation and sport

activities.

Recreational activities for Aboriginal youth are nonexistent in many Aboriginal communities. Boredom is a common complaint of the young people and a serious concern of community leaders...There is no question in our minds that the absence of constructive social and recreational opportunities is linked to the incidence of juvenile delinquency. (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 587)

In 1954, the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation stated, "the association sincerely believes that sound programs of health, physical education and recreation can help lessen delinquency". (Sandborn and Hartman 1970, p.97). Fichter states, "[Athletics] helps them work off energy which they would be using in worse ways if they were not in athletics." (1958, p. 196) Donnelly illustrates this point with the following quotation from a coach: "[The] boy who shoots baskets doesn't shoot people and the boy who steals second base isn't stealing cars." (1981, p. 21)

Theories of Delinquency

Aguilar (1987) reports that there are many theoretical explanations for delinquency. The disciplines of biology, sociology, psychology, and social psychology have developed their own theories of why youth engage in delinquent behaviour. Such variables as body type, environmental conditions and social class have been considered in the literature. Research has also focused on the fact that delinquent behaviour tends to be learned, is reinforced by others, and is to some extent is self-limiting.

Cohen (1959) lists what are widely accepted as the six general theories of delinquency:

Delinquency as a result of differential association: Exposure to delinquent behaviour as a social norm leads to a greater risk of becoming involved in the criminal justice system. The association can come from social class or geographical location. This may be one explanation for the high rate of recidivism in some Aboriginal communities and the high proportion of the inmate population that is Aboriginal.

The Aboriginal population in institutions for young people in 1989 was 61%. The Aboriginal population for all correctional institutions in Manitoba (both federally and provincially administered) in 1989 was 56%. The Aboriginal population of Manitoba was 12% in 1989. (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 101).

Delinquency as a result of weak social controls: Individuals who are exposed to weak social controls rather than strong controls have a greater tendency to become involved with delinquent behaviour. It is now widely accepted that the residential school system eroded many Aboriginal

parenting skills.

Delinquency as a result of rebellion: Many youth become delinquent when goals have been set for them and they cannot achieve these goals. The results are often anger and frustration, resulting in rebellion against perceived unrealistic expectations. The youth strike back at the schools, property and authorities (crimes against power).

Delinquency as a result of boredom: Many cases have been put forward suggesting delinquency is the result of sheer boredom. In remote communities it is not uncommon for youths to commit break-ins and leave evidence behind that will ensure their implication in the offence. An arrest will often result in a trip out of town and a break from the boredom.

Delinquency as a result of a need to assert masculinity: Some boys feel the need to assert their masculinity to themselves and their peers. The traditional way of life has changed, thus closing this avenue. Many boys may be turning to criminal acts to satisfy this need.

Delinquency as a result of labelling: Becker, Erickson and Lemert (1976) suggested that if one has a label and that label is associated with social deviance, then the individual runs a greater risk of becoming delinquent.

In addition to the six theories listed above, numerous international studies suggest a seventh factor: the link between poverty and crime. This is not to say that the poor are criminals, for the majority are not, but attitudes of hopelessness and alienation produced by socio-economic inequalities is a significant factor in crime. This is best stated by Chief Dennis Shorting of the Little Saskatchewan First Nation during his appearance before the Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Inquiry:

So we find ourselves in the fertile breeding grounds of crime: high unemployment, lack of educational opportunities, substandard housing, inadequate health care, tradition, hunting, fishing and trapping rights being violated, a shortage of recreation facilities, and being subject to the law which many times we don't understand, laws which do not fit our culture, values and traditions. (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 92)

Such inequalities lead to anger and frustration, which in turn may contribute to criminal behaviour. It may also be true that this seventh factor is a combination of the other six theories at work at the same time.

Leisure Education and the Delinquent Adolescent

Leisure education has been described by Chinn and Joswiak (1981), Gunn and Peterson (1977),

and Mundy and Odum (1979) as a comprehensive program employed to enhance the quality of a person's life through leisure. Their models (though differing slightly) involve elements focusing primarily on

1. self-awareness
2. leisure awareness
3. attitudes
4. decision making
5. social interaction
6. leisure skills (Mundy and Odum 1979, p. 44)

Leisure education focuses on the acquisition of leisure knowledge and leisure skills. (Chinn and Joswiak 1981) Thus the intent of a leisure education program is twofold. First, such a program is meant to introduce individuals to a variety of activities through direct participation. This will enable the individual to choose the types of activities he/she wants to continue to participate in, based on past experience. This relates to the concept of self and leisure awareness. This is a key step, as research has demonstrated over and over that individuals will tend to remain involved in an activity if their initial participation was based on free choice. If an individual is given little option in terms of activities to participate in, that can hardly be construed as free choice.

The second aspect of a leisure education program consists of ensuring that the individuals gain the necessary skills to participate in their chosen activity (e.g., knowledge of the rules of a game, etc.). If an individual is interested in a certain activity, but lacks the skills necessary to participate, this can also lead to their withdrawal from that activity for the wrong reasons.

The most important premise behind the introduction of a leisure education program is that individuals will remain active in sport and recreation pursuits only if they both enjoy the activity and have learned how to participate in it through their own initiative, rather than through the continual prodding of some other individual or group.

The research conducted by Aguilar (1987) was designed to measure the effects of a short-term leisure education program on the attitudes delinquents held toward recreation and delinquency. He contended that although delinquent behaviours are negative, they are also rewarding, challenging and fun for the participants. The problem he sees with these behaviours is that although they fulfil some of the needs of participants, they are detrimental to society.

Aquilar's research indicated that a leisure education program could change attitudes toward recreation and delinquency.

Good Children and Dirty Play

In a provocative article entitled "Good Children and Dirty Play", Fine draws our attention to the fact that deviant behaviour is not restricted to delinquents. "One of the paradoxes in play research is the fact that 'good' children often engage in forms of play considered immoral and distasteful." (1988, p. 55) The four types of play Fine describes are aggressive pranks, vandalism, sexual play and racist invective. He concludes that this play occurs through needs for control, status, social differentiation, and socialization to perceived adult norms.

The 'Criminal Mind': Absent in Most Aboriginal Crime

The uniqueness of Aboriginal crime gives crime prevention programs unique opportunities to be highly successful. It appears that the absence of the classic 'criminal mind' in most Aboriginal crime could permit a reversal in the rates of crime if programs are properly introduced that address not the symptoms but rather the causes of crime. Few mechanisms have been developed to date that have had any significant impact on Aboriginal crime. "[This] failure may be the result of a lack of mechanisms that reflect the special cultural, legal, and socioeconomic characteristics of Aboriginal communities, and the resource restrictions and duties of police forces." (Benson 1991, p. i)

Research indicates that patterns of crime and deviance among Aboriginal people differ markedly from those of the non-Aboriginal offender. (Depew 1986) More specifically, crime statistics reveal that Aboriginal criminal activity tends to occur as one of two extremes: either minor offences or serious violent crimes.

The national crime rate is 92.7 per 1000 population, while the crime rate for Indian bands is 165.6 per 1000 population [1.8 times the national rate]. These figures make it clear that members of Indian bands are far more likely to be victims of violent crime than other Canadians. (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 87)

Substance abuse is a significant factor in many of the crimes committed by Aboriginal people; in fact, police reports indicate that the majority of offences are alcohol-related. It is clear, however, that substance abuse is not a cause of Aboriginal crime, but rather a symptom of a much more complex social disorder. The commissioners of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of

Manitoba stated, "...we believe that Aboriginal alcohol abuse arises from the same conditions which have created high Aboriginal crime rates." (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 88)

Benefits of Sport Programs to At-Risk Youth

Wankel and Berger completed a comprehensive overview of research dealing with the benefits of sport. They suggest that sport and physical activity contribute to personal enjoyment, personal growth, social interaction and social change. They do point out, however, that these contributions are sometimes difficult to identify:

Sport, like most activities, is not a priori good or bad but has the potential for producing both positive and negative outcomes. Hence, a more salient question is...`what conditions are necessary for sport to have beneficial outcomes'. (1990, p. 167)

The framework Wankel and Berger used to assess the benefits of sport is based on the work of Csikszentmihalyi (1982). Wankel and Berger found that the four outcomes could be realized when participating in appropriate activities. Of particular importance are their views on sport as a mechanism of social integration:

Sport can serve as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge, values and norms. The specific values conveyed may be those of the dominant society or conversely those of a divergent sub-group. Therefore, sport might contribute either to differentiation and stratification or to integration in the overall society. (p. 174)

The researchers concluded that if strong leadership was in place and appropriate values were emphasized, sport could serve as an agent of social change. Lee emphasizes that we can use sports to help children and youth become better people if we go about it the right way:

It is possible to bring about moral growth if, and only if, coaches and teachers deliberately adopt strategies with this in mind; these include modelling desirable behaviour and discussing fairness...we must have a commitment to it and be prepared to recognize the educational as well as the performance role of the coaches. (1986, p.254)

A comprehensive overview of the benefits of parks and recreation was recently completed by the Parks and Recreation Federation of Ontario and the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation (1992). The report summarized the benefits of recreation as follows:

Personal Benefits of Recreation:

- Physical recreation and fitness contribute to a full and meaningful life.
- Regular physical activity is a method of health insurance for individuals.
- Relaxation, rest and revitalization through leisure are essential to stress management.
- Meaningful leisure activity is an source of self-esteem and positive self-image.
- Leisure helps us lead balanced lives, achieve our full potential and gain life satisfaction.
- Children's play is essential to the human development process.

- Leisure provides positive lifestyle choices and alternatives to self-destructive behaviour.

Social Benefits of Recreation:

- Leisure provides leadership opportunities that build strong communities.
- Community recreation reduces alienation, loneliness and anti-social behaviours.
- Community recreation promotes ethnic and cultural harmony.
- Recreating together builds strong families, the foundation of a stronger society.
- Community involvement, and shared management and ownership of resources.
- Leisure opportunities, facilities and the quality of the local environment are the foundations of community pride.
- Leisure services enrich and compliment protective services for children through after-school and other recreational services.

Economic Benefits:

- Investment in recreation is a preventive health service.
- A fit work force is a productive work force.
- Small investments in recreation yield big economic returns.
- Meaningful leisure services reduce the high cost of vandalism and criminal activity.

Environmental Benefits:

- Recreation can contribute to the environmental health of our communities.
- Investing in the environment through parks leads to recreation opportunities.
- Natural environment based leisure activities are insurance for a new and improved environmental future. (Government of Ontario 1992, pp. 9-15)

The benefits catalogue produced by the Parks and Recreation Federation of Ontario and the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation includes an extensive body of documentation supporting each of the categories of benefits listed above.

Summary of the Crime Prevention Impact of Sports and Recreation Programs

Virtually all community-based crime prevention projects advocate the use of sports and recreation as a vehicle for crime reduction. (Mahon 1989; Nielsen 1988; Adcock 1987; Hart 1989; Currie 1987) Although many sports and recreation programs have been successful at reducing recidivism rates, no one approach has proved more successful than another. As a result, some controversy has arisen:

The principal controversy provoked by these examples is whether the effective results occasionally demonstrated by these programs are the result of chance or luck, the efforts of an unusually charismatic and effective leader, or a combination of program management strategies and treatment techniques that might be utilized in other sites... the quality, training, and enthusiasm of the staff, along with the skills and dedication of the program management, may be as important a contribution to the program success as the theoretical intervention strategy adopted (Greenwood and Turner 1987, p. 3)

These comments are consistent with those of other researchers (Winther 1990; Winther and

Currie 1987), who emphasize the importance of establishing a trusting relationship with children and youth.

The Relationship Between Education and Access to and Participation in Sport and Recreation Activities

The Buffalo Hunt

In the days of our ancestors, one of the greatest achievements was to kill a buffalo with a bow and arrow. When you think about it, this was a tremendous accomplishment and everyone celebrated this event. Today we are all striving to get an education. That university degree is our 'buffalo'. (paraphrased from a radio interview, Winnipeg, 19 February 1993)

Dewer describes how the acceptance of Treaties 6 and 7 marked the end of a social era for Aboriginal peoples. The references to education in these treaties are as follows:

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, wherever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it. (Treaty #6) volume II, p. 35, 23-28 August and 9 September 1876. By Cree Indians.

Further, her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when the said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers. (Treaty #7) volume II, p. 58, 22 September and 4 December 1877. By Blackfoot, Peigan, Sarcee and Stony Indians. (Dewer 1986, p. 1)

Dewer goes on to state that for the next eighty years neither the government or the church involved the Indian people in planning or decisions about their own education. This position is supported by Cardinal (1969).

"I'd be in the NHL"

Sports may be one of the only positive aspects of school for children and youth who are not motivated to pursue academic excellence. In her book, *Without Reserve: Stories of Urban Natives*, Shorten gives numerous examples of the important role sports played in the lives of her subjects:

Jimmy Mix

"Hockey." He grins. "I was home. I played for about two or three years. Made the best teams. Really good at it" (1992, p. 3)

"You know, I think if everything had went smooth, right now I'd be playing NHL hockey. I'd be in college or university. I wouldn't have a criminal record. I wouldn't have been a drug dealer." (p. 8)

"I was just tired of life. Just tired of being forced into change. Or just knowing that I was different. There was just so much going on in my head, you know. The only escape I ever had was, I had a girlfriend. She used to make me laugh. And sports. I played a lot of sports." (p. 9)

"It was a bit difficult on the street, trying to be a jock and play hockey, and be a drug dealer. So finally I just went completely over to the drug side of it." (p. 13)

Academic and Athletic Excellence

There are many examples of successful Aboriginal leaders who excelled in academics as well as athletics. For example, two Aboriginal lawyers, Associate Chief Judge Murray Sinclair and Willie Littlechild, began their university education in physical education faculties. Sinclair was the keynote speaker at the 1992 annual conference of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Willie Littlechild was born in Hobbema, Alberta and completed his bachelor and master's degrees in physical education at the University of Alberta. During his time at the University of Alberta, Littlechild was a member of the diving and varsity hockey teams. He was vice-president of the Men's Athletic Association and of the Indian Law Student Association. In 1967 and 1974 he was awarded the Tom Longboat Trophy as the Indian Athlete of the Year in Canada. In 1973 he organized the Indian Hockey Council to help promote hockey among Aboriginal people. Each year six Aboriginal students from Alberta receive the Willie Littlechild award for their contributions to their communities as well as athletic and academic excellence.

Littlechild maintains that education in the field of sports and recreation is crucial for Aboriginal people today:

The most critical area of sports for Native Peoples is still the development of leadership at all aspects. There is still a great need to develop sport administrators, coaches, officials and recreation directors that would service the unique concerns of Native communities. Initially, the training must be designed in a manner that graduates of the said programs can deal with Native situations more effectively. (1981, p. 590)

Recreation Training Programs for Aboriginal People

In 1990, the Manitoba departments of Education, Northern Affairs and Culture, Heritage and Citizenship designed and implemented a two-year recreation director training program for 27 northern Manitoba residents. Twenty-six of the trainees were Aboriginal youth. The training

program was designed after consultation with community representatives, and the training was delivered using a competency based model. This project is similar to the recreation leaders program delivered by Arctic College in Inuvik, N.W.T. Both projects combine classroom instruction with practicum experiences in the trainees community.

Littlechild (1981) indicated that jurisdictional conflicts between the provincial and federal governments can inhibit sport development for Aboriginal peoples. Joint funding by the federal and provincial governments of Northern Fly-In Sports Camps sport and recreation projects in First Nations and Métis communities demonstrates that jurisdictional problems can be overcome. (Winther and Currie, 1993) Additionally, the Manitoba program to train northern recreation directors used provincial funds to train status Indians (Searle et al. 1992)

The Relationship Between Health and Access to and Participation in Sport and Recreation Activities

Culturally Appropriate Health Education

Gardiner, a health educator, is the author of a non-formal family living program for Aboriginal people. The intent of this program is to produce a series of health education video tapes to be viewed in remote communities.

Gardiner points out that traditionally, Aboriginal peoples were an enduring race. "Within the traditional Native world view, health signified harmony between mankind, nature and the Creator. Deviations from health occurred when this balance was upset." (1991, p. 15) The Aboriginal view of health is a holistic view. However, Gardiner points out that Aboriginal people have not fared well in this regard. "If health represents wholeness and balance between physical, intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual aspects of life, then clearly Native people have the poorest health status of all Canadians." (p. 15) "They remain the most over-medicated, over-drugged, over-treated of all ethnic groups." (p. 16)

Unique Demographics

At a recent sport and recreation planning meeting, Morris pointed out that Aboriginal people are becoming an increasingly large proportion of Canada's population. Gardiner notes that "where the majority of [non-Aboriginal] Manitobans are preparing to retire, the majority of Native people are preparing to enter the workforce." (1991, p. 16) For example, Manitoba demographic information for 1988 indicates that 78 per cent of Manitoba's Aboriginal population is between

the ages of 0 and 34, whereas only 55 per cent of the non-Aboriginal population falls within this age group. An amazing 47 per cent of Manitoba's Aboriginal population falls in the 0 to 17 age group, compared to 26 per cent of the non-Aboriginal population (p. 17). Gardiner states that living conditions and lifestyles are direct contributors to poor Aboriginal health. She emphasizes the need for change.

There is a need for programs which focus on the family and stress what families can do to enhance the health and well-being of their members and the community-at-large, encourage self-care while also providing information about appropriate use of health and social services. (p. 25)

Increased Incidence of Lifestyle Diseases

Grieve suggests that in recent years the pattern of illness in remote communities has changed. The incidence of the infectious diseases that had plagued the reserves has declined, but 'lifestyle diseases', such as diabetes, hypertension and obesity, are showing a substantial rise. As Grieve states, "these self-inflicted maladies are fuelled by unemployment, isolation, hopelessness, chronic alcoholism and generally a more sedentary lifestyle." (1988, p. 1) Gardiner (1990) contends that recreation programs could have a significant impact on communities by shifting the emphasis to prevention and lifestyle rather than treating chronic disease with medication and institutionalization.

According to Blanford and Chappell, Aboriginal people have significantly lower levels of subjective well-being than non-Aboriginal people. They explain this fact as follows:

...it appears to be their disadvantaged health and social circumstances which account for this fact. These findings by and large do not support an interpretation that something about being Native leads to these lower levels. If non-Natives lived in the disadvantaged situation in which Natives live they too would experience lower subjective well-being. (1990, p. 397)

Life Expectancy

Blanford and Chappell also indicate that life expectancy for Aboriginal women is 47 years, compared to 75 years for non-Aboriginal women, and 46 years for Aboriginal men, compared to 67 years for non-Aboriginal men. (1990, p. 387) Research also suggests that First Nations people living on-reserve are in poorer health than those living in urban centres.

Bagley conducted a study of suicide rates on Alberta's 26 most populated Indian reserves. Data were derived from a review of 1,814 cases of suicide and suspicious death in males aged 15

to 34 years. The data in Bagley's study showed that suicide rates and poverty levels were positively correlated.

Very poor reservations tended to be in the northern part of the province and were isolated from other human habitation. Rank order correlations indicated strong associations of suicide rates with northern latitude and distance from the nearest town of population more than 5,000. Suicide rates in young Native males in the northern region were 80.1 per 100,000; in the central region, 71.2 per 100,000; and in the southern region, 35.3 per 100,000. (1991, p. 149)

Suicide Rates

Ross and Davis studied suicide for a three-year period (1981-1984) in Norway House, a northern Manitoba reserve. The overall rate of suicide in this community was 77 per 100,000, but the rate for male treaty Indians between the ages of 20 and 24 was 241. (By contrast, the overall suicide rate for Canada was 14 per 100,000.) During this time there was an incredible parasuicide rate of 7,722 per 100,000 in females aged 15 to 19. (1986, p. 331) The suicide rate in Norway House is approximately ten times the rate in Toronto (p. 333). Ross and Davis presented the following conclusions to their research:

The present study identifies a major public health problem among the Native people of Norway House. If the suicide rate in Winnipeg, a city of 600,000, was the same as that of Treaty Indians, we would have close to 500 documented suicides per year. At the Norway House rate for Treaty women, we would expect doctors in Winnipeg to see about 12,000 overdoses per year. Clearly, if the entire population of Winnipeg was overdosing at this rate, a major multi-million dollar public campaign would be launched immediately. (p. 333).

Sports and Recreation Initiatives That Have Benefited At-Risk Youth

The Chevak Village Youth Association

The CVYA is a relatively rare example of a youth organization in a remote village in Western Alaska that functions as a primary prevention program. In his study of the organization, which has been in operation for several decades, McDiarmid describes the activities of the CVYA as follows:

The CVYA serves a number of functions including educational, social recreational, community service, and economic. In the course of planning, organizing, and putting on events, village youth assume significant responsibility. The activities which the organization sponsors are vital to the social and recreational life of the community, providing relief from stress and alternatives to substance abuse. (1983, p. 53)

McDiarmid emphasizes that organizations such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and 4-H clubs are not

relevant in this setting because these activities evolved out of a totally different culture. "Only when the local community has taken over the organization and adapted its form, goals, and activities to the local norms have such organizations taken root." (p. 56) The CVYA is an organization that was created and run entirely by indigenous youth. It was developed because "hanging out, visiting, playing basketball, and snowmachining pretty well exhausted the leisure activities available to the youth of Chevak." (p. 56)

The Selkirk Friendship Centre Youth Club

The Selkirk Friendship Centre Youth Club is a community-based pilot project funded by the Community Action Program of the National Drug Strategy. Aboriginal children and youth, ranging in age from eight to eighteen, interested in maintaining or establishing a drug-free lifestyle, meet several times a week to participate in social, recreational, cultural and educational activities. All club activities reinforce the benefits of staying away from drugs. The project is co-ordinated by a full-time youth club co-ordinator who develops the club's schedule working together with group members.

The Selkirk Friendship Centre, located in Selkirk, Manitoba, initiated the project three years ago, with the goal of breaking the pattern of substance abuse that was prevalent in many families for several generations. The project is unique in that many of the participants are 'strivers' rather than 'abstainers', that is, they are striving to be drug-free but may not have achieved this goal yet. The club attracts youth who do not feel socially accepted in other drug education programs or who are unable to conform to the membership policies of other groups. (Winther 1992)

The Northern Recreation Director Training Program

The Northern Recreation Director Training Program (NRDTP) was a combined effort of the Manitoba departments of Education and Training (New Careers North), Culture, Heritage and Citizenship, and Northern Affairs. New Careers North staff trained 14 recreation directors for First Nations and Northern Affairs communities in northern Manitoba. The program was in part a response to the recommendations of a review of the recreation delivery system sponsored by the department of Culture, Heritage and Citizenship and to the needs outlined by 50 delegates at the Remote Communities Recreation Conference held in Thompson, Manitoba, on 2-3 March 1989.

Additionally, the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry confirmed that better recreation programs and facilities were needed in northern communities.

New Careers is an alternative post-secondary education and training program with a mandate to train adults who are/have been structurally barred from obtaining education and to provide them with the skills and knowledge they require for specific jobs. (Gordon 1991, p. i) For this reason it was appropriate that New Careers North delivered the Northern Recreation Director Training Program to Manitoba residents living in some of the most remote communities in the province. The New Careers Competency-Based Education and Training (CBET) system was well suited for the recreation director trainees, who had difficulty gaining access to specialized training offered in southern urban centres. (Winther 1992. See Appendix 1 for a detailed overview of New Careers program activities, philosophy and the CBET system.)

The Arctic College Recreation Leaders Program

Arctic College in Inuvik, Northwest Territories is in the eighth year of delivering a recreation leaders diploma program. The two- year program trains Aboriginal leaders who are sponsored by their home community. The program involves classroom training in Inuvik and on-the-job training under the supervision of a qualified recreation director.

The curriculum includes course work on communications, management, programming, leadership, facilities, marketing, anatomy, physiology and social psychology. It also exposes the students to a wide variety of recreational activities and provides an opportunity to discuss contemporary issues in recreation. This program is taught and administered by highly qualified professionals and is an excellent example of a success story in the Arctic.

Outward Bound

Wright evaluated the effects of an adapted Outward Bound program on a group of delinquent youth. The study was designed to measure the effects on the self-esteem, self-efficacy, locus of control, cardiovascular fitness, and problem-solving skills of the youth. The participants engaged in a 26-day wilderness treatment program. An analysis of the results revealed a significant improvement in self-esteem, internality, self-efficacy, and fitness between the beginning and end of the wilderness program. (1983, p. 33)

Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Inc.

Northern Fly-In Sports Camp Inc. (NFISC) is a non-profit corporation whose mission is to enhance the quality of individual and community life for people living in remote Manitoba communities through the provision of healthy summer recreation programs for children and youth that are fun and contribute to social development and improved leadership skills.

The idea of a Manitoba-based sport and recreation outreach program originated with Dr. Neil Winther, a physical education professor at the University of Manitoba. However, the conceptual framework for the program is rooted in part in the work of Dr. Don Hellison, who for 20 years has worked with at-risk youth in Portland and Chicago. Dr. Hellison's community work, research and humanistic physical education curriculum models became a framework for NFISC programs.

Encouraged by Hellison's success in the United States, a test program involving 400 children was undertaken in two communities during the summer of 1986. Funding was through a one-time University of Manitoba outreach grant and various donations. Community evaluations of the program revealed that the program was valued, and parents felt there was a need for future programming.

As a result of this success, it was decided to establish the program on a solid footing, and a non-profit corporation was established in the fall of 1986. The corporation was registered as a charitable organization with Revenue Canada, Taxation in early 1987. A board of directors made up of interested representatives from various agencies and northern groups was appointed.

To date, NFISC has delivered \$2.5 million in programs and leadership training to children and youth living in 22 different remote communities situated in Manitoba, Ontario and the Northwest Territories. The Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Inquiry recommended increased financial support for NFISC and an expansion of programs into all remote Aboriginal communities.

The notion that organized physical activity can be an effective deterrent to delinquent behaviour was an interest of the RCMP, who were the primary sponsors of the project. NFISC research indicates that crime rates have decreased by as much as 60 per cent in host communities during the period when the project was in operation. This project demonstrates the benefit of sports programs as a deterrent to delinquent behaviour in remote Aboriginal communities.

The key to the success of the project is inter-agency co-operation, where all members of

the community and supporting agencies participate in the design and implementation of the program. NFISC has demonstrated the benefits of using sports, outdoor recreation, and cultural activities as a vehicle to develop self- and social responsibility in delinquency-prone youth.

The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry in Manitoba identified Northern Fly-In Sports Camps as one of the organizations that has addressed the inequities of recreational activities in Aboriginal communities:

Some efforts have been made to improve recreational opportunities...we were told of the tremendous drop in crime which accompanied the attendance by the community of the Northern Fly-In Sports Camps... This experience clearly shows that the problem of youth crime can be addressed to some significant degree by the provision of adequate and appropriate youth recreational programs. (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 587)

The inquiry report also made the following recommendation:

The funding for the Northern Fly-In Sports Camps be firmly established and that the camps be expanded to provide its services to all northern Aboriginal Communities. (Sinclair and Hamilton 1991, p. 587)

The benefits of NFISC are realized through the organization's efforts to address the causes of crime through its structured leadership training and recreation programs. These benefits are realized as follows:

Reason for Delinquency

1. Exposure to delinquent behaviours as social norms.
2. Weak social controls
3. Rebellion against perceived unrealistic goals
4. Boredom
5. Need to assert masculinity
6. Labelling

Goal of NFISC

1. Expose youth to positive role models (leaders) and positive peer pressure experiences.
2. Individuals involved in a recreation program will have social controls placed on them by coaches and peers. NFISC will provide programs and (group) determined standards for behaviour.
3. Provide the opportunity for achievement of realistic objectives and increased activities which will reduce stress and frustration.
4. NFISC provides a variety of stimulating activities thus offering something for everyone.
5. Provide opportunities for 'power-brokers' and youth to work/play together on the same side. Provide opportunities for positive and constructive uses of power, strength and aggression.
6. NFISC reinforces to youth that they are capable. Athletes enjoy status and with this status comes the expectation to conform.

As pointed out in the Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, the reduction of crime is a significant benefit of NFISC. Analysis of crime statistics in 1989 revealed the following decreases in crime rates in communities where NFISC was delivered:

Community	Total Population	Population Aged 0-19 years	% Reduction in Crime
St. Theresa Point	1724	1005	-20
Brochet	646	360	-56
Oxford House	1260	550	-67
Pukatawagan	1359	710	-41
Gods River	314	154	-78
Moose Lake	962	423	-43
Gods Lake Narrows	112	52	-41
Cross Lake	2938	1755	-47
Mean			-49

Summary of Benefits of NFISC

Clearly, there are many benefits of the NFISC program in terms of both community development and individual growth and development of the participants. Some of these potential benefits include the following:

Fun: Thousands of children have fun and enjoy a high-quality summer activity program.

Recreation programs: Provision of a summer activity program that might not otherwise be available to communities in the form provided by NFISC.

Develops strong communities: Total involvement of community members in sport, recreation and fitness programs.

Training and youth employment: Provides a direct benefit for the participants and a legacy for the community because of the availability of better trained youth and the potential they offer for continued programs.

Social development: Potential for social development and improved self-esteem through communication and interaction with others.

Education: Local participants are encouraged and motivated to pursue higher education opportunities as a result of their interaction with university-trained leaders.

Skills development: Participants are exposed to new activities and learn new skills, which provides the motivation for them to participate in activities on a regular basis.

Reduced crime rates: Research has shown that the NFISC program results in a significant reduction in crime rates in host communities. (Harper 1992, pp. 3-4)

The North American Indigenous Games

The North American Indigenous Games will be held in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, on 18-25 July 1993. This event will attract more than 6000 Aboriginal athletes from across North America. The games include competitions in archery, box lacrosse, soccer, badminton, canoeing, softball, baseball, golf, swimming, basketball, rifle shooting, volleyball, boxing, track and field and wrestling.

Discussion of Issues

Meaning of Terms

The review of the literature revealed that the terms and/or concepts of play, leisure, recreation, physical education, sport, games and leisure education have been used interchangeably or as if they were synonymous. This leads to confusion. Although these terms are interrelated, they do not hold the same meaning. The following explanations describe the differences between and among these terms.

Play

The quality and quantity of childhood play experiences will have a long-term effect on the nature of the adult person. It is often said that the first years of our lives are the most critical years for shaping our personalities. Play is recognized as the cornerstone of human development and well-being. (Anderson 1989) Huizinga (1962) defined the following characteristics of play:

- it is voluntary behaviour;
- it steps outside of ordinary life;
- it is usually secluded and limited in time and space;
- it is not serious but absorbs the player intensely;
- it is bounded by rules;
- it promotes formation of social groups which surround themselves with secrecy. (p. 13)

Leisure

Kraus (1978) defines leisure as follows:

Leisure is that portion of an individual's time which is not devoted to work or work-connected responsibilities or to other forms of maintenance activity and which therefore may be regarded as discretionary or unobligated time. Leisure implies freedom of choice, and must be seen as available to all, whether they work or not. Leisure is customarily used in a variety of ways, either to meet one's personal needs for self-enrichment, relaxation, pleasure or to contribute to society's well-being. (p. 44)

The unemployment rate in many Aboriginal communities is in excess of 50 per cent.

With such a high unemployment rate one might question whether it makes sense to use the concept of work to distinguish it from leisure. Picken (1992) addressed this issue in her thesis, entitled "The Meaning of Leisure to Native Manitobans: A Case Study of South Indian Lake".

Picken refers to Kaplan's (1975) observations of Black Americans:

Many have never been employed, and many have never lived in a neighbourhood or a home in which going to and returning from a job by fathers and friends was self-evident and built into the everyday reality of the growing child. Work values have little or no place in the ghettoized, unemployed centers of doing nothing. If, in fact leisure has no meaning except as contrast to work values then these young Negroes have nothing. (p. 48)

Other research by Roadberg (1983) shows that enjoyment is the essential determinant of leisure and although freedom is important, it is not a sufficient determinant of leisure. Graham, McGill and Perrin also emphasize that leisure is about having fun. "First and foremost participation in leisure implies enjoyment and fun." (1990, p. 25) In terms of Aboriginal people, it would be safe to say that leisure is anything they choose to do for pleasure. (Godbey 1981)

Recreation

The word recreation comes from the Latin term *recreatio*, which means to refresh or restore.

Kaplan describes recreation as "a period of light and restful activity voluntarily chosen, which restores one for heavy work." (1975, p. 19) Once again the term recreation seems to be dependent upon work for its meaning. More recently, recreation has come to be associated with

physical activity, whereas leisure is most often described as a state of mind and the feelings associated with that state of mind. (Henderson 1990) Neumeyer defines recreation as follows:

Recreation is any [physical] activity pursued during leisure, whether individual or collective, that is free and pleasurable, having its own immediate appeal, not impelled by a delayed reward beyond itself or by any immediate necessity. (1958, p. 22)

The study of recreation as a professional discipline emphasizes the importance of recreation experiences, both active and passive, for all people. It focuses on planning, programming, community development, administration, interpersonal relations, leadership and instruction. Recreational professionals provide people with a wide range of recreation opportunities in areas such as music, dance, drama, museums, parks, historical sites, sports, games and fitness. They may be instructing or they may be supervising a staff that assists them in planning and administering programs and facilities.

Physical education

Physical education is the educational profession which is responsible for the instruction in physical activities involving sports and games, motor skills and knowledge, physical fitness, and other rhythmic and movement forms. (Anderson 1989, p. 26)

The study of physical education emphasizes the scientific bases of fitness and physical activity. It focuses on human development and performance, the psychology of sport, leadership, instruction skills, and skills competence in various physical activities. Physical education professionals are concerned with providing physical activity and sport-related opportunities, such as fitness, track and field, intramural programs, swimming and games. They may be instructing physical activities, coaching teams and conducting fitness appraisals, or they may be involved in administrative positions in the areas of sport, fitness and athletics.

Sport

It is easier to understand what sport is when viewed as a part of a continuum, represented by Vanderzwaag (1972) as follows:

Play <---> Physical Recreation Activities <---> Sport <---> Elite Sport

Play is the precursor to physical recreation and sporting activities, and games lay the foundation for athletics. Anderson states that sport is a physical activity with the following characteristics:

- contains elements of physical prowess and skills, and is vigorous;

- must include an element of competition or challenge;
 - is institutionalized, in that it has rules, regulations, and strategies of play;
 - is involved in a socialization process. (1989, p. 27)
- Sport is a manifestation of play, and sports are institutionalized forms of play. (Siedentop

1990) Michael Novak describes sport as a "natural religion":

Faith in sports, I have discovered, seeks understanding... Other believers know how hard it is to put into words what they so deeply and obscurely know... All around this land there is a faith without an explanation, a love without a rationale. (1976, p. xiii)

Games

The term games generally means a form of playful competition whose outcome is determined by physical skill, strategy, or chance employed singly or in combinations. "Games are the vehicle whereby play, physical recreation, sport, and elite sport (athletics) evolve." (Anderson 1989, p. 31)

The Need for a Multi-Disciplinary Approach to Aboriginal Sport and Recreation Development

If the goal of a 'new plan' for Aboriginal sport and recreation development is to enhance the quality of life of children, youth and adults through the provision of high-quality learning experiences, **all aspects of sport, recreation, physical education and fitness delivery in Canada must be investigated to determine how each of these disciplines can contribute to a healthier Aboriginal population.** Each of the phases of the developmental physical activity continuum (play, recreation, sport and elite sport) must be enhanced from the ground up. This involves working with school systems, community recreation agencies and fitness directorates, as well as provincial and federal sports and recreation agencies.

One fact that must be emphasized is that it is essential to receive positive experiences in physical activity as a child. If children do not receive quality physical education and coaching, they will not develop the basic motor skills that are the prerequisite skills for sports.

Children do pick up some skills through informal play experiences, but they will not become skilful athletes without coaching. As one coach said, "You do not learn how to play the piano by sitting down and banging on the keys day after day." In a similar manner, children do not acquire a knowledge and understanding of sports skills without quality instruction and continuing corrective feedback.

The gap between the skilled and the less skilled widens as children mature. Research

indicates that adolescents base their physical activity choices on their competency level. If they feel competent, they will participate for the rest of their lives. But if they feel incompetent, they will drop out of sports as soon as possible. Children base their decision to continue or quit sports on their self-perceived level of competence which is, for the most part, firmly established by age eight. (Pangrazzi and Dauer 1989)

Aboriginal people should have access to the same high-quality physical education, sports and recreation delivery systems that the dominant culture has enjoyed for many years. Until this change occurs, it is unrealistic to expect skilled athletic performances from Canada's Aboriginal people. **Most of the Aboriginal athletes who have competed at the national level achieved these goals despite the system, not because of it.**

Barriers to Access to Sport and Recreational Opportunities for Aboriginal People *Greed*

George Shapiro, a researcher at the University of Minnesota, is renowned for his work on ethical leadership. He describes how he had reached a level of personal success as a university professor and "was wondering just what it was I was contributing or even trying to contribute to society that was worthwhile. I starting thinking about what I was going to do for the rest of my professional life." (1987, p. 76) Shapiro set out to identify and work on the one problem in the world that he thought he would be most qualified to tackle and excited to do something about. He came to the following conclusion:

Greed is a predominant force operating in our society. I became concerned about what I perceive as the most basic and important function of leadership, which is balancing the habit of individuality with the habit of community. I became concerned about the overweighing of individuality. It is important to keep these in balance. The ethical leader somehow keeps these two in balance in ethical ways when human beings are treated as ends, not means. (p. 76)

Aristotle said, "the end to ethics is action, if you don't have action, you don't have ethics".

Within the Canadian sports community, the emphasis has been placed on the 'individual', not the 'community'. As Scott and colleagues observe, "To be recognized as a sport at all [in Canada], an activity must be organized, competitive and success oriented, not mass recreational, 'sport for all'.... All non-Olympic sports are placed in a second class position or below" (1987, pp. 2, 6)

Sports Canada has placed its emphasis on the pursuit of Olympic gold. All Canadians contribute to this goal. To some extend the high-performance sports development system reflects the same greed problem referred to by Shapiro (1987) and Couchman (1989). The system is

designed to help a very limited number of individuals meet their own personal goals. For example, at a recent track meet in Winnipeg, Bruni Surin, one of Canada's foremost sprinters, complained that he was losing money competing in Winnipeg because he was giving up a \$5000 performance fee he would have received at a meet in Europe. He described the meet as "a waste of time".

The notion that sport can enhance the quality of life of Aboriginal people in Canada has been brought to the attention of federal and provincial government departments involved with sport development in Canada. Regional sport organizations have responded to this need. For example, in Manitoba, the Norman Regional Sports Association and the Eastman Sport Development Association have actively promoted sport development for Aboriginal people. However, the farther one moves up the bureaucratic ladder (provincial or federal), the less evidence one finds of support.

An exception to this pattern is the government of Manitoba's Northern Recreation Director Training Program (NRDTP). The NRDTP was a two-year project conducted between 1990 and 1992 as a joint effort on the part of the Manitoba departments of Northern Affairs, Culture Heritage and Citizenship, and Education (New Careers North). The project delivered a recreation director training program to 27 young people (26 of them Aboriginal) living in remote northern communities. A detailed evaluation of the impact of NRDTP demonstrated that the project resulted in considerable health and crime reduction benefits for the host communities. (Searle et al. 1992; Winther et al. 1992) The government of Manitoba should be commended for implementing the Northern Recreation Director Training Program. This initiative demonstrated ethical leadership in government where training and resources were directed toward the Aboriginal target population that clearly had the greatest needs and would derive the greatest benefit. However, it is noteworthy that this \$2-million project received no financial contribution from federal or provincial sports departments.

One question is why federal and provincial sports departments have failed to see the benefit of supporting Aboriginal sport development initiatives. Aside from the issue of social responsibility (Couchman 1989) and ethical decision making (Shapiro 1987), there is a purely practical reason for supporting Aboriginal sport development initiatives. In times of severe fiscal restraint, all government departments are searching for means to justify their existence. Sport is sometimes viewed as a 'luxury'.

The unique measurable outcomes of sport participation include the achievement of a personalized fitness level; the development of competence in a wide variety of skills; and the acquisition of requisite knowledge related to motor skill performance and fitness maintenance. Sport has for some time had the opportunity to sell itself as an agent of social change. However, Winther and Currie (1987, 1989, 1993) have demonstrated that sport programs can reduce crime rates in Aboriginal communities when most other crime prevention initiatives have failed. Hellison (1985, 1989, 1991, 1992) has illustrated the crime reduction potential of sports in Portland and Chicago. Sport has had an excellent opportunity to expand its list of measurable benefits, but it has yet to respond to this challenge.

"Shot to Hell"

Dear Rat:

Guess it's about time I got in touch, huh?
Well, you know how I am:
Rotten to the rear end
But you knew that the first time you
looked down the sewer
Which is no excuse for not writing to tell you
"all is well in the sewer"
I hope you understand
a person of my calibre is always:
Shot to Hell!!!

Noo-Chook

The young Aboriginal woman who wrote this note to a summer sport camp instructor is expressing the despair she feels growing up in "the sewer". For some time, her community had the unenviable title of "murder capital of North America". It is difficult for Aboriginal youth to develop a sense of self-esteem when living in such desperate surroundings.

Apple (1982) contends that our society works to maintain and reproduce the existing division of labour. He suggests that if you are born a 'blackbird', you will remain a 'blackbird' all your life, because society operates in a way that inhibits the advancement of oppressed and devalued people. Aboriginal people have been oppressed by the dominant white society and only recently have they drawn this oppression to public attention.

Discrimination

If you would tell a child right from birth that he's no good, that he's a drunk, that

he's not able to hold onto a job, that he's lazy, that he's a welfare bum, that he's just plain no good. And you tell him that over and over again. By the time that child becomes 16 years old, he actually believes that he's supposed to be lazy. That to be Indian is to be on welfare. That to be Indian is to be in jail, to be drunk. (Oscar Lathlin, Chief, The Pas Indian Band, 1988)

Evidence of discrimination against Aboriginal athletes is reported frequently by the print and electronic media. Oxendine reported that discrimination was a major problem in his studies of American Indians.

Indian students at both the high school and college level believe that special problems are faced by Indian athletes. These include prejudice and discrimination by non-Indians, a tendency toward shyness and lack of confidence on the part of Indians, financial difficulties, and a high incidence of alcohol and drug problems. (1988, p. 268)

The issue of discrimination against Aboriginal people was placed in perspective at a cross-cultural workshop conducted by Vern Morrisette, an Aboriginal child welfare counsellor from Winnipeg. He made the observation that it is unusual for him to go through a day without being the recipient of a discriminatory remark or gesture. One can only imagine the toll this kind of ill-treatment takes on Aboriginal youth.

Sport: a class phenomenon

Sports morphology — the selection of young athletes on the basis of biological maturity rather than age — has become a major area of research. In 1982, it was reported that scientists in the former Soviet Union claimed to be able to identify potential gold medalists in the first year of life based on genetic markers in children. (*Globe and Mail*, 17 February 1982) Todd Marinovich, sometimes referred to as America's first test-tube athlete, was groomed from birth by his father, who owns an athletic research centre. Through 18 years of intense training using a team of 13 sports scientists, Todd's father 'produced' an athlete who holds the U.S. high school passing record of 9,914 yards. (Looney 1988, p. 56).

Improvements in coaching, equipment, facilities, scientific research and sports psychology have allowed us to develop more of the athletic potential of children and youth. One need only observe the skills of children who train in private gymnastics, swimming, skating or riding clubs to realize that children have the potential to learn complex sports skills at a very young age. For example, there is obviously an advantage to sending aspiring hockey players to hockey school at an early age.

The fact is that sports programs conducted by qualified instructors are expensive. A quick

walk through the private sports clubs will verify that there are very few Aboriginal children and youth benefiting from this training, because their parents can't afford the fees. It is not unusual for a family to spend \$1000 per child on sports instruction annually. Once again, the children and youth who would benefit most from sports instruction do not have access to it because of prohibitive costs.

Scott, Paraschak and McNaught spoke to the issue of the class structure within Canadian sport.

In keeping with the Olympism's "internationalist" view, Sport Canada has, at the same time, created an explicit class structure, with Olympic and other World Championship sports at the top, while uniquely Canadian sport activities have been shunted to the bottom or ignored as inappropriate for funding considerations... our own "first Canadians" — native people — are left fighting for funding assistance. (1987, p. 15)

Power issues

A movement is under way nationally to establish a Native Sports Directorate. This initiative is in keeping with one of the recommendations in the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy.

The federal government, through the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch, support the creation of an independent sport secretariat for indigenous peoples as a national sport organization. (1992, p. 157)

Recent developments in Aboriginal self-government may have the sports 'gatekeepers' concerned. For example, the first steps have been taken in Manitoba to develop the Manitoba Aboriginal Sport and Recreation Association. This organization could be seen as a threat to the existing provincial sport organizations, which have done little to target Aboriginal people, even though it is obvious that Aboriginal people have the greatest need for sport development opportunities. In contrast, recreation, education and policing agencies have been working actively with Aboriginal people for some time (keeping in mind that sport and recreation are distinct disciplines).

The 'poultry principle'

One of the challenges facing Aboriginal people is obtaining equitable funding and support for sport and recreation development projects. The competition for sports and recreation funds can be compared to the frenzy that occurs when feed is thrown out to a flock of chickens. The theory is that no matter how carefully one throws the feed, there will always be some chickens that get

more than they deserve - hence the 'poultry principle'.

Fund raising has become a full-time profession for some people, and the competition for financial resources, particularly during difficult financial times, is fierce. Research indicates that few individuals and corporations donate to a cause because it is a good idea. Funding from government agencies and foundations usually requires well developed proposals. In many cases, Aboriginal people do not have the experience or expertise to compete with the sophisticated fund-raising efforts of well established non-profit agencies.

Sport and enforced leisure

One of the problems that Aboriginal people face, particularly in remote communities, is tremendously high unemployment rates. It would not be uncommon for 75 per cent of the residents of a remote community to be without work. Coupled with the loss of the traditional lifestyle, the end of trapping and a depletion of fish stocks, many Aboriginal people have little work available for them to do. It is not clear whether sport and recreational activities can serve as a substitute for work when Aboriginal people are faced with this state of 'forced leisure'.

A unique project (Winther 1988) was proposed for the Aboriginal community of Shamattawa, Manitoba. This community of 700 recorded 529 Criminal Code offences per 1000 population in 1987. The community-based lifestyle enrichment/crime prevention project planned for Shamattawa emphasized life skills in contrast to predominant educational models, which created false hope because of an emphasis on work. The rationale was that Aboriginal people need to receive education that enables them to cope with life, which includes leisure, even if it is enforced leisure. Central to this is avoiding the negative value associated with non-work lives. Since a life of non-work is a distinct reality in isolated Aboriginal settlements, education must be more attuned to life and leisure, not just work.

Lack of Aboriginal history

A book? We don't need another book. What we need is a rock and roll star.
(Marcel, addictions counsellor, piper-carrier, Métis elder, quoted in Shorten 1992, p. vii)

The point Marcel was making is that Aboriginal youth need role models to look up to. The impact and importance of athlete role models such as Alwyn Morris and Angela Chalmers should not be underestimated. Applebee (1982) conducted a study among athletes in three Indian high

schools in South Dakota. Based on the results, he made the following comments:

The low aspiration level among Indian youth may be related to the absence of Indian role models. When asked to name a prominent female athlete, students at Haskell could not think of a single one. Male athletes could only offer the name of one prominent male athlete, who happened to be a fellow student at the school. The view that there were few professional Indian athletes was expressed by 92%. (Oxendine 1988, p. 268)

Jurisdiction

In some situations the conflict over respective federal and provincial responsibilities may come into play in funding projects for Aboriginal people. Métis people are under provincial jurisdiction whereas the federal government is responsible for Indians. This argument is often used by government departments when they are approached to fund various Aboriginal sports and recreation projects.

Gender equality

Historical accounts of Aboriginal sports (Oxendine 1988) indicate that girls and women have always participated in sports and games regularly and vigorously. This involvement generally diminished when women were married and started raising families. There are few references in the literature to adult Aboriginal women participating in sports, though an equivalent reduction in male participation does not appear to have occurred.

A review of sport and recreation opportunities for Aboriginal people in northern Manitoba revealed the following issues related to women in sport:

The consensus was that schools take care of the children very well and that the other activities cater to young adult males. The groups who seemed to be missed are: seniors, women, and older teenagers. (Hart 1989, p. 30)

Recreation programs offered in the Arctic have also encountered the problem of a few males dominating the system. Hanna describes this dilemma:

In the four smaller communities males 15-24 years of age and Coppermine and Cambridge Bay males 25-35 dominate the recreation system. These males aggressively demand the most and best facility times and fund raising dates. As a group or as individuals males often ignore the rules or regulations about equal participation time for all players, or participation by females and facility schedules. The best players dominate the play, interpret, enforce or ignore the rules to suit their purpose. Winning is put before the participation by all or poorer players. Ridicule and physical intimidation, public harassment and embarrassment is used to force their will on others. These groups will shout, argue or whine until

they get their way. (Hanna 1991, p. 13)
Hanna goes on to say that it is difficult for recreation directors to set aside facility time or offer programs for females in the face of domineering males. He also indicates that there is a lack of female leadership within these hamlets.

A lack of female role models in leadership positions adds to this situation continuing. In situations requiring females to push their point, they often give in or give up. Existing mixed or female programs require considerable support of the Recreation Coordinator and Recreation Committee both to defend their existence and to organize the program. (p. 13)

Paraschak (1990) examined the participation of women on the Six Nations Reserve for the period 1968-1980. Her study revealed that female athletes had participated as participants and organizers in many different sports. Her research indicated that the women participated in both Euro-american sports and all-Indian sports. "Indian women participated in an expansive sport system which included Reserve leagues, organized leagues off the Reserve, and national and international tournaments." (p. 70)

The Potential for Sport and Recreation Development

Sport and values

Sport can be used as a vehicle for teaching values. Hellison provides the clearest explanation for how this can work:

The focus is on a set of goals and strategies that transcends the gym. Rather than follow the traditional premises of organized sport and physical education, the model finds its basis in a values education perspective which neither inculcates nor claims that values are natural byproducts of the sport and physical exercise experience. It is a holistic education perspective which emphasizes people and human values rather than bodies and winning, and a broad conceptualization of health education which prioritizes social, emotional, and spiritual health alongside physical health. (1990, p. 38)

Hellison's work is the best illustration of teaching self- and social responsibility through sport, but many other therapeutic recreation programs have proven effective. The most important factor in these programs is strong and committed leadership. The leaders in these programs serve as role models for all participants.

Deterrent to delinquency

Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Inc. and the Northern Recreation Director Training Program operating in Manitoba have conducted research indicating sports and recreation programs and

leadership training can reduce crime rates in Aboriginal communities. The strong support of sports programs by police forces and other professionals working within the criminal justice system indicates they have considerable faith in the use of sports as a deterrent to delinquent behaviour.

Research Questions and Problems in the Field

Aboriginal Sport History

There is no accurate written history of Aboriginal sport in Canada. Coming to a deeper understanding of the history of Aboriginal sport in Canada would assist with the planning of future sports and recreation initiatives.

Role Models

It is important to have a sense of who Aboriginal children and youth view as their role models. Research should be conducted to determine whether Aboriginal youth have Aboriginal role models. In addition, it would be important to determine whether they aspire to participate at higher levels of competition.

Mainstream Sport and Sport Within Aboriginal Culture

Research should be conducted to determine whether Aboriginal people want to compete in mainstream sport or whether they want a separate Aboriginal sport system.

Models for Sport Development

Research should be undertaken to determine the extent to which various government departments and private agencies can work together to develop sport and recreation initiatives for Aboriginal peoples. At present there is considerable overlap between community, school, private and provincial associations. For example, under what umbrella would the ideal Aboriginal sport and recreation initiative fall — sport, recreation, leisure education, health education, fitness, health, community development? The proposed Aboriginal Sport Secretariat is one option; however, other models should also be considered.

Program Options

A comprehensive review of Aboriginal sport and recreation programs should be conducted to

identify programs now in operation in Canada. A similar review should be conducted of programs offered by Aboriginal people in the United States.

Library Project

A library and resource centre focusing on Aboriginal sport and recreational activities should be established in some central location in Canada (Ottawa). A catalogue of resources (books, videos, instructional manuals, etc.) should be developed. This resource centre should also include a list of clinicians qualified to give workshops on various aspects of Aboriginal sports and games.

Physical Education Programs in the School

Research should be conducted to determine to what extent physical education programs are offered in Aboriginal schools. This research should also investigate the quality of these programs and their impact on the attitudes of children and youth.

Specialized Sports Programs for Aboriginal Youth

Research should be conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of all-Aboriginal sports teams. An example of such a team is the South East Blades Junior A hockey team in Manitoba. This team emphasizes athletic and scholastic excellence.

North American Indigenous Games

The North American Indigenous Games should be used as an opportunity to learn about the importance of sport and recreation to Aboriginal peoples. These games will bring together thousands of Aboriginal sport success stories. The research potential of this event should be investigated. The games present an opportunity for a symposium on Aboriginal sport and recreation.

Instructional Techniques

The instructional techniques and leadership styles used in sport instruction and recreation leadership training should be investigated to determine whether mainstream coaching and teaching styles are culturally appropriate.

Who is Responsible?

Considerable debate centres around who is responsible for providing sport and recreation services to Aboriginal people. Research should be conducted to determine who should be providing these services.

Develop a Clearer Sense of 'What Matters'

There is no question that there is a need for sport and recreation development; it is not clear, however, what Aboriginal people at the community level want in these programs. Research should be conducted to identify the nature of programs and training that are desired at the grassroots level.

Nisga'a Child Welfare System, Hazelton, B.C.

The procedure the Nisga'a Tribal Council used to develop the Nisga'a Child Welfare System should be reviewed to determine whether a similar process could be used for Aboriginal sport and recreation development.

Cultural Appropriateness

Recreation and sport training curricula should be revised to ensure they are culturally appropriate.

Funding

Research should be conducted to identify all potential funding sources for Aboriginal sport and recreation projects.

Suicide

The extremely high suicide and parasuicide rates in Aboriginal communities require further study in an effort to identify various means of intervention.

Substance Use and Abuse

Further research should be conducted to distinguish between substance use and abuse in Aboriginal youth by assessing related educational (absenteeism, lower grades, trouble with administration), physical (hangovers, memory lapses), psychosocial (fights), and legal (property

damage, drinking and driving) consequences.

Athletics as a Deterrent to Delinquency

If there is a preventive effect on delinquency of participating in sports, what are the processes that occur? Is it because of greater exposure to non-delinquent behaviour, stronger social controls, less internal and external pressure toward rebellion, less boredom, less need to assert masculinity, or less chance of being labelled a deviant?

Leisure Education Programs

The effects of leisure education programs on behavioral changes (increased recreation participation); increases in specific recreation skills; and increases in leisure knowledge/awareness should be measured.

Unemployment

Research is needed to measure the effect of unemployment, underemployment and other socio-economic conditions on Aboriginal people's feelings of uselessness and estrangement from society. Research should also be conducted to determine whether leisure pursuits can be an effective substitute for work.

Rapid Acculturation

Further research should be conducted on the effects of rapid acculturation among young Aboriginal people.

Sport As an Agent of Social Change

The question of whether sport has potential as an agent of positive social change should be explored further.

How Research Regarding Sports and Recreation Can Be Addressed in the Context of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Research Program

To ensure that high-quality research is conducted in the context of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, teams of researchers interested in issues related to Aboriginal peoples should be identified at various universities across Canada. These teams should represent a number of different disciplines and research perspectives. For example, at the University of Manitoba, a

team of nine research associates works at the Health, Leisure and Human Performance Research Institute. The team approach to research allows for studies in the physical and social sciences using both qualitative and quantitative research.

If the intent of Royal Commission Research is to assess the quality of various programs and their impact on the people and communities they serve, then both qualitative and quantitative data should be collected. The quantitative component should include the collection of data pertaining to program participation, involvement in the criminal justice system and selected social-psychological variables. Detailed information on program participants and rate of program participation could be recorded daily. Data concerning involvement in the criminal justice system, accessed through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, could be used as part of the impact portion of the investigation. To facilitate analysis and to provide a basis for comparison these data could cover three periods:

1. baseline period before program's presence in the community;
2. period covering program presence in the community;
3. period immediately following program departure.

Several social-psychological variables could also be examined as part of the impact portion of the assessment. These data will provide an indication of how the program has affected the individual participants' perceptions of competence, control and self-esteem. These constructs are recognized as having a significant and positive impact on development and psychological well-being. (Weiner 1980) Positive perceptions of competence and (internal) locus of control have been associated with general well-being and correspondingly lower levels of depression and helplessness in adolescents and adults. (Garber and Seligman 1980) Self-esteem, in turn, has been posited as a key determinate of mental health. (Fromm 1956; Weiner 1980)

Collecting the social-psychological data can be done using instruments, of established reliability and validity, that have been adapted to reflect the experiences of the children, youth and adults surveyed. The Perceived Leisure Competence Scale and Perceived Leisure Control Scale can assess adolescents' perceptions of competence and control within the leisure context. (Witt and Ellis 1987) The self-esteem measure, on the other hand, can provide a general measure of the participants' perceptions of themselves. (Rosenberg 1965)

Data on each construct can be collected, by trained staff using a standardized format, at two points:

1. immediately before the start of a new program,
2. immediately following the program's termination.

The resulting information can be analyzed using analysis of covariance. The procedure will determine whether program participants' perceptions of competence, control and self-esteem changed in any way from the pre-assessment to the post-assessment while controlling for the pre-test. The significance of this method of analysis is that the possibility of pre-program variability can be controlled statistically, thereby safeguarding the veracity of the findings. (Pedhauser 1982) In other words, the results of the analysis will indicate the extent to which programs affected competence, control and self-esteem while controlling for possible extraneous sources of variance.

To enhance the strength, validity and utility of the information generated by this type of investigation, the quantitative assessment can also be conducted in a control community. Specifically, data pertaining to involvement in the criminal justice system and the selected social-psychological variables can be assessed in a community not receiving a new program.

Qualitative Data

During the investigation qualitative data can also be collected. Within the qualitative paradigm a series of interviews, questionnaires and observational periods can be undertaken to generate data from as many sources as possible. These sources can reflect a cross-section of the many different organizations and individuals who collaborate in the provision of recreation and sport programs (e.g, participants, parents, community members, instructional staff, etc.). In addition, input can be solicited from each of these sources at various intervals during the program.

Several tools can be developed to collect qualitative data relevant to the evaluation and impact assessment of the investigation. It should be noted that some portions of these instruments can generate quantitative information. Their primary purpose, however, is to document various sources, perceptions and beliefs about the program. The data derived by these tools can be analyzed to provide a real-life context in which to explain the statistical findings. Some examples of qualitative data collection tools include the following:

- Community Needs Assessment
- Weekly Program Evaluation
- Evaluation of Program

- Participant Evaluation of Program
- Community Evaluation of Program

Conclusion

As detailed above, the research and evaluation plan will generate a significant body of data. Clearly, this information can provide a comprehensive assessment of the quality of a sport and recreation program and the impact on the people and communities it serves. This knowledge will, in turn, be useful for the community as a stepping stone for future growth and the continued provision of quality service. (MacTavish 1992)

Bibliography

- Adcock, R.B. 1987. *Proceedings of the Western Native Crime Prevention Workshop*. Department of the Solicitor General of Canada/Alberta/NorthWest Territories Consultation Centre.
- Aguilar, T.E. 1987. Effects of a Leisure Education Program on Expressed Attitudes of Delinquent Adolescents. *Therapeutic Recreation Journal* 21/4: 43-51.
- Alcoze, T. 1988. Sports as Training for Life: A Native Perspective. In *Persons, Minds and Bodies*. Ed. S. Ross and L. Charette. North York, Ontario: University Press of Canada.
- Apple, M. 1982. *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bagley, C. 1991. Poverty and Suicide Among Native Canadians: A Replication. *Psychological Reports* 69: 49-150.
- Bailey, B.E. and P.E. Ray. 1979. Juvenile Correction in the Wilderness — An Improvement on Incarceration. *Parks and Recreation* 14: 40-43.
- Ballem, C. 1983. Missing from the Canadian Sport Scene — Native Athletes. *Canadian Journal of Sport History* 14/2: 33-43.
- Barney, R.K. 1978. Reflections on Canadian Sport: Images of Yesterday, The Forecast for Tomorrow. *North American Society for Sport History* 1-2.
- Barnes, H. 1988. Lacrosse, The Creator's Game. In *Persons, Minds and Bodies*. Ed. S. Ross and L. Charette. North York, Ontario: University Press of Canada.
- Benson, F. G. 1991. *Developing Crime Prevention Strategies in Aboriginal Communities*. Report for the Solicitor General of Canada. 1991-12.
- Berger, P. and T. Luckmann. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Doubleday.

- Bighetty, M.E. 1986. *Missinippi — Ethiniwak*. Pukatawagan: Pukatawagan Cree Language Program.
- Blanford, A.A. and N.L. Chapell. 1990. Subjective Well-Being Among Native and Non-Native Elderly Persons: Do Differences Exist? *Canadian Journal on Aging* 9/4: 386-399.
- Brant, C. Native Ethics and Principles. Unpublished Paper. University of Western Ontario.
- Bryde, J.F. 1971. Modern Indian Psychology. Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota (Institute of Indian Studies).
- Boechx, R.L. 1977. Gasoline Abuse: Comments Regarding Implied Risk. Unpublished paper.
- Boechx, R.L. 1977. Gasoline Sniffing and Tetraethyl Lead Poisoning in Children. *Pediatrics* 60: 140-145.
- Burns, T. 1904. Relation of Playgrounds to Juvenile Delinquency. *Charities* 21: 25-31.
- Calloway, J. 1991. Leisure and Youth: Make the Connection! *Parks and Recreation* 26/11: 56-53.
- Campbell, L. 1988. In Memoriam. In *A People in Peril*. Special Edition of the *Anchorage Daily News*.
- Cardinal, H. 1969. *The Unjust Society, The Tragedy of Canada's Indians*. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Chinn, K.A. and K.F. Joswiak. 1981. Leisure Education and Leisure Counselling. *Therapeutic Recreation Journal*.
- Clark, E.E. 1992. *Indian Legends of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Clarkson, L., V. Morrisette and G. Regillet. 1992. *Our Responsibility to the Seventh Generation: Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development*. A Report for the International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Cohen, A.K. 1987. The Study of Social Disorganizations and Deviant Behaviour. *Sociology Today*. New York: Basic Books.
- Condon, R.G. 1990. The Rise of Adolescence: Social Change and Life Stage Dilemmas in the Central Arctic. *Human Organization* 49/3: 266-279.
- Costentino, F. 1975. A History of Professionalism in Canadian Sport. *Canadian Journal of Sport History* 6/2: 75-81.
- Couchman, R. 1989. The Social Responsibility of Recreation. *Recreation Canada* 47/5: 6-11.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. and J. Le Fevre. 1989. Optimal Experience in Work and Leisure. Paper presented at CSIK Conference.
- Czula, R. 1979. Sport as an Agent of Social Change. *Quest* 31/1: 45-49.

- Dauber, M. 1980. Gasoline Inhalation: A Community Challenge. *Canadian Nurse* 24-25.
- Dean, P. 1991. Designing for Impact. *Journal of Leisureability* 8/3.
- Depew, R. 1986. *Native Policing in Canada: A Review of Current Issues*. RCMP publication No. 1986-46.
- Dewer, J. 1986. The Introduction of Western Sports to the Indian People of Canada's Prairie West. *Proceedings of the Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport*. Glasgow.
- Donnley, P. 1981. Athletes and Juvenile Delinquents. A Comparative Analysis Based on a Review of Literature. *Adolescence* 16/62: 416-432.
- Durst, D. 1991. Conjugal Violence: Changing Attitudes in Two Northern Native Communities. *Community Mental Health Journal* 27/5: 359-373.
- Falkner, R.W. 1991. *Therapeutic Recreation Protocol for Treatment of Substance Addictions*. State College, Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing Inc.
- Fine, G. A. 1988. Good Children and Dirty Play. *Play & Culture* 11: 43-56.
- Flood, G. 1993. Solvents Poison Reserves. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 9 February 1993.
- Flood, G. 1993. Sniffing Provides Teenager's Escape from Life of Misery. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 9 February 1993.
- Freire, P. 1970a. The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom. *Harvard Educational Review* 40/2: 205-225.
- Freire, P. 1970b. Cultural Action and Conscientization. *Harvard Educational Review* 40/3: 452-477.
- Freire, P. 1984. Notes from Public Presentation. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Fromm, E. 1956. *The Art of Loving*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Garber, J. and M. Seligman. 1980. *Human Helplessness: Theory and Applications*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gardiner, L. 1990. Community Health Services, Thompson, Manitoba. Interview. 3 November 1990.
- Gardiner, L. 1991. *Family Living Program*. Report For Native Communications Inc. Thompson, Manitoba.
- Georgiadis, N. 1990. Does Basketball Have to be All W's and L's? An Alternative Program at a Residential Boys' Home. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*. August

Edition.

Glor, E.D. 1991. An Effective Evaluation of a Small Scale Seniors Health Promotion Centre: A Case Study. *Canadian Journal on Aging* 10/1: 64-73.

Godbey, G. 1985. *Leisure in Your Life*. Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing Inc.

Government of Alberta. 1991. Report of the Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its Impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta. March.

Government of Canada. Taking Charge — Project Proposal for Community-Based Crime Prevention, Policing, Justice, and Correctional Services in Shamattawa, Manitoba.

Government of Canada. 1992. *Sport the Way Ahead*. Report of the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy. Ministry of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport.

Government of Manitoba. 1990. Province of Manitoba Sport Policy. Department of Fitness and Sport.

Government of the Northwest Territories. 1991. Sport and Recreation Directions for the Nineties. Sport and Recreation Division.

Government of Ontario. 1992. *The Benefits of Parks and Recreation*. Parks and Recreation Federation of Ontario and the Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation.

Graham, R., J. McGill and B. Perrin. 1990. Leisure a Replacement for Work? *Journal of Leisurability* 17: 23-28.

Greenwood, P.W. and S. Turner. 1987. *The VisionQuest Program: An Evaluation*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

Grieve, K. 1988. Physical Fitness in a Northern Manitoba Community. Unpublished paper. Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Gunn, S. and C.A. Peterson. 1977. Therapy and leisure education. *Parks and Recreation* 12: 22-25, 51-52.

Hagley, R. 1989. The Native Diabetes Program: Rhetorical Process and Praxis. *Medical Anthropology* 12/1: 7-33.

Hamilton, A.C. 1989. Interview. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 23 December.

Hanna, M. 1991. A Strategic Plan for the Kitikmeot Region. Edmonton: Synergy Canada.

Hart, R. 1989. A Report on Recreation in Remote Northern Manitoba Communities. Unpublished report. Thompson, Manitoba.

Harper, J.A. 1992. A Strategic Development Plan for Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Inc.

- Harper, W. 1981. The Experience of Leisure. *Leisure Sciences* 4/2: 113-126.
- Hastad, D.N., J.O. Segrave, R. Pangrazi and G. Peterson. 1984. Youth Sport Participation and Deviant Behaviour. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 1/4: 366-373.
- Hellison, D. 1985. *Goals and Strategies for Teaching Physical Education*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- Hellison, D. 1989a. Implementing a Physical Education Self-Responsibility Model for Delinquency-Prone Youth. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 8: 104-112.
- Hellison, D. 1989b. An Alternative Model for Teaching Sport and Exercise to At-Risk Youth. *School Safety*. August Edition.
- Hellison, D. 1990a. Physical Education for Disadvantaged Youth. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*. August Edition.
- Hellison, D. 1990b. Teaching Physical Education to At-Risk Youth in Chicago — A Model. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*. August Edition.
- Hellison, D. 1990c. Making a Difference—Reflections on Teaching Urban At-Risk Youth. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*. August Edition.
- Hellison, D. 1991a. *A Reflective Approach to Teaching Physical Education*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- Hellison, D. 1991b. The Whole Person in Physical Education Scholarship: Toward Integration. *Quest* 43: 307-318.
- Henderson, K.A. 1990. The Meaning of Leisure for Women: An Integrative Review of the Research. *Journal of Leisure Research* 22: 228-243.
- Hilliard, W. 1992. Sports Drive Tackles Crime. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 8 September 1992.
- Horn, C. and C.T. Griffiths. 1989. *Native North Americans: Crime, Conflict and Criminal Justice*. Vancouver: The Northern Justice Society.
- Huizinga, J. 1962. *Homo Ludens—A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. Boston: The Beacon Press.
- Hullen, D. 1988. A Growing Revolution of Hope. In *A People in Peril*. Special Edition of the *Anchorage Daily News*.
- Iso-Ahola, S.E. and E.D. Crowley. 1991. Adolescent Substance Abuse and Leisure Boredom. *Journal of Leisure Research* 23/3: 260-271.
- Jarvis, G.K. and B. Davis. 1986. Death Styles Among Canada's Indians. *Social Science and Medicine* 16: 1345-1352.

- Jones, K.G. 1972. Thomas Longboat: A Great Canadian Sportsman. Paper presented at the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. Windsor, Ontario.
- Jones, K.G. 1983. The Myth of Canada's National Sport. In *Physical Activity and the Social Sciences*. Ed. N.W. Widmeyer. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Movement Publications Ltd.
- Kablach, H. 1987. Psychological Benefits of Stress Challenge Activities for Delinquent Youth. Paper presented at the Leisure Research Symposium. Kansas City.
- Kaplan, M. 1975. *Leisure: Theory and Policy*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher.
- Kidd, B. 1983. In Defence of Tom Longboat. *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 14/1: 34-63.
- Kirstein, R. 1991. Saanich Towards Youth: A Community Plan. *Journal of Leisurability* 18/2.
- Kostelnyk, J.L. 1992. Organized Sport Participation and Juvenile Delinquency. Unpublished paper.
- Kraus, R. 1978. *Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society*. Santa Monica: Goodyear Publication Co.
- Krichbaum, H.M. and M.A. Alston. 1991. Youth Restitution & Recreation: A Successful Mix. *Parks and Recreation* 26/3: 42-45.
- Kupferer, H.J. 1979. A Case of Sanctioned Drinking: The Rupert's House Cree. *Anthropological Quarterly* 52/4: 198-203.
- LaPrairie, C.P. 1988. Community Types, Crime, and Police Services on Canadian Indian Reserves. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 25/4: 375-391.
- Lifka, B.J. 1990. Hiding Beneath the Stairwell—A Dropout Prevention Program for Hispanic Youth. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*. August Edition.
- Lithman, Y.G. 1979. Feeling Good and Getting Smashed. *Ethnos* 44/1,2: 119-133.
- Littlechild, W. 1981. Sport and the Native Population. In *A Proposed Sport Development Policy*. Sport Issue Papers Volume 2. Alberta Recreation and Parks.
- Lyons, S. 1993. New Lease on School. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 24 January 1993.
- Lyons, S. 1993. Staying Active in School. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 24 January 1993.
- MacTavish, J. 1992. Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Inc. Research and Evaluation Plan. Unpublished report. Winnipeg.
- Mahon, A.W. 1989. Crime Prevention and the Aboriginal Child. Unpublished paper. Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

- Mahood, H. 1990. Final Report on the Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Recreation Manager Training Program.
- Malloy, D. C. 1991. Cross-Cultural Awareness in Administration: An Interview with Harold Cardinal. *Recreation Canada*. July.
- Malmisur, M.C. and P.G. Schempp. 1984. Sport Participation: Its Influence on Juvenile Delinquency. *International Journal of Physical Education* 21/3: 14-16.
- Manitoba Native Sport Development Group. 1992. Minutes of Meeting, 2 December.
- McCormick, B. M. 1991. Self-Experience as Leisure Constraint: The Case of Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Leisure Research* 3/4: 345-362.
- McCoy, K. 1988. Healing the Old Wounds. In *A People in Peril*. Special Edition of the *Anchorage Daily News*.
- McDiarmid, W.G. 1983. Community and Competence: A Study of an Indigenous Primary Prevention Organization In An Alaskan Village. *White Cloud Journal* 3/1: 53-74.
- McKinney, D. 1988. A Youth's Despair Erupts. In *A People in Peril*. Special Edition of the *Anchorage Daily News*.
- McLuhan, T.C. 1971. *Touch the Earth*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Melberg, K. 1986. Reaching the Children of Saskatchewan's North. 1/4.
- Mechling, J. 1987. The Manliness in Ernest Thompson Seton's Ideology of Play and Games. In *Meaningful Play, Playful Meaning*. Ed. G.A. Fine. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics Publishers Inc.
- Merskey, H., C.C. Brant, A. Malla, E. Helmes and V. Mohr. 1988. Symptom Patterns of Alcoholism in a Northern Ontario Population. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 33: 46-49.
- Morinis, E.A. 1982. Getting Straight: Behavioral Patterns in a Skid Row Community. *Urban Anthropology* 11/2: 193-212.
- Morris, A. 1992. Untitled report commissioned by Fitness and Amateur Sport Canada.
- Mrozek, D.J. 1987. Games and Sport in the Arctic. *Journal of the West* 26/1: 34-46.
- Mundy, J. and L. Odum. 1979. *Leisure Education: Theory and Practice*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Murray, S. 1993. Healing a Nation. *The Manitoban*. 3 February.
- Navar, N. 1975. Recreation as a Change Agent for the Alcoholic. *Leisure Today: Selected Readings*. Washington: AAHPER Publications.

- Nahanee, M. 1991. Rez: A Magazine for Native Youth in Canada. Winter 1991.
- Neumeyer, M. 1958. *Leisure and Recreation*. New York: Ronald Books.
- North American Indigenous Games. 1993. Overview of the Games.
- Novak, M. 1976. *The Joy of Sports*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nielsen, A. 1988. *Visions for Our Future — Crime Prevention Guide for Native Communities*.
- Oxendine, J.B. 1988. *American Indian Sports Heritage*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.
- Pakes, F. 1990. Skill to do Comes of Doing: Purpose in Traditional Indian Winter Games and Pastimes. In *Winter Sports in the West*. Ed. E.A. Corbet and A.W. Rasporich.
- Pangrazzi, R. and V. Dauer. 1989. *Dynamic Physical Education for Elementary School Children*. New York: Macmillan.
- Paraschak, V.A. 1987. The Native Presence in Sport History: Frozen in Time. *North American Society for Sport History Proceedings and Newsletter*: 64.
- Paraschak, V.A. 1989. Native Sport History: Pitfalls and Promise. *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 20/1: 57-68.
- Paraschak, V.A. 1990. Organized Sport for Native Females on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario from 1968 to 1980: A Comparison of Dominant and Emergent Sport Systems. *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 21/2: 70-80.
- Paraschak, V.A. 1991. Sport Festivals and Race Relations in the Northwest Territories of Canada. In *Sport, Racism and Ethnicity*. Ed. G. Jarvie. Bristol, Philadelphia: Falmer Press.
- Paraschak, V.A. and H.A. Scott. 1980. Games the Northerns Play — The Arctic Winter Games and the Northern Games — Reflections of One or Several Canada Norths? *North American Society for Sport History Proceedings and Newsletter*: 50.
- Peyrot, M. 1991. Institutional and Organizational Dynamics in Community-Based Drug Abuse Treatment. *Social Problems* 38/1: 20-31.
- Pedhazur, E.J. 1982. *Multiple Regression Behavioral Research*. Second edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Picken, K. 1992. The Meaning of Leisure to Native Manitobans. Master's thesis. University of Manitoba.
- Postl, B. 1978. Gas Sniffing in Shamattawa: A Report to the Churchill Health Conference. *University of Manitoba Medical Journal*.
- Riffle, J.A. 1990. Academic Self-Concept and Student Achievement: Some Implications for Native Education. *Educator's Notebook* 11.

- Roadberg, A. 1983. Freedom and Enjoyment: Disentangling Perceived Leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research* 15: 15-26.
- Robertson, B. 1992. Hero's Welcome Overwhelms Olympic Medallist. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 26 September 1992.
- Rosenberg, M. 1965. *Society and Adolescent Self-Image*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Ross, C.A. and B. Davis. 1986. Suicide and Parasuicide in a Northern Canadian Native Community. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 31: 331-334.
- Rottenberg, K.J. 1989. Self Concept in American Indian and White Children — A Cross Cultural Comparison. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology* 20/1: 39-53.
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police. 1993. *Native Spirituality Guide*. Minister of Supply and Services.
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police. 1989. Evaluation of Crime Statistics — Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Summer Program — 1989. Unpublished report.
- Ryan, J.J. 1991. Breaking the Circle of Destruction. *Parks and Recreation* (October): 46-48, 74.
- Salter, M.A. 1976. The Indian Athlete: Exploiting or Exploited? *North American Society for Sport History Proceedings and Newsletter*: 24.
- Sando, J.S. and E.A. Scholer. 1976. Programming for Native Americans. *Parks and Recreation* 11: 24-26, 53-54.
- Sask Sport Inc. 1991. Review of Sask Sport Inc. and Family Foundation Native Role Model Poster Campaign — Evaluation and Recommendations. Unpublished report.
- Schafer, W.E. 1983. Some Social Sources and Consequences of Interscholastic Athletics: The Case of Participation and Delinquency. In *Proceedings of the C.I.C. Symposium on the Sociology of Sport*. Ed. G.S. Kenyon.
- Schiller, H. 1987. A Proposal to Investigate the Effect of Leisure Participation on Juvenile Delinquent Behaviour. Unpublished paper.
- Schinke, S.P. 1985a. Strategies for Preventing Substance Abuse With American Indian Youth. *White Cloud Journal* 3/4: 12-18.
- Schinke, S.P. 1985b. Preventing Substance Abuse With American Indian Youth. *Social Casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work* 66/4: 213-217.
- Schon, D.A. 1987. *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schultz, A. 1971. *The Stranger*. Collected Papers II. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

- Scott, K. and A. Myers. 1988. Impact of Fitness Training on Native Adolescents' Self-Evaluations and Substance Use. *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 79: 424-429.
- Scott, H., V. Paraschak and A. McNaught. 1987. Canada's 'Other' Olympic Legacy. Paper presented at the North American Society for Sport Sociology Conference. Edmonton, Alberta.
- Searle, M.S., J.B. MacTavish, H. Adam-Sdrolias, R.E. Brayley and N.R. Winther. 1992. *Northern Recreation Director Pilot Project: Final Report*. Winnipeg: Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies, University of Manitoba.
- Searle, M.S., R.E. Brayley, N.R. Winther and J.B. MacTavish. 1992. *Northern Recreation Director Pilot Project: Interim Report 11*. Winnipeg: Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies, University of Manitoba.
- Searle, M.S., R.E. Brayley, N.R. Winther and J.B. MacTavish. 1991. *Northern Recreation Director Pilot Project: Interim Report 1*. Winnipeg: Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies, University of Manitoba.
- Segrave, J.O. 1983. Sport and Juvenile Delinquency. *Exercise and Sport Sciences Reviews*. Volume 11. Philadelphia: Franklin Press.
- Segrave, J.O. and D.N. Hastad. 1984. Future Directions in Sport and Juvenile Delinquency Research. *Quest* 36: 37-47.
- Serrill, M.S. 1992. Native Peoples: Struggling to be Themselves. *Time*. 19 October 1992.
- Shanas, E. 1942. *Recreation and Delinquency: A Review of Five Selected Chicago Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shapiro, G.L. 1987. How It's Done: Ideas From Ongoing Programs. Unpublished paper. University of Minnesota, Center for Creative Leadership.
- Shorten, L. 1991. *Without Reserve: Stories from Urban Natives*. Edmonton: Northwest Press.
- Simms, N.J.S. 1987. *Crime Prevention Needs Assessment and Project Description in the Northwest Territories*.
- Sinclair, C.M. 1989. Interview. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 23 December 1989.
- Sinclair, C.M. and A.C. Hamilton. 1991. Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Queen's Printer.
- Stebbins, R. 1982. Serious Leisure — A Conceptual Statement. *Pacific Sociological Review* 25/2: 251-271.
- Tomlinson, J. 1992. *1991 Coppermine Youth Initiatives Pilot Project — Final Report*. May.

- Toomey, S. 1988. *Alakanuk's Suicide Epidemic*. In *A People In Peril*. Special Edition of the *Anchorage Daily News*.
- Wankel, L.M. and B.G. Berger. 1990. The Psychological and Social Benefits of Sport and Physical Activity. *Journal of Leisure Research* 22/2: 167-182.
- Weaver, H. 1988. A generation in peril. In *A People in Peril*. Special Edition of the *Anchorage Daily News*.
- Weiner, B. 1980. *Human Motivation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart.
- Winther, N. 1988a. A Proposal for a Community-Based Lifestyle Enrichment/Crime Prevention Project in Shamattawa, Manitoba. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- Winther, N. 1988b. Leadership Training and Sport — Developing a Brighter Future for Native Children and Youth. *Journal of Leisurability* 15/3: 16-20.
- Winther, N. 1988c. A Remote Idea: Northern Fly-In Sports Camps Inc. *Recreation Canada* (Fall): 35-37.
- Winther, N. 1991. Sports Camps: Agents for Social Change. *Camps Canada* (Spring).
- Winther, N. 1992. An Evaluation of the Selkirk Friendship Centre Youth Group. Unpublished report.
- Winther, N. and P. Currie. 1987. Northern Fly-In Sports Camps: A Joint Sport Development/Crime Prevention Project. Report presented at the North American Sociology of Sport Conference, Edmonton, Alberta.
- Winther, N. and P. Currie. 1991. A Self-Responsibility Model For Delinquency-Prone Youth. In *Preventing and Responding to Northern Crime*. Ed. C.T. Griffiths. Vancouver: Simon Fraser University.
- Winther, N. and P. Currie. 1992. Sports Camps: Implementing Changes in Remote Communities. Paper presented at the Healing Our Spirit Worldwide Conference, Edmonton, Alberta.
- Winther, N. and P. Currie. 1993. Sports Camps: An Alternative to Delinquent Behaviour for Native Canadian Youth Living in Remote Communities. In *Youth At Risk*. Ed. H. Gray, D. Nelson and B. Cato. In press.
- Wood, A. 1988. Indians: Strangers In Their Own Land. Special report of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. 4 October.
- Woods, D. 1975. Community Health Symposium. Part 1: A New Togetherness and Indian Care. *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 113/11,12: 1095-1096, 1100-1103.
- Wright, A.N. 1983. Therapeutic Potential of the Outward Bound Process: An Evaluation of a Treatment Program for Juvenile Delinquents. *Therapeutic Recreation Journal* 17/2: 33-42.

Yiannakis, A. 1980. Sport and Deviancy: A Review and Reappraisal. *Motor Skills: Theory Into Practice* 4: 59-64.

Zeilig, M. 1993. Trio Uses Songs to Teach Native Kids Self-Respect. *Winnipeg Free Press*. 5 February.

Zeman, B. 1988. *To Run With Longboat: Twelve Stories of Indian Athletes in Canada*. Edmonton: Venture Inc.

Zeman, G. 1985. Native Hockey. In *Alberta on Ice*. Edmonton, Alberta: Westweb Press.