

**PILOT RELOCATION PROJECT**

**AT**

**ELLIOT LAKE**

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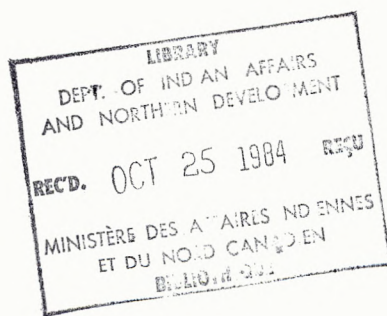
**Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development**

May, 1968



**A REPORT ON THE PILOT RELOCATION PROJECT  
AT ELLIOT LAKE, ONTARIO**

Submitted to the  
Indian Affairs Branch  
of the  
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development  
Ottawa, Ontario



J. Jameson Bond  
University of Alberta  
Edmonton, Alberta

December 1967

THE BORÉAL INSTITUTE  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
EDMONTON, CANADA

January 5, 1968

Mr. C.I. Fairholm, Acting Director  
Policy and Planning  
Indian Affairs Branch  
Department of Indian Affairs and  
Northern Development  
Ottawa 4, Ontario

Dear Mr. Fairholm:

I take pleasure in sending to you the attached "Report on the Pilot Relocation Project of Elliot Lake, Ontario."

I found my work in connection with this research assignment to be most interesting from a professional point of view and I would like to express my appreciation to you for having suggested it as a topic of study.

I do hope that the report proves to be administratively useful to officers of the Branch in their deliberations concerning future relocation projects.

With best wishes to you and Mr. Nablo.

Yours sincerely,

J. Jameson Bond  
Director of the Boreal Institute  
and Associate Professor of  
Anthropology

JJB: ms  
Attachments

## **PREFACE**

The poem and the letter which comprise the preface to this report capture in two broad strokes both the promise and the travail of a people caught up in the rapid process of cultural transition.

## RED LAKE

Red Lake, Red Lake  
Where the gold is found  
Underneath the ground.  
There is, there is  
A lovely town  
That has been renawn.  
Ta be, ta be a friendly place  
With aur gentle place  
That we, that we can build a home  
With our true lave raam.  
Red Lake, Red Lake  
We hape ta find  
Lave with peace af mind  
Red Lake, Red Lake  
Where the gald is faund  
Underneath the ground

by Abbias Kakepetum  
Trainee, Pilot Relocation Project  
Elliot Lake, Ontario 1967

10 April 1967

I just want to tell you about my wife she is in a bad shape. I am very sorry. I didn't know what was going on. I was drunk on Saturday. I got a taxi that afternoon and got a case of beer. I was going to drink it just myself. I didn't know my wife she been drinking too— and there was nether one coming in that night—Ja was here and he stay here. I didn't know why he came here. Then I find out he was coming here to bathe my wife. I don't like that and I didn't know what was happen. I was drunk I think and I believe Ja been bathing my wife. I don't want no part of that business. Maybe I got jealous. Maybe that why I did that to my wife. I didn't know anything. I also have a black-eye so I am very sorry about my wife. I am like I am the next one going to be sent back. I know I have done foolish here, nobody else done this way so I am very sorry. I would be glad if the Indian Affairs send me back because I am foolish here in Elliot Lake and I am thinking of going back soon enough. I don't care because of what I did. I never know Ja was coming to bother my wife when he was here Saturday night. It would have never happen to my wife what she looks like. I never done this way since we married. We been staying very well since we married so I am very sorry what I done. Please see me at dinner time if you want to see me. I am gonna be shy at school about my eye. So how about asking the Indian Affairs about this to send me back. I think my wife she looks some now. I told her we'll be going back. I don't like what I done. I am thinking maybe I am just the only one I did here in Elliot Lake so I don't want no part of myself here anymore. I like to go back. I like to go back to Red Lake not at Pikangikum my mother is living at Red Lake so if you'll ask the Indian Affairs to send me back I have a job at Red Lake anyway. I work for the Red Lake Lumber Company.

Please help me to go back at Red Lake not right now after payday on 14th. I have trouble, my heart is very much trouble what I done. I didn't eat yesterday and today I didn't eat my breakfast. I am sorry I never know I have done this, it never happen this way before. I am surprised. Please help my wife give her medicine to heal her up okay.

Signature

I am sorry very sorry.

**Researchist's Note:**

This letter was sent to a member of the counselling staff following a wife-beating incident. The writer of this letter and his wife, shortly afterwards returned to their home reserve.

This letter and the poem which precedes it capture in two broad strokes, both the promise and the travail of a people caught up in the rapid process of cultural transition.

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## I INTRODUCTION

In preparing this report I have tried to keep in mind the primary use for which it is intended; namely, a planning tool for administrative use in shaping or modifying policy for future relocation projects. The report, therefore, takes the form of a working paper and falls clearly into the category of applied research.

As in any research project, retrospect gives quite a different view of the project than is contained in the prospectus which I prepared earlier as a set of guidelines for the actual conduct of the research. Although it follows the original prospectus in a general way, the content of the report has been determined by the research findings themselves and this has resulted in certain changes in focus and emphasis which will be evident in the treatment of the material.

In the interpretation of the evidence and in the subsequent recommendations, I have attempted to be as fair and as objective as possible. Any criticisms which the report may contain are presented in evaluative rather than in prejudicial terms. The report is concerned with individuals only in their relationship to administrative structure and administrative process. In other words, my interest is not in the actors themselves but rather in their individual relationship to the effectiveness of the play.

In thinking about the experience which the pilot project represents and the kinds of insight to be derived from this experience, and in applying this perspective to policy considerations of the major relocation program to which the Branch stands committed, I would like to strike a note of administrative caution. In the initial stages of such an ambitious program, and I would include in this the results of the pilot program, the Branch should be prepared to look for somewhat less than dramatic results from the efforts to date. Rather it should be viewed as an investment of time and effort which, if skilfully handled, will produce a remarkable human return in the near future.

In terms of time scale, the pilot project has been viewed frankly and properly as an experimental activity. Absolute results in terms of the proportion of families who actually completed the training course really becomes secondary to the lessons of administration, pedagogy and cultural adaptation which can be learned from the pilot experience. This can enormously facilitate the planning and execution of a subsequent series of programs in other parts of the country. The time scale should be thought of in the order of five to ten years which I think would give a sense of proportion to the whole program, as well as add to it a dimension of administrative realism. The heavy responsibility which now faces the Branch as to what to do with the thousands of people now living a subsistence life in marginal conditions in the boreal forest (as well as in other parts of Canada) carries with it a sense of social and economic urgency which is accompanied by certain political overtones. Notwithstanding this pressing fact, the response of the Branch should not find administrative expression in a series of 'ad hoc' crash programs. This would simply represent an administrative misapplication of what was essentially a sound policy decision by the Branch to enter upon a relocation program for one hundred thousand Canadian Indians as a major undertaking of the government. Viewing the treatment of the problem in a more measured and realistic time scale, will do much to ease its solution rather than compound its difficulties.



I found the Reeve to be lacking a great deal of information about the project, but he was quite sympathetic towards its objectives. It skilfully approached, he would be amenable to providing quiet, effective support for any activities which would aim at gradually developing a healthy set of social relationships between the Indian newcomers and the non-Indian elements in the community. The Reeve recognized that Elliot Lake was in a fortunate position because it did not have located adjacent to it, an Indian 'slum' community with all the associated negative stereotypes of dirt, disease and poverty, which have become accepted attitudes in many Canadian communities where an Indian reserve is located near by. In other words, nothing needs to be undone or unlearned in the case of Elliot Lake.

The generally pervasive Canadian attitude towards Indians which is often one of either disinterest or vague dislike is present in Elliot Lake to some degree. But it is a quiescent attitude and if nothing is done to stimulate it, it may be expected to simply disappear. With skilful guidance, Indian families and their white neighbors can develop an established pattern of relationships as the Indians enter into community life through recreational and other social forms of activity. In other words, the possibilities for a really successful kind of interethnic human relations program all lie within the capacity of this community if the matter is well handled both conceptually and administratively.

The Reeve mentioned that he had raised the question in a municipal council meeting of providing a formal dinner by which the Council would welcome the Indian families to the community. The suggestion did not meet with such enthusiasm. However, this probably doesn't indicate any active dislike as much as it does a matter of disinterest. This proposal by the Reeve also included the motion of inviting to this same event the band chiefs from a number of reserves which are located within a reasonable driving distance of Elliot Lake.

In my discussions with the Chief of Police, he mentioned that as far as the Police Department was concerned, neither the single young Indian men in residence at the Centre nor the twenty Indian families in the community itself has presented a behavioural problem which was significantly different from the rest of the population. He remarked that some stories have been floating around town which indicate that some people aren't too happy about the Indians being there. He added, however, that this is a minority view and that generally there is an attitude of either mild curiosity on the part of the whites or one of indifference.

The Chief remarked, however, that because of the great diversity of ethnic background of the people at Elliot Lake, the increment of one additional group doesn't make that much difference. He noted that it would probably be more difficult to bring people such as the Indian relocation group into a community with a relatively homogeneous population rather than to a community like Elliot Lake which has a very mixed ethnic background. He also commented that safeguards have been taken municipally to ensure that sub-standard housing areas are not allowed to develop either in the community or on its periphery. This has relevance for subsequent training programs should they be held at the Centre, because it minimizes the probability of the Indian trainees and their families becoming involved socially with the type of marginal people who ordinarily live in suburban 'slum' areas.

The whole concept underlying the development of Elliot Lake is that of a centralized residential area, in other words – a dormitory community – in which people could live, shop, enjoy recreation, and so on, but from which the wage earners would commute to their places of employment outside the townsite. In other words, this is basically a different type of company town which is found in many isolated areas scattered across Northern Canada.

## II INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS: A COMMENTARY ON ELLIOT LAKE AS THE COMMUNITY MATRIX FOR A PILOT RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

One year ago Elliot Lake was chosen by the Branch as the community matrix within which its pilot relocation project for Indian families was to be carried out. Any evaluation of the project itself needs to include an assessment of the ecological environment within which it evolved. It is important, therefore, to know what kind of a community Elliot Lake really is, how the community received the newcomers in their midst, and what kind of interethnic relationships have developed as a result of the introduction of the project into the life of the community. For these reasons I included the principal civic figures in the community in the interviews which I conducted in the course of my field work. I discussed with them the nature of the relationship between the municipality and the Centre for Continuing Education, as well as with the relocation project itself.

I talked at some length with the Reeve of the Township of Elliot Lake. He proved to be an intelligent, middle-aged, self-possessed, and pleasant individual who is thoroughly identified with his community and its affairs. He tended to be rather conservative in his stance but I found him to be quite open and amenable to suggestion and very quickly able to see larger patterns of relationships outside the short-term and parochial municipal context.

We discussed in a general way the attitudes of the community at large towards the Indian relocation project. He indicated that certain elements of apprehension had been expressed by individual members of the community about the Indian families that had moved in. This view appeared to be largely on the basis of a lack of information about the size of the project or its intent and scope. The Reeve also mentioned that in the past there had been relatively little communication between the municipality or its officers on the one hand and the Centre for Continuing Education and its administration on the other hand. The two live in relative isolation, although they are contained within the same geographic boundaries. Indeed, if anything, there has been some irritation and misunderstanding. This bears directly on the community administration's view of the relocation project, because in local terms, the project is thought of as a function of the Centre.

The fact that twenty Indian families are occupying twenty houses within the community while taking their formal training at the Centre has not been recognized. The fact that these Indian families are spending a substantial amount of money right in the town on a continuing basis has not been recognized except by the merchants directly involved. The fact that the Centre has had a contractual relationship with the Indian Affairs Branch has not been recognized. The fact that the administration of the Centre holds no responsibility for the non-academic lives of the Indian families living in houses in the community nor that it has no function in defining or elaborating relationships between those some Indian families and the community at large is not understood.

The Reeve was quick to grasp the fact that should the present relocation project be followed by a series of successor programs, this could have a long-term and beneficial meaning for Elliot Lake as a community. This statement finds definition not only in the fact that there is substantial local revenue to be obtained from the project, but if it is judged to be a successful one, this fact will become known throughout the country by means of mass media and will tend to identify Elliot Lake in the public mind as a modern, well-integrated community and as an attractive place in which to live. This would be antithetical for example, to the stereotyped image of Kenora which is associated in the public mind with an 'Indian problem.'

The Clerk-Treasurer of the Township noted that the ethnic composition of the community is a mixed one with perhaps 30 percent being of French extraction, another 30 percent are of British origin, and the balance are derived from other groups such as German, Portuguese, and the Baltic countries. The Clerk-Treasurer remarked that the business community in Elliot Lake looks favourably on the Centre for Continuing Education because it is the source of sizeable part of their business revenue. He noted that it is a secondary industry in the community and, therefore, an important one. As far as the attitude of the people in town generally is concerned, the activities and functions of the Centre are really a matter of disinterest. He feels that this disinterest is related to a lack of information about the scope and intent of the Centre but that even less is there a general awareness concerning the purpose of the Indian relocation project.

The evidence from my field data suggests that for the purposes of this report, the attitudes of local groups towards the Indian relocation families need to be treated separately. Interviews with the Indian families showed almost without exception an attitude of disinterest on the part of local clergy towards the newcomers despite a prior religious affiliation with that particular denomination. Almost without exception, the Indians reported regular church attendance and frequent visiting by local clergy in the reserve situation, whereas, since coming to Elliot Lake only a few had met their local clergymen nor had they attended church except perhaps infrequently. The pervasive trend towards secularization in Canadian society may be expected to increasingly affect these Indian families who are suddenly removed from a traditional, religiously-oriented reserve community to various urban relocation projects as they develop across the country. This generalization may be administratively useful to bear in mind in planning of future projects.

Some of the local women's groups expressed a polite kind of interest in meeting with the Indian families and in assisting them to adjust to their new community environment. But in fact, little direct action seems to have resulted and the various expressions of goodwill have remained largely in the category of intent. However, the evidence suggests that a reservoir of goodwill exists which could usefully be tapped and channelled by the Project Administrator in the event of future programs being held at Elliot Lake.

Members of the business community in Elliot Lake are essentially pragmatic in their view of the Indian relocation families. Anything that means good business is acceptable to them and the Indians appear to be welcomed as customers in just these terms. The same general attitude would apply to the professional class such as the medical profession and to the managerial group such as the local bank managers. Neither of these groups have given any evidence of interest in the project outside the professional or business context.

In the main, the people of Elliot Lake in various walks of life have expressed a diffuse kind of interest in wanting to help the relocatees in adjusting to their new environment, but in actual fact they have proved to be just tolerant of the Indian people and did not really go out of their way to help. Nor is this really surprising bearing in mind the norms of behaviour in contemporary Canadian society. Most of the local people are much like one would find in other communities; namely, they are interested in their own little world, their circle of friends and family, and they just don't put out any extra effort to meet the newcomer. It is an interesting index of possible social acceptance to note that the children from the relocation families, as well as the children from the reserve at Cutler some twenty miles away who also attend the local public schools, play together in the school yard with the white children without any apparent sense of ethnic distinction. This, of course, is normal behaviour for children under any circumstances; except



where they are parently or otherwise directed to a prejudicial attitude towards members of another group.

One part of the Elliot Lake relocation project involves the whole question of socially and economically reeducating its members to live in a modern, urban community. The other part comprises the formal training program. Those two parts are actually parallel and related yet distinct educational processes. As I reflect on the operation of the pilot program, it seems to me that there is a need in future for a greater appreciation of the importance of the factor of social education than has been evidenced in the handling of the first group of trainees. It follows that the responsibility to educate a human group to live in a quite different kind of community carries with it the necessary concomitant to educate the receiving community, as to its role and its responsibilities towards the members of the project. In other words, it involves teaching the non-Indians to appreciate some of the very real problems of cultural adjustment which face the Indian relocatees. As a corollary, it also requires the instruction of the newcomers in their privileges and responsibilities towards their adoptive community. Such an approach would facilitate communication between the two groups in a natural, developing sort of way. The new arrivals should not be presented to the receiving community in terms of a problem-solving approach. Rather the notion is to take a positive kind of approach based on orientation material which has been prepared beforehand by a group of professionals drawn from the various community development disciplines. Such material needs to be written in plain language and in a reasoned way needs to explain the intensive process of cultural adoption in which the newcomers are caught up.

One of the areas of interethnic relations which would be worth looking at closely in future projects is the negative stereotype of the 'lazy Indian.' This attitude derives from such factors as a superficial comparison with the work habits of white society and from a history of Indian dependency on public assistance. Future investigators could well ask if this negative stereotype has any effect on the Indians enrolled in a relocation project. And if so, what aspects of changing Indian behaviour reflect this influence? In other words, do the Indians feel that they need to have a positive stereotype in the eyes of the white community before then can, in the full sense, belong to that community? I would question if this were the case in Elliot Lake.

Administrators of future programs would do well to enquire if the Indians feel that the more they accept the urban system of values and of behavioural norms, the more they will become accepted by the members of the white community. Or are they conscious of this question at all? Is the movement into white culture blocked or slowed down and if so, by what social forces or by what pressure groups? It seems to me that the traditional, Canadian pattern of disinterest in native people obtains here more than any specific factor of active resistance. Certainly there was nothing to indicate any active opposition to the project in the Elliot Lake community, at least in any institutional sense.

A critical question to raise in this general area is whether or not the Indians internalize the negative stereotype as a self-image and suffer anxiety because of this? To what extent does the Indian accept white values and define his goals in terms of them? Does the racial visibility of the Indian cause stereotypic treatment of the Indians by the whites? In some cases, the answer to this latter question appears to be yes, but if anything, the Indians tend to be oversensitive in this area and are in fact, subject to no more discriminatory behaviour patterns than for example, certain European immigrant groups. Evidence at Elliot Lake in this category is limited to some minor overt signs of prejudice on the part of the few

local whites. For example, the white neighbor woman who stood at the window of her house and by cupping her hand to her mouth did a little pantomime of an Indian war whoop. This was done on occasion when some of the Indian women were passing by on the street.

Some of the satisfactions which individual members of the Elliot Lake relocation group have acquired as a result of adopting to their new social environment would include their new standard of housing, their drinking privileges, and their sense of academic achievement in relation to future employment opportunities.

Administrators of future programs would do well to look at the question of cultural contact in terms as defined by Hollowell as follows:

"The essential questions are the specific conditions under which the individuals of either group gain an opportunity to learn about the new ways of the other group, how far such learning is promoted or discouraged, what is learned and the various incentives to learning, the kind of people who have taken the initiative in learning, and the results of the process with respect to the subsequent relations of both groups and their cultural system." (Socio-Psychological Aspects of Acculturation—page 182).

To encourage the development of intercultural relations in future projects it would be useful to enquire into the interest and recreational backgrounds of the individual trainees. For example, an individual with an avocational interest in a field such as music could be encouraged to develop this as an extracurricular activity. At the same time it could also provide the basis for building a functional bridge between that person and people in other groups of like interest but who are separated by a cultural gap.

This is in contrast to the approach whereby for example, members of a ladies club invite a group of Indian women to a social tea where they sit around and grin and exchange minor pleasantries. The point is that this latter form of intercourse has no social significance beyond the ritual of extending and receiving some kind of formal welcome to the community. But by connecting people on the basis of mutual interests, it can lead to developing normal, unostentatious and meaningful forms of social interaction.

For example, the interest of Indian men in fishing could lead to the local Chamber of Commerce sponsoring some kind of competitive activity such as a fishing contest or a dog derby out on the lake ice in the spring with the whole community involved. This takes on something of a festival air and could involve the Indian people in areas of already demonstrated experience and competence which would do much to develop a reciprocal sense of relationship between the old time residents and the relocation families. In a similar way, Indian women making handicrafts in their spare time could arrange for the sale of these through commercial outlets in town. In fact, this was done on a volunteer basis in the Elliot Lake pilot program but in future projects it would be preferable for it to be systematized. This would not only introduce a modest source of supplemental income for the families but would also help in the process of redefining sexual roles according to the egalitarian concept of urban society.

What might be similarly effective in other projects would be to arrange through the centre of instruction for a course to be offered to the community at large in certain Indian crafts and techniques. In the case of the Centre for Continuing Education at Elliot Lake this might go one step further by offering a course in native handicrafts as part of their regular summer program. The point of these various intercultural exercises is to get the Indian people involved in doing something that we can't do as well. This reverses and tends to equalize the constant learning relationship which has characterized Indian dependency on whites in the

past. The psychological advantages accruing to the Indians involved in such an activity could be very rewarding in relation to the objectives of the program. Here then is a device for developing self-assurance and for alleviating feelings of insecurity and anxiety which result from being in an almost constant novel and learning environment.

In terms of a functionally effective technique for getting people of different cultural backgrounds together in a meaningful social setting, the Branch might like to examine closely the high degree of success of such an organization as the International Friendship Club which has been functioning within the international community in Ottawa in recent years. In this kind of environment, differences in ethnicity become a social asset rather than a liability.



### III AN APPRAISAL OF ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FROM THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER 14, 1966 TO MAY 4, 1967

In reviewing carefully the contents of the administrative files available at the Regional Office in the period indicated above, I have been struck by a number of factors which may be helpful to comment on here. May I preface these comments by saying that as a former administrative officer of another Branch of this same Department, I fully appreciate, in a very non-academic way, the order and the complexity of the problems which face administrative officers at whatever level in the hierarchy they may be, in either the planning or the execution of a given departmental program.

It seems to be in the very nature of administrative process in large organizations, and this is perhaps particularly true in the civil service, that the problems associated with a particular area of responsibility become increasingly evident over a period of time and everyone agrees that something must be done about it. Seldom, however, does anything effective really happen until through the operation of some sort of inertial principle, the cumulative effect of the problem becomes such a pressing need that the administration then moves very quickly from a recognition of its existence to the application of a crash type of program aimed at its solution. This appears to be exactly what happened in the case of the relocation project at Elliot Lake.

The Regional Office did an excellent job of staff co-ordination in setting up the whole program on such short notice. My main point of criticism is that there is a large conceptual gap between the mobilizing of the resources of a highly organized administrative structure and the assumption that it can operate with the same speed and efficiency in a previously untried program among people of a very different cultural background, and involving problems of logistics and communication quite different from those which condition the environment of an urban based regional office.

I would recommend that future programs be set up within a much longer time scale and with the benefit of much more sophisticated and careful selection procedures. Later in this report I will propose some such procedures.

In all the administrative exchanges I note a great deal of vigor and indeed of enthusiasm for the project, as well as some very sincere attempts to develop and carry out an effective program. But it seems to be an inherent characteristic of bureaucratic organizations to feel that within their staffing and organizational capacities lie the necessary capabilities to attack any problem. However, admirable this view may be, *in anything as important and as sensitive as a pilot project, I think it would have made much better administrative sense to have carefully preselected on a contract basis a cadre of key people preferably from outside the service to carry out the program with a relatively high degree of autonomy.* Freed from the restrictions and pressures of 'in house' administration, senior officers of the Branch would have been in a position at the end of the pilot project to have more objectively evaluated the program. The internal resources of the Branch could then have been brought to bear in planning a more extensive program on a multiple location basis.

In making these various comments about the administrative philosophy and administrative practice which the documentary evidence available to me provides, I fully appreciate the practical problems which working administrators face in carrying out a program of this type. But my purpose here is to draw attention to what I feel were some serious limitations in the administrative conceptualization

of the program and, more to the point, in the lack of a timely and well-thought out selection of suitable supervisory personnel to do the job. A correlated problem proved to be that of providing administrative continuity in the field. As suggested earlier, one possible way to avert a repetition of this problem would be to enter into a contractual relationship with suitable trained personnel for the duration of the project. The contract would, of course, include release authority subject to satisfactory performance by the contract staff.

## IV INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE INDIAN FAMILIES AT ELLIOT LAKE AS INFLUENCED BY THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL ADAPTATION

### a) Selected Case Histories

Among the Indian informants whom I interviewed, there appeared to be three categories of orientation which I have labeled change-oriented, marginally-oriented, and reserve-oriented. The majority of the men selected for this pilot project already had prior experience with wage employment. But on examining the interview data closely, I found a considerable range in the distribution of attitudes toward wage employment, towards regular and fixed hours of work, and towards the different concept of time which the new work patterns demanded. Faced with the difficulty of drawing some useful and valid kinds of generalization from such a small and heterogenous statistical group, I have decided to draw from the interview material a selection of comments which I hope will represent a cross-section of the views of the men concerned.

One of the trainees, whom I would rate at the high end and the acculturation continuum, was expectably and fully committed to changing from the traditional reserve life to life in contemporary, industrial Canada. I propose to recount his views in some detail as I think they indicate indeed, typify, the set of values and attitudes which are held by the change-oriented Indians on the program. During the course of one of the interviews, I recounted to him the well-known story of the Trickster in Ojibwa folklore. He responded by saying, "that is a fairy tale told by old men—not real." This is anthropologically significant in that the same story told to a relatively unacculturated Indian would elicit quite a different kind of response.

The interpersonal relations between this man and his wife were fairly characteristic of the Ojibwa pattern. By saying that his wife should be able to say whatever she wants to whenever she wants to, he expressed some of the egalitarian dogma of our society. But this was denied by the social facts of the interview and by the respective roles which husband and wife played relation to it. The wife was very much in the background and spoke to us through her husband. Spatially she seated herself on the far side of the room with her husband located between herself and the visitors. She spoke in a low voice and with downcast eyes—all of which are characteristic. However, her English was relatively good and she certainly followed the conversation clearly. She said that that very day she and her husband had talked on the telephone with her family back at Sandy Lake—some several hundred miles distant. I might mention as an aside that I recorded several instances where the long distance telephone proved to be a useful communication device for maintaining the morale of the relocation Indians when they were able by this means to contact their kin folk back on the reserve.

The husband had formerly worked for a telephone company at Sandy Lake. It was a radio-telephone system and he was a one man show who operated and maintained the equipment. It was a low paying job—about \$200 a month—but the point is that he was already attracted to changing from the traditional life way. Based on his remarks and those of his wife, it is clear that they are *future oriented*, as well as *change oriented*. The initial group from Sandy Lake comprised some eight families and my informant remarked that more wanted to come after they had left. It was simply that the other people were reluctant to become involved until they knew what it was all about. But once the first group had made the move, the others became more interested. Concerning reserve life he commented that the assistant agency superintendent from Sioux Lookout was always going down to



Sandy Lake and making promises which were not fulfilled. For five or six years this man had come around and promised help of one kind or another on the reserve, but these promises had not as yet been fulfilled.

The main reason why my informant came to Elliot Lake was to get a better education. He noted that his own parents didn't oppose to move but some of the other older people in the community did. But he viewed this as his chance and he wanted to take it.

In his view, government relief on the reserve is not a good thing for the Indians. But it is difficult nowadays to make a living in the bush country and when they get relief, they want to stop working because it is much easier to get rations and not have to bother to go trapping. However, it is interesting to note that this particular informant because of his high degree of acculturation, clearly expressed the dogma of our own society by saying that when you earn something you are part of it yourself. He remarked that a lot of people on his reserve don't trap any more. He said the price of fur has gone down and the cost of consumer goods has risen and, therefore, it is better and easier simply to get relief rations.

In terms of their relationships with their neighbors in Elliot Lake, on one side of their house lives a miner who is of French extraction and on the other side lives a retired man of Anglo-Saxon background whose son lives in another house across the street. The son is also a miner. The area in which this Indian family lives is mostly occupied by miners and tradesmen. The social relations are good and to some extent they visit back and forth, including some neighborly borrowing. While we were there, a neighbor girl came in to visit my informant's thirteen year old daughter. They played together, one white and one Indian, in a totally unselfconscious way.

My informant said that the Sandy Lake people generally were happy with the program at Elliot Lake and he thinks that the project is going to succeed. He said that most of the Indians are of this opinion. He commented that in their view the local white people are nice which makes it different from Red Lake where a number of the Sandy Lokers had formerly worked.

I felt that his view was a somewhat overstated one and tended to paint a rosier picture of interethnic relations than the evidence from other informants indicated. What he really was saying was that the loan and share relationships among suburban whites are comparable to those of the reserve. I disagree with this view because in suburbia this kind of relationship is voluntary and is at a rather superficial level, whereas in a place such as Sandy Lake, it becomes a *system of obligation relationships*.

My informant felt that the present training program should be continued in essentially the same format in future programs. He commented that some of the things he is learning won't be of any use to him when he gets a job later on. I explained to him that formal education usually includes things that are not entirely utilitarian, but become part of the background of knowledge by which the individual is better able to appreciate what is going on in the larger world.

During the course of this particular interview his wife left to attend a centennial fashion show being held at the local community hall and to which three members of the relocation group had been invited to participate in full native costume. This was in keeping with the other ladies of the community who participated and who also wore period costumes. One of the counsellors remarked to me afterwards that the Indian women did very well indeed when they appeared on stage, and appeared to be at ease. Other people came over to then offer the performance and complimented them on their appearance. It would be misleading,

however, to give the impression that this kind of social relationship has developed extensively between Indians and whites in the Elliot Lake community. In fact this was an exceptional case but nonetheless it turned out in a very positive fashion. However, at the time of this particular event the Indian families had just been living in the community for some three months, so extensive interethnic relationships could hardly have been expected to develop in such a short time.

During the interview I observed that the parent-child relationships were normative for an Ojibwa household. It was characterized by the absence of physical chastisement and by an attitude of restraint on the part of the parents. They also showed a great deal of patience in their relation to the children and close bonds obviously exist between the members of the family.

Clearly this particular Ojibwa family had left the world of the isolated reserve behind them and they have made their decision on a conscious and relatively sophisticated basis. My informant spoke English fluently and he recognized that further training is his means of achieving a suitable niche in the modern world.

While we were visiting, 'Batman' was showing on the T.V. set and in fact tended to interfere with the interview. The program was of obvious interest to all members of the family. The home was neat and clean in appearance, although sparsely furnished. My informant complained that the \$75 per week allowance which he was receiving didn't go too far when paying for house rental and the cost of food, utilities, together with incidentals. Examined from a number of points of view, it is evident that he and his wife are committed to urban Canadian values and to the associated patterns of behaviour.

In terms of the relocation group's attitude towards their new housing, I think without exception the Indian families were pleased with the comfort and the higher standard of living which residence in Elliot Lake gave to them. Nor was there any evidence of abuse to the houses by any of the families. All the homes visited appeared to be reasonably clean and well kept. It is worth noting that most of the women, particularly the younger women, have had the benefit of extended residential school experience and some of the families had lived in Red Lake either in standard or substandard housing where they had been exposed to urban Canadian housekeeping standards.

When asked to compare the difference between the way of life on the reserve and the way of life in Elliot Lake, another informant remarked that one difference is that "there are only Indians on the reserve, whereas in Elliot Lake they are in a minority." Another difference is that "adults don't go to school on the reserve but they do here." Another difference is that "there are better homes here than on the reserve." His wife remarked that it is much easier to keep house here than it is on the reserve because you don't need to cut and haul wood for heat nor haul water from the lake by hand." My informant said that he and his wife had decided to come on the project because he had heard about a lot of good jobs where he was working at Red Lake, but he was told that he needed more education in order to qualify for them.

Although this particular informant had worked for wages in the past, it was interesting to note his attitude towards a regular cash income as a subsistence base for him and his family during his period of training. He said,

"We can't save anything on the \$300 per month because it costs a lot of money to live here including hydro and we just get enough to keep us going for our groceries. Rent is \$70 a month, hydro is about \$32 for two months, and the oil bill in the winter time is between \$20 and \$30. Two dozen beer is

about \$5 in Elliot Lake. Maybe I get two of those \$5 cases a month on payday, I go up to the hotel from time to time and have a few drafts. Sometimes I took my wife out when I can afford it. My wife goes shopping once or twice a week. The food bill runs about \$100 per month or perhaps a little less. We buy clothes whenever we can afford it."

This informant is also buying a Canada Savings Bond by means of deduction of \$11 per month from his living allowance. The reason that they are doing this is to save for their shopping bills next Christmas! This was probably the extreme case of future orientation that I encountered on the project! It also shows the ambivalence and inconsistency of attitudes which are characteristic of a people in transition.

As a representative of the views of another change-oriented individual who was somewhat younger, I would like to abstract certain comments from an interview with a trainee who is twenty years old, and whose wife is age nineteen. He reached grade 8 at Sandy Lake and then he went to Port Arthur where he took grade 9 and where he also met his wife-to-be. She comes from Northwest Angle which is a small community on the Canadian side of the Minnesota border. She completed grade 6 at Port Arthur. The informant lived the first seventeen years of his life on the Reserve at Sandy Lake. He had not had any prior wage employment with the exception of a nine month period when he worked underground at a mine in Red Lake. Nor had he done any trapping because he was involved in full-time schooling.

My informant liked Port Arthur as a community and he lived to go to high school there, where he boarded in town with a white family. He remarked that he had lots of friends in Port Arthur and that he likes the urban way of life because of the benefits of a steady job. He would like to have a car and he would like to have a modern home with all the associated amenities. My informant said that there is nothing he really dislikes about the urban way of life except that the white man is greedy and he wants to get rich. He doesn't like the Indian reserve system. He doesn't like the fact that the white man has set aside certain areas and said to the Indians in effect—'that is for you and nothing else.' My informant feels that the government should have done better than it has by the Indians and that it should have done it sooner. Nonetheless he appreciates what the government, through the Indian Affairs Branch is doing for him but he would still ask for more. He thinks that the government should move more Indians out of the bush into the cities and towns where they could also have a good home.

He prefers the regular hours of work in the town to the casual hours of work on the reserve, but he mentioned that right now he misses the Indian food very much; such as, moose meat, rabbits, and wild duck. He prefers shopping in Elliot Lake rather than at the store on the reserve because there is a wider choice of goods and the prices are lower. Naturally he and his wife shop together and their food list resembles the suburban white pattern. They spend about \$15 a week on food for the two of them.

In response to the question as to how he would like to see subsequent programs run, he said that he would take ten families from one reservation and ten from another, rather than drawing the trainees from half a dozen different communities. He noted that in this way they wouldn't be so lonesome. He thinks that the ten families from one community would stay close together and live in adjacent houses so that they can visit easily and don't have to call a taxi every time they want to visit each other. His main point is that he feels that people should visit among each other a good deal so as not to be lonely, and they should be able to do it without it costing too much money. He commented that this is why some of



the trainees and their families had already left the project. This kind of comment needs to be looked at critically and should be examined in relation to some contrasting views which appear later in the report.

Nonetheless, my informant appeared to be a perceptive person and who felt quite willing to really say what he thought. An Ojibwa who will do this, of course, is highly acculturated in contrast to the traditional suspicion of strangers and reluctance to communicate easily. This bright young man appears to be a socially and emotionally healthy person and one who is fully committed to making a change in his way of life. He still speaks with the succinctness and restraint of an Indian, while at the same time he is not at all afraid to really express his own views to a non-Indian.

As an example of what might be termed a marginally-oriented trainee, I would like to cite elements from the case history of one of the men who didn't stay. My informant went to Pelican Residential School in Sioux Lookout where he completed grade 2 in 1950. He then began summertime guiding in the Eor Falls area and he has followed this as a seasonal occupation ever since. During the winter months he has trapped back on his home reserve at Loc Seul. His wife attended the same residential school as her husband and completed grade 5. They have been married for eleven years. It is interesting to note that his wife has stayed on the reserve since she returned from school with the exception of one summer when she went with her husband to Eor Falls. It could be that this differential degree of exposure to white society could have had some bearing on the decision of the couple to return to their home community.

When asked to compare the way of life as he found it in Elliot Lake to his manner of living back home, he commented that back on the reserve he could get any help that he wanted. When he is short of something he just goes to someone and asks them for it and they give it to him. He was, of course, referring to the indigenous pattern of obligation relations. But he also commented that back home he would send a dollar to the Salvation Army once in a while. Then any time he needs something, he just writes to them and tells them what he needs and they sent it to him. Presumably in his view the Salvation Army plays the same support role in white society that the system of kinship obligations performs in Ojibwa society. His main point is that at Loc Seul he has relatives to help him if he needs help, whereas at Elliot Lake he has not.

He also commented that during the summer time when he is guiding at Eor Falls, he earns \$400 a month clear because he doesn't have to pay any rent and he is provided with a house with modern conveniences. This job lasts some six months so that his income is about \$2,400 for six months. The other six months he may do odd jobs around the community of Hudson or perhaps a little trapping or he may just sit at home and not do anything.

What my informant said he doesn't like about Elliot Lake is the fact that he doesn't get enough money in order to get clothes and in order to get enough to eat. He said he spends about \$10 a month on liquor or beer. Here in Elliot Lake he and his wife go downtown about once a week when they go shopping together. Occasionally, at other times his wife will go shopping by herself. It is perhaps a fair index of his degree of acculturation that this particular man prefers the food back on the reserve to the food that he gets in Elliot Lake. This is an opinion which his wife also shares. He went on to explain that he prefers shopping back home because he gets fresh fish there rather than coned food.

If he gave me the correct information, his drinking patterns appear atypical. He said that he usually drinks only with his wife and since they come to Elliot Lake they have only gone downtown to the bar three times. He commented that

since they come to Elliot Lake they have not had any friends in for a social drink and they have just been out on one such occasion visiting other people during this same period. It is perhaps significant that this particular informant was one of only two men to be brought from the Lac Seul area. This fact may well bear on the apparently limited socializing which he does with other Indian families on the project. In turn this may have some bearing on the desire of he and his wife to return home.

By way of a general statement we can note that the process of relocation involves a whole series of adjustments by the individual in relation not only to his spouse and his children but also in relation to Indians from other areas within the group. It also involves a constant learning posture both in the school environment and in the area of social adjustment to the larger community itself. The loneliness expressed by a number of Indian families since coming to the relocation project at Elliot Lake really reflects a longing for the known social and physical environment. In the reserve milieu the normal operation of an extensive and functionally satisfying system of kinship relations provides the individual with a meaningful and predictable world. This stands in sharp contrast to the Elliot Lake environment where a system of unknowns, of variables, and of uncertainties become expressed at all levels of interpersonal relations.

Whether it be in a redefinition of husband and wife relations, whether it be in the new uses of leisure time, whether it be the new dietary forms, whether it be the cumulative effect of frequent, close contact with members of another culture, or whether it be in the pervasive influence of a new concept of time, the relocation families are subject to a wide range of adaptive demands which their new environment makes of them. In fact, the 'loneliness' so frequently expressed by the people and particularly by the Pekangikum families—who were the least acculturated of the group merely provides evidence of the sense of insecurity and the associated anxiety state which this same insecurity has produced within members of the relocation group.

This raises the question as to whether the environmental adaptation is related for example, to the relatively high incidence of wife-beating on the relocation project. Is wife-beating normative of Ojibwo culture? If not, the genuine feelings of regret and of anxiety which followed the particular wife-beating incident quoted in the preface to this report, would indicate a manifest form of insecurity and its associated anxiety syndrome.

This bears directly on the question of the inadequacy and suitability of the forms of recreation which are presently available to the relocation families. This is a question which needs to be examined carefully by the Branch for application to future relocation projects.

In Elliot Lake the principal public place for Indian recreation was in the local beer parlor and generally speaking, in this particular social environment, they would tend to meet the transient miner population. In one case, for example, this involved one of the young married men going off on a party with two young white men to a community some seventy miles away and subsequently landing up in court on a rape charge. There were also two or three cases of a group of young white men trying to pick a fight with Indians drinking in the pub. In at least one instance one of the Indian trainees was beaten up. In making this kind of comment, I am not suggesting that a person who goes down to have a social beer in Elliot Lake, is likely to wind up in some kind of social or legal difficulty. But on the other hand, the range of social opportunities available to the Indians at Elliot Lake are quite limited, the alternatives being either the movies downtown or drinking and card parties at home.

This perhaps leads to an examination of leadership among the Elliot Lake families. Bearing in mind the charismatic nature of the indigenous leadership among these people and relating this for example, to Dunning's definition of the role of the marginal man in a rapidly changing society, we may well ask if there has been any evidence of a 'natural leadership' emerging from within the relocation group.

Since the indigenous leadership patterns are usually indirect and informal and require close study to properly identify them, this has not been an easy question to answer. However, I observed that in their relations with white officials, one or two members of the group normally acted as informal spokesmen. This in part was due to their fluency in English but even more to their ability to express their views in the white man's direct mode of expression. Assuming that some kind of informal leadership is in fact emerging—and this would be normative for any human group—the related question would be as to whether or not this kind of individual is fully identified with the group or does he tend to be identified in the role of a marginal person who is not fully accepted by either group. In other words, does the leader symbolize the values and attitudes of the relocation group itself or does he perform more of a mediative and cross-over function between the two conflicting cultural systems?

A third and related question concerns the nature of the decision-making process in the present group of relocatees. Do they in fact view themselves as a group or do they still consider themselves as discrete entities with individual band or kin identification? The evidence suggests that they still have remained identified on a band basis and with relatively little social intercourse with families from other areas. This question of informal leadership takes on much meaning for administrative application to subsequent programs. By identifying the informal leadership network that invariably evolves within a group, a skilled project administrator, even if the leadership presents fractions of the group rather than the whole, can utilize this leadership as an instrument for achieving the objectives of the program, as well as an effective means of informal social control. Such an instrument would supplement the program direction which the formal structure already provides.

The role of the innovator in the process of cultural adaptation was clearly demonstrated when one of the women got herself a modern hairdo. In the course of a later visit with another family one of the counsellors mentioned to the woman of the house that she also would look attractive with a modern hairdo. A week or so later this woman had her hair similarly done. It is interesting to note that the manner in which this suggestion was made and the status of the person making it both determined in part, the acceptability of the suggestion. Administrators of future programs should look for the individuals within the group who are predisposed to innovation. In this particular case was this woman's husband also cast in the role of an innovator? Were they, as a couple, more amenable to cultural change than some of the other couples? During the course of my research it was not possible to get sufficient empirical evidence to answer these particular questions beyond indicating that two of the women whose husbands were strongly predisposed to change had themselves served as assistants at nursing stations at their home reserves and as such were accustomed to adapting to new ideas and to new systems of behaviour.

One of the terms of reference which should be included for administrators of subsequent programs would be an instruction to attempt to stimulate discussion between the members of the group who are engaged in the program, so that they can become self-directing and become more involved in the decision-making process



in their new way of life. An approach of this sort is necessary to offset the carry over influence into the new milieu of the traditional paternalism which has characterized Indian-white relations in the past.

In our society, the whole educational system is aimed enculturatively at providing an effective conceptual system and an explicit set of values which gives structure and meaning to the life way of the individuals concerned. In contrast, an indigenous people coming from a conflicting and marginal type of cultural situation, such as most of the relocation families of Elliot Lake have come from, are faced with the problem of finding meaning and direction in their new life way. We may then ask the question what elements if any, of the new cultural system provide these referents of meaning and direction? For example, does the church provide this? Do sports activities provide this? Does liquor provide this? Do social relationships with other Indians within the group provide this. Are relationships in the community at large providing this? Obviously we are still dealing with an essentially maladjusted human group; people who are without roots in their new community but with a longing for their old community; people who have not yet been given adequate orientation as to the overall meaning of what they are trying to do nor of the generous scale of the services and facilities which the government is providing for them.

*In future programs, in addition to the more formal aspects of curriculum content and the occupational objectives of the training program, considerably more emphasis should be placed upon exploring the whole social context in which the process of change is being played out.*

Similarly there should be an imaginatively conceived program—with room for group self-direction and self-initiative—of extracurricular activities so structured that the people feel comfortable and at ease while engaged in them. The program should also encourage the emergence of local leadership within the group and it should be pitched in a tempo and with a content which is meaningful to the cultural background of the relocatees. In other words, we should not assume that the Indians would necessarily like a duplicate of the recreational activities of Canadian suburban life. Recreation needs to be viewed critically and creatively rather than merely follow some existing stereotypes model. It also needs to be viewed as an integral part of the *training in cultural adjustment* which the overall program must aim to provide. And it needs to be looked at in the context of the larger educational institution in which the training is taking place. For example, what sort of a place is the Centre for Continuing Education of Elliot Lake in relation to the objects of the program? Does the physical plant provide a suitable kind of facility? Is there included within the staff membership a suitable person or persons who can really act as a catalyst and co-ordinator in carrying out this kind of a recreational concept?

The sense of proportion between the commitment to planned social activity on the one hand and the opportunities to be at ease and in an informal family situation on the other hand, needs to be carefully thought out and well balanced.

One of the basic problems facing the Indian families on the project is that the warm bonds and meaningful human relationships which the extended kin group provided to its members in reserve life is now essentially lost in a strange environment. What the Indian term 'loneliness' really means is a dissatisfaction with and in some cases a rejection of the new social milieu. 'Loneliness' has a corollary meaning which expresses the desire to return to the warmth and comfort of the extended kin relationships. It is not surprising to note that those who are least acculturated are the ones who want to return home most. In the case of the pilot project these were the Pekongekum people who are from perhaps the least devel-

oped and most poverty stricken reserve represented in the relocation group. It is also a community in which an additional element of conservatism has been introduced through the missionary activities of a particular religious group which are at variance both with the indigenous system and with the influences of contemporary secular society. In relation to future programs, there is a need to study the salient social characteristics of each reserve so as to increase the probability of recruiting candidates who will subsequently prove to be successful members of the relocation program.

#### **b) Conjugal Relationships in the Relocation Group**

For a small group of twenty couples, the range of the individual conjugal relationships as evidenced by the field data, was quite remarkable. On northern reserves extramarital affairs by either spouse are not uncommon. It was not surprising, therefore, to see some carry over of this pattern into the Elliot Lake setting. In some cases this was characterized by an attitude of inordinate jealousy and suspicion. Although the role of government is not to act as arbiter in matters of private morals, on the other hand the social and medical history of the families selected for future programs should be examined to see if they contain any idiosyncrasies which would affect their subsequent social adjustment in the new community. It would also be advisable to enquire if there was any evidence of emotional instability in the family background. A history of socially disapproved extramarital relations would tend to limit the suitability of such a family for the relocation training, not in terms of their private relationship, but in terms of the effect of such behaviour in a new community with its implications for perpetuating the negative stereotype which whites generally hold concerning Indians. For example, on several occasions, one of the wives left her husband and children and simply took off for another town where she had illicit affairs with a number of different men. News of this kind travels quickly and the resulting gossip hardly reinforces a favourable image of the project as a whole. Not is it without effect on the relations of the new families as a group to the community at large.

The nature of the husband-wife relationship is critical to the stability and perseverance of trainees in the successful completion of their program. For example, one of the men who was in his thirties was married to a woman in her fifties. The evidence suggests that he was strongly motivated to take the training but was subject to constant pressures from his wife which began shortly after their arrival in Elliot Lake to return home. She was simply not adaptable to the new environment and in fact, this couple were in the first group to leave the project and return to their reserve. The wife, perhaps partly because of her age and the fact that she spoke no English, simply was unable to adjust to life in a community such as Elliot Lake, and really had no interest from the beginning in any serious involvement in the program of its objectives. This is the kind of thing which needs to be preselected out in future programs. In other words, it is essential for the recruitment team to make sure that both spouses are really committed to the objectives of the program.

One of the factors which introduced an element of disunity into the domestic situation among the project Indian families was the fact that in Elliot Lake in contrast to the reserve, the men were free to visit the pub for socializing and more often than not did this in the company of other men rather than in the company of their wives. This led to the women tending to blame their husbands by saying that the men were drinking a lot and why should they sit at home and not have the company of their husbands. Conversely the men blamed the women by saying that the women were constantly egging them to come home. Admittedly, this sounds very much like conjugal relationships in our own society! But the point is

that in the reserve situation the norm is for husbands and wives to socialize together with other people and this new habit was alien to their norm.

Perhaps one of the more amusing aspects of acculturation in the resettlement program is the fact that the men are now cast in the role of baby-sitters. This is not a normal male role in Ojibwo society but in the Elliot Lake setting, in some cases, while the wife goes downtown to do her shopping, the husband may find himself acting as a baby-sitter and he objects to his wife on this account. Even more does this point out the undesirability of an evening tuition program for the women.

One of the most clearly defined relationships in any human society is of husband and wife. This is culturally prescribed and follows certain normative patterns. Anything which affects these patterns needs to be treated with care because of the basic emotional values which are affected. Again, the skill of the counselors appointed to subsequent programs and their sensitivity to this kind of adjustment problem can have a significant influence on the stability and the continuance of the trainees and, therefore, on the ultimate success of the project. Subsequent programs should include a low-pitched but nonetheless well-planned variety of recreational activities which would involve *the whole family*. This in turn would minimize the strain on the traditional pattern of social activities which was normally done by the family as a unit. The relocatees should be able to perpetuate the structure of their own domestic relationships as unchanged as possible because this provides a stable base, a cultural refuge, in which they can recoup from the strenuous demands to adapt to a very different set of social relationships. The objective here is not to inhibit the inevitable process of change in the conjugal and family relationships but rather to ensure that the pressures to change do not grossly disrupt these fundamental relationships. I suspect that the evening training program for the women during the initial Elliot Lake project failed in large part of this very reason.

In the somewhat broader context of the extended kin group with its institutionalized system of obligation relations, the research data indicates that among the trainees who come from the same band the traditional system of obligation relations has persisted in the new environment. This system has also been transported into borrowing or loaning things to people associated with the project but who were non-kin, such as Mr. Ghazzali or Mrs. Beaucage or other members of the staff with whom particular individuals felt a personal sort of relationship. In fact, the act of borrowing and lending within the intent of the traditional pattern, in itself becomes a symbol of acceptance and of friendship by the Indian concerned. Non-Indian staff associated with future projects should be aware of the delicacy and importance of this matter while at the same time being careful not to become too personally involved in the pattern.

### **c) Indian-White Relationships at the Centre for Continuing Education**

Social relationships at the Centre were characterized by the absence of any particular consciousness of ethnicity. The Centre has a student body of perhaps one hundred and fifty people who comprise a very mixed group but with an emphasis on young, adult males. All the students shared the common objective of academic upgrading and for the most part were drawn from lower class socio-economic groupings and they come from various parts of the province. In some cases, the young men had police records. The student body included in its number a sizeable proportion of young Indians, more males than females, in their late teens or early twenties. These young people came from various parts of Northern Ontario, including a few from the less acculturated areas around the James Bay



watershed. Others were highly acculturated young people who were drawn from reserves scattered along the north shore of Lake Huron.

Particularly in the dining hall and in the lounges, the students mixed in quite an unselfconscious way without regard to ethnicity. There was no overt evidence of any strain or tension within the student body, or in fact between the student body and the academic staff. The morale of the dining and kitchen staff fortuitously was high and this also created a generally pleasant atmosphere in the dining hall. The student body had relatively little contact with the office staff of the Centre. During coffee breaks, the married men who comprised the relocation group tended to associate together but not exclusively so. Generally speaking there was a pervasive air of informality and ease of interpersonal relationships in the day-to-day activities of the academic program, as well as in the social activities at the Centre. Rarely, however, did one see the married families back at the Centre in the lounge during the evening hours. Nor would one expect them to be there because normally married people with family responsibilities would be at home in the evening. Once or twice a week movies were shown at the Centre, but again these were rarely attended by the married families who took their movie entertainment downtown.

As the project unfolded, an expectable gradient ranging from dissatisfaction through to satisfaction seemed to develop among the relocation families. A few wanted to return home within a month of their arrival, whereas a number of other families had a very strong interest in wanting to remain to the completion of the program. In future projects it would be interesting to observe if there was any positive correlation between the social adaptability of the individual families involved and their position on this satisfaction-dissatisfaction continuum. Perhaps one significant index of adjustment could be the amount of socializing done by the women. A woman who in effect, is house-bound by virtue of few normal social outlets, is much more likely to build up dissatisfaction than in her husband. This certainly appears to have been the case with the three Pekongum families who were the first to return home.

Another index of adaptation can be found in the public demonstrations of the relationship between husband and wife. The more acculturated Indian families tend to follow the urban egalitarian norm, whereas the Pekongum people rarely if ever, appeared in public as husband and wife. Recruitment in future programs should bear such ethnicities in mind in assessing the degree of adaptability of a particular band which would affect their subsequent relation to the training program and, therefore, to their probability of completing it.

## V SOME CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF SORCERY AND ALCOHOL AS CONTRASTING FORMS OF EMOTIONAL RELEASE: THEIR RELEVANCE FOR RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMS

In any society, emotions such as those which express aggression, anxiety or insecurity, are given culturally prescribed forms. In other words, there are proper ways to express those feelings which are normative to that particular human group. A rich anthropological literature is available on this subject having to do with boreal forest people. I propose to include here a few of the salient points from this literature and then apply these insights to the human situation as I found it among the Indian families of Elliot Lake.

As Hollowell for example, has pointed out, the high degree of emotional control exercised by the Saulteaux and other boreal forest groups in their interpersonal relations was determined by an indigenous fear of sorcery. If you overtly offend anyone, that person will get even with you by supernatural means and with dire results. Therefore, it is normal to present an amiable face to all people even though you greatly dislike or even stand in mortal fear of some other person. The anxiety and insecurity which resulted from this kind of emotional climate within the community found institutional expression in various forms. One of the most effective of these was the 'joking relationship' whereby cross-cousins did things in their behaviour and speech towards one another which cut across all the accepted dictums and standards of proper behaviour. Another form of emotional release was to practice counter-sorcery. Both these patterns of behaviour and the beliefs which subsumed them were highly developed in Saulteaux society.

The cultural challenge which faces project administrators and their staff and through them, the senior officers of the Branch administration, is to assist people with this kind of cultural background to adopt to a rapidly changing way of life. The traditional forms are still viable in certain areas of the North and in varying degrees of intensity. It is almost impossible to generalize in this respect but suffice it to say that indigenous belief patterns are still, at least to some extent, a significant factor in determining interpersonal relationships not only between the Indians but also in their relationships to non-Indians. But to the extent to which these indigenous beliefs are in conflict with the norms of a secular society, so do the emotional tensions and anxieties increase because the traditional cathartic devices can no longer be practiced with the same assurance. The alternative is to use, and more often to abuse, the emotional relief mechanisms of urban Canadian society with which they are not yet fully familiar.

Admittedly, a majority of the initial group of trainees have had some work experience and residence either in or on the periphery of some of the northern mining towns. Notwithstanding this fact, all of a sudden, twenty families were lifted out of a reserve environment and were dropped down into a model but isolated, urban community within which they entered into a new standard of housing, followed a regular and formal program of adult education, used a pay-as-you-go cash economy in contrast to the credit economy of the reserve system and found themselves set within a larger multiethnic community with the status of a small but amorphous minority group.

In our society the use of alcohol is fully institutionalized and serves a wide range of functions. I propose to examine in some detail the substitute uses of alcohol for sorcery among people living in a rapidly changing social and occupational environment. In his paper "Socio-Psychological Dimensions of Ojibwa Acculturation," James has written incisively concerning the role of alcohol as a substitute for the indigenous sorcery pattern in providing relief from anxiety.

Most of the twenty families on the pilot project were young married people for whom much of the native religious beliefs have lost their meaning or have largely disappeared. On the other hand, some aboriginal religious elements have survived as bits of dislocated pieces of the old way of life but these are ambivalently respected or ridiculed by the younger people on the reserves.

In addition to the indigenous and secular influences already described, the relocation Indians are subject to a third set of conflicting influences, namely the various denominational forms which Christian missionary activity has taken in recent years. The formal role of the Christianized Indian is relatively well defined in the reserve setting and some of the individuals meet its expectations rather fully. They participate in the religious life of the community through church attendance, abstinence of alcohol and so on. But significantly enough, since coming to Elliot Lake, church going has almost stopped completely. This shows something to the effect of the intense secular influences which operate in contemporary urban communities. It also indicates that the Indians do not feel particularly at home in the new religious community setting. This feeling of religious insecurity is heightened by the fact that the local clergy have not reached out to involve them in the life of their church.

In discussing the significance of the way in which people play out their roles, Jones observes that they "permit us to identify specific points of conflict between the subculture and its environment, the Indian self-image, and individual response to the contemporary situation in psychological terms." (page 721). At Elliot Lake drinking parties often involve the use of alcohol to excess and also result in behaviour such as wife-beating which is contradictory to the Christian ethic. These parties symbolize a conflict in role playing between the reserve life where drinking is not allowed (or where it is covert and illicit) and the community life at Elliot Lake where drinking is viewed as common public practice and as a matter of personal choice. Heavy drinking patterns for a substantial number of the Indian families, particularly the men, have either been reinforced by or have developed since the families came to Elliot Lake. This is perhaps partly a result of observing excessive drinking habits among the miners who form the principal part of the labour force in the Elliot Lake area. The miners' example exerts an influence on the Indians in that it implies the approval of white society for this particular form of behaviour. So from the relocatees' point of view the ambivalence persists between missionary dogmas taught on the reserve and the observable behaviour of other members of that same society in the urban setting of Elliot Lake.

The whole question of the techniques by which a culturally transitional group finds relief from the anxieties and insecurities of a rapidly changing way of life, has important administrative meaning because it affects the academic progress of the Indians as students and it also in part, determines the kind of people that will emerge from the total training process. In turn, the trainees will carry over certain learned habits of behaviour into the later community within which they will become permanently wage employed. A factor of equal importance is the effect of such behavioural patterns on the attitudes of the community at large within which the Indian resettlement program is being carried out. As James has noted, there are two stereotypes of Indians in our society, one romantic and the other negative.

"Unlike the romantic stereotype, the negative one has its roots in the vital empirical referents of existing sub-cultural conditions. It is the only viable system of values in fact, mediating the relationship of Indian social life and the dominant culture." (page 732).



Members of our society tend to view the Indians either as a bunch of drunken bums—the negative stereotype or to view them as 'noble savages' which is in the Fenimore Cooper tradition of the romantic stereotype.

When the Indians engage to excess in any of the accepted forms of social behaviour it tends to confirm the old negative stereotype in the eyes of the white community. Whether these cultural stereotypes are positively or negatively defined becomes crucial to the objectives of the relocation program. As a corollary factor, the sensitivity of Indian relocatees to the attitudes of the white community around them greatly influence the rate and form with which they adapt to their new urban way of life.

James has noted that "a generalized anxiety is also reflected in the frequency of Indian emotions during drinking, as well as by the indiscriminate nature of drunken hostility." This may be especially related to wife-beating in the case of the Elliot Lake program. We may also ask if the fear of our formal legal system with its attendant police and judicial structures has replaced the traditional indigenous fear of sorcery as a mechanism of social control? This question needs to be examined in terms of what new fears have replaced the traditional fear of sorcery. Has there been any transfer of the fear once reserved for sorcers to fear and suspicion of the white man generally or of the "government?"

In the case of the Elliot Lake group, feelings of joy and sadness, of hate and love, are still restrained in their form of expression. However, laughter and joking are present in interpersonal relationships and in fact the indigenous joking relationship continues to perpetuate itself. Partying in the Elliot Lake context was virtually an institutionalized consequence of pay day much in the manner of lower class urban whites. The social function of such drinking is indicated not only by the fact that the obsessional solitary drinker is uncommon but by the fact that volume intoxicants like beer and wine are preferred to concentrated liquors such as whiskey and gin. As with other groups, sociability is a principal function of drinking in off-duty hours among families of the relocation group. The way in which alcohol acts to reduce the sense of social isolation and to permit the ventilation of anxiety suggests a cause-effect relation between culturally induced anxieties and excessive drinking which really represents a psychological reaction to the gross changes taking place in their way of life.

From an administrative point of view then, the question becomes one of how to provide a social milieu acceptable to the Indians which will also provide a release for anxiety and repression in some other form. This, however, may be quite unrealistic because cultural change is taking place within the context of the community where drinking is highly institutionalized in various forms. In either case, the Indian is placed in a difficult dilemma. He is not able to identify with his own culture of the past nor to accept the 'cultural deviance' among his family and friends. This certainly appears to be the case among some at least of the Elliot Lake trainees.

One of the counsellors related an interesting incident which indicates the persistence of the traditional forms of social control in the new social environment. While she was hospitalized as a result of an accident, one of the trainees came to her while he was very drunk and said that her accident was the result of sorcery being practiced by another Indian who had also been a member of the relocation group. This man had just been sent home because of an alcohol problem but he had told his fellow trainee that when he got back home he would continue to harm the counsellor by supernatural means. If this evidence is correct, it simply shows that to some extent, the traditional patterns of social control are continuing in the new setting.

To summarize then, in the Elliot Lake project alcohol performs three basic functions:

1. Social drinking, or reaffirmation of group identity.
2. The release of anxieties.
3. Reducing the sense of social isolation.

The concomitant problem, of course, lies not in the performance of these functions but in their malfunctioning. Although this problem can apply to non-Indian groups as well, in this particular case it is compounded because sorcery and alcohol co-exist as conflicting forms of emotional release. Until the ambivalence ends, the pressures created by these conflicting forms of release themselves increase the tensions they are intended to resolve.

In its administrative role in our society, government does not concern itself with the use or non-use of alcohol by individual members of the community. It does, however, legislate and adjudicate in matters involving the misuse of alcohol. It would seem to me to be desirable, therefore, for administrators of future relocation projects to have included in their terms of reference the responsibility to instruct the trainees in the hazards connected with the misuse of alcohol in their new urban environment. Not to do this would be to deprive them of the same right of rational choice which is given to other Canadians. From an anthropological point of view, it is very interesting to observe how for a people in transition, an element from one cultural system can effectively be substituted by a different element from another culture as a means of providing a socially acceptable release from the tensions and frustrations of daily life.

## VI THE TRAINING PROGRAM: AN EXERCISE IN CULTURAL ADAPTATION

The training given to the men and to the women on the relocation project was quite different in scope and content and should properly be treated as separate items since the objectives of the two programs although complementary, were quite distinct.

### 1. WOMEN'S PROGRAM

The women's program fell into two parts, academic and vocational. In the case of the academic work, each woman was tested to determine her grade level and the program went ahead with formal instruction from that point. The vocational training included instruction in the use of electric sewing machines and being taught to make things which they hadn't made before, such as curtains for their homes. The women were also trained to cut out clothing from patterns. Indian women, of course, have been very able seamstresses for a long time. The novel part of the training was in the techniques and instruments used and in the new kinds of articles manufactured. The women were also given instruction in the art of cooking urban Canadian cuisine. Subsequent house visits by the instructor showed that the women were making the new dishes on their own initiative and as such, provides evidence of the success of the training.

The course also involved in-home visits in which instruction was given in the bathing of children, as some of the mothers did not do this frequently. Instruction was given in feminine hygiene and also included an emphasis on household cleanliness in keeping with accepted urban standards. Because menstrual attitudes and practices provide a useful index of acculturation, it would be useful to try and get additional data in this area during future projects. It would also be interesting to enquire as to the extent of urban child rearing practices now being used by Indian women in the training of their own children including the well developed urban practice of spanking. The techniques of control which I was able to observe during the course of my interviews with the parents, indicated that the highly effective indigenous patterns still remain.

In retrospect it seems hard to believe that the women's program could have been conceived in terms of several evenings a week. This not only interfered with the normal domestic arrangements of the households, but further compounded the process of cultural strain and adjustment which the families were already undergoing in other respects. Secondly, the home economics curriculum needs to be adopted and taught in terms of the particular requirements of people from another cultural background. In the case of the Elliot Lake project, this need was accentuated by the fact that two of the white staff members appeared to have a disconcerting effect on the Indian women because of their particular manner and approach with its implicit overtones of cultural superiority.

The various people involved in the women's program agreed that evening sessions were not suitable, neither was the length of the sessions nor their frequency. For future projects several people have recommended setting up a day program with nursery care being provided for the children. It might also be useful to plan on one evening a week out for the women along but which would be for social reasons rather than academic ones. One member of the staff reported that some of the women who had attended the evening classes did in fact want to be given homework and that this was a reflection of their eagerness to learn. But this did not seem compatible with the notion of the long evening hours already prescribed for the program. However, if instruction were given in the day time,



it might be possible for them to be given a certain amount of evening homework. One instructress pointed out that the women expressed themselves on paper much better than they did verbally in a person-to-person relationship. Her point was that the letters which the women write really project what they think, whereas the Indian women just won't tell you in a face-to-face relationship how they feel or what their thoughts really are. She also pointed out that the Ojibwa have a highly developed sense of culturally defined humor and that this should be utilized both for administrative and recreational purposes. She mentioned that after the initial sessions, only some of the women continued to come out to the classes. But those who did, tended to come regularly. During the latter part of the program, after they had got accustomed to one another, they began to really enjoy each others company. This evolving pattern of behaviour, as well as the selective nature of the attendance is to be expected in a situation of cultural change.

Bearing in mind the social habits of the Ojibwa and the associated nature of their personality structure, the whole approach in training women who have come from an isolated reserve setting needs to be more subtle, more indirect, and set in a longer time perspective. For example, Mrs. Beaucage for all her empathy and skill still found that the Indian women didn't open up freely to her. One possible explanation is that perhaps these women are conditioned to feel that their opinions are just not that important or that people might not pay attention to them if these opinions were offered. If this is the case, the authoritarian attitude by certain white members of the staff towards the Indian students during the pilot project would have further inhibited the process of communication. One way of overcoming this kind of difficulty in future programs would be to make the instructional process a reciprocal one. In other words, in addition to the women spending much of their time in a learning posture, the program should also include opportunities for them to take the initiative and show their instructresses how well they can do certain things from their own culture. This approach would form an overt basis for an attitude of mutual respect which should characterize teacher-student relationships particularly in the adult education field.

Visits by the women counsellors to the homes of the families were resented at least by some of the women students. Perhaps it is because the counsellors always seemed to be there on business. In urban society we conveniently separate 'business' and 'pleasure.' But in Ojibwa society 'business' is always conducted in the context of a social visit. Since women as a sex are committed biologically to a household life, all matters domestic are very important to them. As the result, it takes quite a period of time for them to get adjusted to a new home, particularly when it is in quite a new environment. The Indian women may have viewed these visits by the counsellors and the teaching staff as an intrusion upon what they might properly view as the privacy of their rightful domestic domain. The resentments which developed towards the counsellor visits during the early stages of the project may well have represented just too much company during the settling-in period, particularly if the company meant more instructions and more advice and, therefore, more change.

After the program had been in operation for several months one of the counsellors received a phone call from the wife of one of the Indian trainees asking if she would come over for a visit. The intent of the invitation was clearly to have a social visit as a friend. This was the first time during the program that this had happened and perhaps it serves as an index of the shift by the relocation families into the next stage in the socialization process with its broadening and deepening network of relationships. The whole notion here is that instead of having the counsellors always meet the women 'officially' it is also important to have informal contact with them as individuals. By just being 'friends' there is a

higher probability of more of the women coming out for class instruction and for better communication during the classes as well.

In future programs it may be preferable to take a more individual approach with somewhat less emphasis on group instruction. This is important particularly in the beginning stages of the program. In other words, the training should be conceived of in dual terms. *In addition to formal instruction in the classroom setting which is primarily concerned with learning a new physical environment, equal emphasis needs to be placed on the matter of social education in the new community and on the very real problems of adjusting to life in a new social setting.* The best way to get at this kind of individual problem is by an intensive and extended personal contact. People of Ojibwa background just don't readily learn this kind of thing in a group, at least in the early stages of training.

## 2. MEN'S PROGRAM

The men's program consisted of regular classroom instruction with the members of the resettlement program simply attending day school on a full-time basis as members of the student body at the Centre for Continuing Education.

One of the questions which I discussed with the academic staff at the Centre concerned the techniques which they used for teaching people at the adult education level. I think largely due to the insight and pedagogical skill of the Head Teacher, the approach taken in the Elliot Lake program was to assess the student at the time of his entry by means of a standardized test form. *He was then taught in relation not only to that formal academic standing but also in relation to the value systems of his particular cultural background.* Some of the students came to Elliot Lake without having any clear or fixed occupational goals. The approach then taken by the teaching staff was to try to find through association with the students as individuals, an alternative range of goals or interests, or in fact to suggest such goals as would be compatible with the individual's aptitudes and intelligence.

There was a recognition of the related need for teachers to try and approach adult training in a cross-cultural context rather than restrict themselves to orthodox, culture-bound, teaching techniques. This means that the teaching materials needed to be presented in terms meaningful to the cultural background of the students. Such an approach transforms adult learning into an exciting and provocative kind of experience in which the classroom training becomes life-centred rather than curriculum-centred. During the pilot project, the teachers' objective, whether successful or not, was to create a classroom environment in which the student would feel that his learning experience was both interesting and successful, that he was a socially useful person who was needed by the society about him and that he was quite adequate to meet his own economic and social needs.

The Head Teacher identified four stumbling blocks which in his experience inhibited the learning process of trainees. I list them below:

- a) *Boredom*—Was the material too hard or too easy to provide or fail to provide sufficient motivation?
- b) *Confusion*—Does the teacher create confusion by presenting complex ideas, contradictory statements, or does he fail to relate the material step by step?
- c) *Irritation*—Does the teacher have any annoying mannerism such as overweaning or acidulous remarks? Does he habitually interrupt the students or does he unduly delay in correcting their work?
- d) *Fear*—Fear of failure, ridicule, or getting socially hurt in one form or another. The students must show some success. This is particularly true

when students are from another cultural background and especially in cultures such as the Ojibwa where fear of ridicule has been a major determinant of behaviour in their relations with white people.

The pedagogical principle involved here is to praise the student in whatever happens to be his strong area with the hope that there will be an internal shift of focus and interest so that the student may also improve in areas of lesser competence.

### **Criteria for Hiring Academic Staff**

Whether the Branch engages teachers for future projects on an individual contractual basis or whether it is done through some other agency which would provide a complete academic package, in either case the following series of questions to be asked of teachers while being interviewed for possible employment in this kind of specialized teaching environment may prove to be helpful:

- 1) If the applicant queries the ability of a particular group, for example, of Indian relocatees, to absorb instruction in a given subject, is this done on the basis of value judgment or is it done on the basis of empirical data?
- 2) Is the teacher aware of his limitations either through lack of training or experience in dealing with people of another kind of cultural background? In other words, does he really appreciate the differences of teaching in a cross-cultural context?
- 3) Is the teacher aware of the necessity to really become fully involved in the learning process of the students, including an assessment of the motivational factors involved?
- 4) Is the teacher aware in a rather specific way of the objectives of the program and the background of the students in the class? This would include some acquaintance with actual living conditions on the reservations from which the students have come and the associated social and cultural factors which will determine their motivation and their behaviour.
- 5) Is the teacher flexible in his choice of methodology to suit changing classroom circumstances?
- 6) Is the teacher aware of the basic personality structure of the cultural group from which his students have come? In other words, does he appreciate the fact that the normative range of cultural expression of a particular human group is determined in large measure by the cultural format in which this particular personality was cast?

Several of the teachers noted that the relocation students proved to be at least of average ability and in some cases they were above average in comparison with other students in the class. Initially there was some difficulty in drawing them out due to their native shyness but after an adjustment period of two or three weeks, they adapted well and simply became other members of the class. Some of the men adapted themselves much more quickly than others.

Since the whole student body at the Centre was of such a diverse background, it proved necessary in the classroom to separate the students into little groups which were roughly limited by the same deficiencies so that they could be brought to a common denominator of achievement and then proceed to a regular grade basis.

In the case of the Indians who have had relatively extensive earlier formal training for example, to a grade 9 level, and then have left the academic environment for reserve life, much of the training is lost through lack of use. In future by doing the testing of the current academic status of the applicants right on the reserve rather than doing it later in the resettlement community, it may be pas-



sible to establish a positive correlation between the amount of regression in formal training and the intensity of the motivation of the individual towards changing to a new way of life. In turn, this might do much to eliminate people with low motivation from actually getting an course.

It would be interesting to examine in future programs whether or not there is any correlation between prior, superior academic achievement and a predisposition on the part of the individuals concerned to readily adjust to cultural change. In examining this question it would be preferable in the case of married couples to treat the prior academic records of both spouses jointly in that the motivation of each will affect the other. The Elliot Lake project did not provide a large enough test group from which to draw statistically valid evidence in this area.

One member of the academic staff mentioned that under the Ontario Manpower Retraining Program, tests that are used for academic evaluation purposes are the same standard tests that are used in the provincial educational system generally. It is this test that was used at the Centre for Continuing Education. The problem with these tests as applied to a relocation program lies in their content. They are not cross-cultural. Admittedly, this factor would be more important if the plan were for the Indians to return to reserve life. But nonetheless, if the objective is to get a reasonably accurate assessment of the student's potential for development, then the existing tests either need to be modified to include the cross-cultural factor or a new set of tests need to be developed which meet this requirement. It is interesting to note that the tests given at the Centre are timed. This is quite a handicap for people who have come out of a reserve life where there is a very different concept of time. For example, there were a number of cases in the Elliot Lake situation where Indian students didn't do particularly well in the testing because they were unaware of the fact that the test had to be completed within a particular time limit. This sort of cultural handicap needs to be recognized in future testing programs.

### 3. CURRICULUM CONTENT

My interviews with the trainees indicated that almost without exception, they had little notion as to what the concept of government was about. A number of people associated with the program felt that it would be useful to recommend a course in civics with associated material in geography and history which would make meaningful the concept of government in its institutional sense. This would stand in contrast to their real life experience in which 'government' is usually symbolized by the particular civil servant with whom they came in contact.

Because the relocatees are getting involved in the main-stream of Canadian life, the civics training should include an introduction to elements of governmental structure at three levels—municipal, provincial, and federal. Not to have this kind of background would be an informational handicap to becoming identified emotionally as well as socially with 'the Canadian way of life.' It seems paradoxical that the aboriginal population of this country should be the last citizens to be given this kind of political training. One of the academic staff mentioned, however, that in his experience white students in the same classes at the Centre who also come from a culturally deprived background also had no notion of the elements of governmental structure or function. From the point of view of an adult education training program, this kind of content should form an integral part of the instruction so that when the students leave they are at least familiar with the basics of Canadian political life.

I would also recommend that an imaginative course of instruction be developed, as an integral part of the training in civics, which would treat briefly with

power and class structure in Canadian society. This could be done in elementary form and should also include a descriptive piece dealing with the concept of a credit economy and the differences between this system as it appears in an urban context as compared to a similar system which the Indian has known back on the reserve. The material should also include an explanation of the wide range of social services which are available to meet specific needs of families living in an urban environment.

In making this proposal I quite recognize that this could easily develop into a major component of the overall project which in fact is not what I am suggesting. Rather, the process of resettlement from the hunting, trapping, and government handout life of a northern Indian reserve to that of an industrial worker in an urban setting needs to include in the training program, elements of the sociology of contemporary urban life. Even at the information level, this could substantially help in matters of subsequent urban adjustment and in turn would increase the probability of success in the final stage of the resettlement program.

In terms of curriculum content and instructional technique, it would be interesting to know what research has been done by the Educational Division of the Branch in the field of Indian education generally. One member of the academic staff for example, pointed out that not only is the textual material which is used at the Centre urban in orientation but that it is quite possible for the Indian students to learn to read and to spell words without having any idea of their meaning when used as parts of speech. It becomes a matter of recognizing symbols rather than comprehending meaning. What is more important is the inability of these students to use a word functionally in terms of proper syntax and composition. It would be interesting to know what research the Branch has done in this respect and how such findings may be applied to the advantage of future academic training programs in relocation projects. The central point here is that there needs to be an adaptive factor built into the curriculum, particularly in its early stages, which takes into account the cross-cultural difference between the student and the teacher.

Another faculty member mentioned that in future curriculum design she would leave the arithmetic and spelling as it is taught now, but she would place more emphasis on oral English. She would also teach more sentences with an increase emphasis on composition, syntax, and grammar rather than learning by rote. The handicap to indigenous people here, of course, is that the linguistic structures of the respective languages are quite different from one another. This same teacher mentioned that in her experience the married men on the pilot project seemed to be more highly motivated and to work harder in the classroom situation than did the Indians attending the same Centre with single man status. In her view this latter group tended to view the training program as a free holiday and they tended to be time wasters with low motivation. In including a comment of this sort in my report, I would add the qualification that this is a subjective rather than a statistical view which has just been expressed. But in action-oriented research I think that subjective comments, identified as such, can be useful in striking a pragmatic note of reality in what might otherwise become a series of relatively abstract generalizations.

Based on evidence drawn from an analysis of spending habits of the trainees, I would recommend that an integral part of the curriculum of future programs include a course in money management with its associated concept of budgeting. This would be particularly important in the early stages of the program but should be built into the teaching materials used in the classrooms as a practical way of relating instruction to real life from the point of view of learning adults. What I am proposing here is in contrast to the quite limited and unsystematized instruction which was given to the trainees in the pilot program.

Several of the teachers recommended that in future it would be useful in helping to bridge the gap between two life ways to include the curriculum or alternatively as an extracurricular activity, something of a manual training nature which would involve the creative use of the hands. The program should be set up perhaps not on a rigid or formal way but rather in a suggestive format so that there could be room for diversity in the activities which the individuals would choose to do.



## VII RECRUITMENT AND STAFFING POLICY AND PRACTICE

In previous sections of the report I have described the administrative concepts underlying recruitment, the procedures which set it in motion and the actual field operations by which recruitment was carried out during the pilot project. From a review of the evidence, one of the things that comes sharply into focus is the need for a *team type of approach* but with one person being in administrative charge. This person might be known as the Project Administrator and within certain specific but flexible terms of reference should have autonomous responsibility for the direction of the project. This means that the relocation projects need to be viewed by the Branch as a specialized responsibility being carried out preferably by contractual personnel who report directly to a senior level of administration. This level in the administrative hierarchy to which the Project administrator reports becomes a crucial question in that it determines the nature of the relationship and affects the attitudes of all members of the regular Branch staff towards such projects.

The terms of reference of the project administrator should include specific, catalytic, therapeutic and mediative functions not only among the Indians themselves nor in their relation to the formal education process, but also in relation to the larger community in which the resettlement program is taking place. The person chosen for this appointment (and this would similarly apply to the cadre of support staff associated with him on the team), would need to be an empathic and highly motivated type of individual who also possessed the requisite professional training and if possible, the related field experience. In future programs Indian members of the project staff should function more definitively and should play their roles in a somewhat more active way than they did in the first program. Since the counsellors on the pilot project were both women, they were influenced by the traditionally passive role attributed to females in Ojibwa society. Therefore, it may be preferable in future programs to have at least one male counsellor and by the same reasoning, a middle-aged male, while avoiding a man old enough to be a traditionalist. A traditionalist introduced into the program would merely exert a divisive influence because of his commitment to indigenous life. Should people of Indian background be included on the staff of future projects, the criteria for selection in terms of professional competence, field experience and personality characteristics would be the same as for their white colleagues. However, the criteria additionally should include their suitability as defined by Indian culture as well.

The phasing and timing of student recruitment are important and should enter as considerations into future project planning. The project team needs to spend enough time circulating on the reserves to get to know and be known by the local people. Any concept as basic and as far reaching as the relocation of a group of families is an osmotic kind of idea which takes time to become understood by people living in an isolated reserve community. It can't be done overnight. In the case of the recruitment for the pilot project at Elliot Lake, the Project Officer spent little time visiting on the reserves, and in some cases she spent only an hour or two. This is simply insufficient time to get adequate background in order to professionally assess candidates for relocation. Of related importance is the value of having one or more members of the project team stay on the reserve long enough or alternatively, return often enough to become familiar with the prospective relocatees.

The project team or a member of it needs to stay with the relocation group from the time of the final selection of candidates right through the whole process

of movement, settlement, training and if possible, subsequent community adjustment. This becomes the thread of continuity, the reference points of stability and of predictability which are needed by people undergoing major change in their way of life. The great value of this approach lies in the thread of continuity which the Project Officer symbolized to them in a world of rapidly changing circumstances and values. He represents a connection between their old way of life and the new one to which they have voluntarily committed themselves. This approach, however, is also fraught with considerable hazards and is ultimately dependent for its success upon the nature and calibre of the persons chosen for the appointment. It is very easy for an individual placed in this kind of a position to adopt an attitude of excessive paternalism, whereas in fact his role needs to be viewed as that of an advisor or consultant rather than that of a director or instructor. Obviously, elements of direction and instruction are implicit in the relationship but a good sense of balance needs to be maintained between giving a sense of direction on the one hand and falling into the traditionally overpaternalistic form on the other hand.

Any project which involves new situations, new relationships and new values necessarily involve stresses and strains as it unfolds. The resilience of the staff members appointed to the project can, therefore, become crucial to the whole question of morale. Again, this points up the highly selective nature of the personnel to be engaged as staff. Empathy for the people, a high degree of interest in the objectives of the program, professional competence for the task and personal suitability become critical factors in determining the motivational level of the project staff which in turn has a major influence on the attitudes and, therefore, morale of the trainees.

If the objective of the program is to help the trainees become autonomous and self-directing individuals like other Canadians are supposed to be, then it is important to avoid substituting for the traditional authoritarian figure of the Indian agent, a person of bureaucratic disposition who also holds minor leadership pretensions. The administrative skill of the Branch officers charged with the responsibility of organizing subsequent programs will substantially be defined by their ability to find and suitably orient capable project staff.

Each of three staff members explained that the effectiveness of his relationship with the trainees hinged on him becoming identified with them in the role of a friend. In other words, the counsellor becomes the person you go to not just when you are in trouble but that you go because you like him as well. One of the counsellors in the Elliot Lake project remarked that she felt the measure of her success in the program was when one of the trainees called her up and invited her over as a friend rather than as a visiting professional. I use the term 'friend' here in the Ojibwa sense of reciprocal relations more than in the conventional definition as used loosely in our society.

As was to be expected in any pilot project, the rush of activity and the frayed tempers which resulted from poor co-ordination because of having to meet some arbitrary short-term deadline need not be repeated in future programs. Future projects should be planned in such a way that this kind of stress and strain is not added to the other adjustment factors which, in any case, are to be expected in this type of activity. One way of minimizing this factor would be to include a series of orientation sessions for the field staff before the program begins so that there will be a general understanding in some depth of the objectives of the program, the order of the problems to be expected, the kind of responsibilities which the staff bear in relation to the program, all set out and discussed before going into the field. The role of senior officers of the administration in providing an adequacy of orientation is crucial in this respect and

involves a frank commitment of time for this purpose. It may also be advisable, as has been done by the Northern Administration Branch for some years, to engage academic specialists for short-term instructional assignments. This kind of approach sets the program in a specialized context where it belongs, and gives to the participants a sense of perspective and of purpose which as the project unfolds, should prove the orientation to have been a profitable investment in time and effort. Branch staff below the reporting levels should be viewed in a resource and support relationship to the project staff but communication between them should be through the appropriate senior Branch officer.

Two members of the Elliot Lake staff—one academic and one counsellor—remarked that they were both reluctant to take any initiative or move outside a rather literal interpretation of their terms of reference. This meant that they felt somewhat inhibited and hamstrung in the carrying out of their duties. Future projects should include in the staff orientation material the fact that in this kind of program the terms of reference are a statement of intent which enables the staff member to relate himself to the objectives of the program. The attendant rules and regulations which may also be contained in the terms of reference, necessary though they are, should be viewed, except perhaps in certain specific instances, as guidelines rather than something to be followed with bureaucratic literalism.

The resident nurse attached to the Elliot Lake project pointed out that she had no background whatsoever in the culture of the people she was serving and that she found it a handicap in carrying out her duties. Although not as important as in the case of the project team itself, technical specialists working in association of the project also need to have some kind of general orientation as to the cultural background of the people they are working with and particularly in a case such as this where the culture contains so much contrast to the suburban Canadian norms.

A considerable range of opinion was expressed concerning the criteria for future selection including different views in matters such as age and language facility. However, in any area in which a future initial program of resettlement is being carried out, it would probably be administratively wise to select families on the same age basis as was used with the Elliot Lake project; namely, in the twenty to thirty age range, although this criterion should not be rigidly interpreted. Certainly, a reasonable language facility would be an important requirement, particularly to ensure that the group falls within a fairly common denominator of academic preparation and partly to minimize the chances of withdrawal by those students grossly handicapped by language limitations.

It may also be useful to give preference to individuals who have had the benefits of residential school training or who at least have had academic training or work experience, particularly if it has been outside the reserve situation as this predisposes the individual to a more ready and rapid acceptance of elements of our culture.

In examining the administrative files connected with the planning for the Elliot Lake project, I was unable to find any evidence of plans for follow-up counselling services after the trainee families leave the relocation project and move into permanent urban employment, unless these services are to be provided by the Department of Manpower. This raises the question of the post-Elliot Lake environment and the kind of situations and other forms of social and economic adaptation which the people will be required to make in moving into one of the other industrial communities in Northern Ontario.

Immigrants of European background for example, find significant cultural adjustment in adapting to the Canadian way of life even though they show a com-



man European intellectual tradition. People of indigenous background on the other hand face a larger challenge in social adaptation, particularly when their own systems of thought and behaviour are so very different from the urban Canadian norm. It would be logically inconsistent to develop a costly and successful program of relocation on the scale envisioned by the Branch without adequate follow-up services being provided for the post-training stage of the process. Perhaps this question has in fact been considered by officers of the Branch but if not, it should form an integral part of planning for future relocation programs. Where possible, it would be important to avoid the pattern that has developed in certain urban areas across Canada where reserve Indians who emigrate to the city tend to wind up in the so-called slum areas.

One informant felt that it would be preferable to bring in trainees in the thirty to forty age group rather than in the twenty to thirty group as was done in the initial project. This is something that needs to be looked at carefully. In the view of one of the instructresses, some of the young wives were simply too immature to adapt to this kind of environmental change whereas some of the older women seemed to make more progress because they were more interested and responsible in their attitudes. She didn't feel that the younger women really understood what the program was about. The argument for choosing candidates from the thirty to forty age range is simply that it avoids at the one end the traditionally oriented people who are just too old to make the change and at the other end screens out the immaturity of the late teenager who has married early. Couples in the thirty to forty age range generally have children attending school and who, therefore, do not require the same amount of attention on the part of the mother as a woman with a number of very small children. If it is a large family, the older children can help look after the younger ones. A few of the families in this first program had three or four children of preschool age so that the mother's time was almost totally preoccupied with her maternal duties.

In presenting this alternative recommendation, I can see merit in considering both age ranges. It would seem to me that in anything as multi-faceted and as dynamic as a relocation program, the important thing in terms of the administrative and educational philosophy underlying it, would be to avoid too rigid or exclusive an application of whatever criteria may be set up as guidelines for future candidate selection.

## VIII RECOMMENDATIONS

I have abstracted some of the principal recommendations from the main body of the report and they are listed for your convenience in the material which follows:

1. Include in the program design a recognition of the two fold aspects of the program—formal academic training and social reeducation. More emphasis needs to be placed on the social reeducation aspect. Staff recruitment criteria and policy should also be related to this requirement.
2. The preparation beforehand by a group of professionals drawn from the various community development disciplines, of a summary statement treating the whole process of cultural adaptation and including a brief outline of the cultural system of the prospective trainees. This material is for the use of the administrative and counselling personnel on the project and would provide them with some kind of conceptual tool with which they could work in their relations with the resettlement group. The absence of this kind of material on the pilot project proved to be a definite handicap in carrying out the program.
3. Identify the stereotyped image of the Indian in the host community and relate this to the Indian self-image as defined by the same milieu.
4. Before the program starts in a newly chosen relocation community, initiate a deliberate public relations activity aimed at informing local community leaders as to the aims and scope of the program. A related objective is to elicit a sympathetic and cooperative attitude among these leaders which would help create a favourable climate of public opinion towards the project.
5. Establish an autonomous project team under the direction of a Project Administrator. The staff of the Project Administrator would include a Head Teacher in charge of the academic program and a Head Counsellor in charge of the social education and community relations program.
6. Include at least two Indians in the project team, one man and one woman. Select them according to the criteria outlined in the body of the report.
7. Recognize the critical nature of staff appointments to the success of the project. For selection purposes include the criteria outlined in the body of the report.
8. Include in the program design sufficient time not only for the planning phase but also the execution phase noting particularly the time factor required for trainee recruitment.
9. Utilize the housing arrangements which were developed during the pilot project by C.M.H.C. Adapt this model to the new community as required.
10. Information flow from the Project Administrator to the senior Branch officer concerned should take the form of evaluative reports with an emphasis on analysis rather than description.
11. The trainee recruitment program should utilize a more sophisticated selection procedure including the use of the team approach. Place particular emphasis on motivational assessment which should be related to the degree of acculturation of the individual concerned as well as other criteria indicated earlier in the report.
12. Include in the criteria for trainee selection more measurement of the degree which the husband and wife as a couple are *future oriented* as well as *change-oriented*.
13. Prepare a comprehensive check list of information for the use of project staff in discussion with candidates during the recruitment phase of the operation.

Include on this list advice to the applicants that people in training do not have the same income or standard of living as do people in permanent wage employment.

14. Have prepared by appropriate community development specialists an orientation piece for the relocatees which outlines something of the kinds of cultural adjustment they will be expected to make in both academic and social terms if they are accepted into the relocation program. The material should contain orientation useful both from a husband and wife's point of view.

15. Use the Indian definition of the term 'loneliness' as an index of social adaptation to the new environment. Build into the program means of ensuring a continuing contact with the home community.

16. Identify the emergent forms of leadership in the relocation group and utilize this information for program development and control. The project staff should encourage a sense of identity and cohesion among the relocation group while recognizing that cultural factors may inhibit this process. Not also the innovative members of the group and utilize this predisposition administratively.

17. Introduce a program of extracurricular activities so structured that the people feel comfortable and at ease while engaged in them while allowing room for group self-direction and self-initiative.

18. Recognize that training in cultural adjustment is as important to the overall success of the program as formal academic upgrading.

19. Inform the project team that the act of borrowing and lending within the intent of the traditional pattern, but transposed into the relocation setting, becomes a symbol of acceptance and of friendship by the Indian concerned.

20. Progress reports by the Project Administrator to senior authority should be structured under two principal headings; namely, academic training and cultural adjustment. For Branch evaluation purposes, data contained in their reports should be presented under standard headings which would increase their value when used comparatively. Also include provision for reporting outside the established categories of data as indicated by special circumstances or local conditions.

21. Include in the social education program instruction on the uses and misuses of alcohol in urban society as compared to the reserve environment.

22. Identify the relative incidence of sorcery and of alcohol as forms of emotional release being used by members of the relocation group. This will provide the project staff with an index of the intensity of the cultural adjustment taking place and will permit the counselling staff to take appropriate therapeutic steps.

23. Initiate a day training program for women with provision for nursery care.

24. Introduce a factor of flexibility into the curriculum design so as to permit the academic staff to adjust to the particular interests and needs of the women concerned.

25. Recognize that informal and individual instruction may prove to be preferable techniques to formal class training for women of an isolated reserve background although both are necessary for a balanced program. The approach to training for women from an isolated reserve setting needs to be more subtle, more indirect and set in longer time perspective.

26. Define the teacher-student relationship in terms of an attitude of mutual respect. This is particularly important where adults are being trained in a cross-cultural setting.

27. Instruct counsellors on the project to visit homes on a permissive rather than required basis so as to avoid possible resentment and which also allows for the natural development of a relationship within the Indian definition of the term 'friend.'

28. The curriculum content for the men's program should be taught in relation not only to the formal academic standing of the individual but also in relation to his particular cultural background. In this way the classroom training becomes life-centred rather than curriculum-centred. This increases the value of the instruction by making it more meaningful to the student and, therefore, increasing its applicability to the relocatee's subsequent urban employment environment.
29. Recognize administratively that the recruitment of academic staff for the program is a highly selective process. Utilize the criteria given in the body of the report.
30. Include in the testing program a compensating factor for the cultural handicap of the trainees.
31. Include in the curriculum content of course of training in civics as outlined in the text of the report.
32. Increase the amount of instruction in syntax and composition but not to the disadvantage of continuing instruction in spelling and grammar. Increase the emphasis on training in oral English.
33. Include as an integral part of the curriculum a course in money management with its associated concept of budgeting. This would be particularly important in the early stages of the program and should be built into the teaching materials used in the classroom. This serves as a practical way of relating the class instruction to real life from the point of view of learning adults.
34. View the project staff as having a continuity role through the whole process of selection, movement, settlement, training, and if possible, subsequent adjustment in the community of employment. This approach provides the thread of continuity, the reference points of stability and predictability which are needed by people undergoing major change in their way of life.
35. Provide the field staff with a series of orientation sessions aimed at giving them in some depth an understanding of the objectives of the program, the order of the problems to be expected, and the kind of responsibilities which they will hold in relation to the program. Orientation should be provided by senior officers of the Administration and by academic specialists brought in for short-term instructional assignments. Adopt the Northern Administration Branch model for this purpose.
36. Officers from headquarters visiting a field project should be guided in their relations with the relocatees by the advice of the local project staff.
37. The competence and professionalism of the student selection process needs to be seen in relation to the overall cost of the program to the federal purse and to the cumulative effect of drop-outs on the rest of the students, particularly when the members of the group are identified by a common ethnicity.
38. Include in the criteria for selection of trainees the status of the individual in his home community. Note whether or not he holds a position of formal or informal leadership in the local reserve community, as this would be useful in anticipating the development of a leadership structure in the new group.
39. Based on the present study, arrange for a follow-up analysis to be done of the Elliot Lake project. This would provide the Branch with a comparative evaluation of the pilot project set in adequate time perspective.
40. Utilize the present report as a datum line for setting up criteria to measure the relative success of future projects.
41. Include the following criteria in the selection of male students in future programs:
  - a) Work record.
  - b) Duration and intensity of exposure to reserve life.



- c) Duration and form of exposure to life in a white community.
- d) The level of English spoken.
- e) The social habits of the husband and wife as a couple, as well as of each spouse as an individual.
- f) The emotional stability of the individuals concerned.
- g) The level of formal training already achieved and the length of time and the places in which the training took place.
- h) The ages of the couple concerned and the number and ages of their children.
- i) Arrange for a medical examination either at or near the place of recruitment. The results of the medical examination to be available to the Project Administrator prior to final selection of the trainees.

The intent of these criteria is to introduce a large element of preselection at the local community level. In turn, this would increase the probability of successful relocation by the candidates actually selected.

42. Administer the test program at the place of recruitment rather than at the place of training.
43. It would be desirable to choose suitable communities in which to conduct the subsequent programs on an areal basis. This would involve a presurvey carefully done by agency staff using ethnographic, demographic and employment data. Northwestern Ontario, for example, could be broken up into convenient groupings so that the people can be trained closer to home than was the case in the Elliot Lake project.
44. An Indian whether he be East, West, or North American in variety, comes from a very different cultural background than most Canadians. A great deal of practical experience has been built into the handling of questions of cultural adjustment in the university context since thousands of overseas students are being trained in Canada during recent years. It would be to the advantage of the Branch to have one of its officers discuss problems and techniques with the faculty advisor to overseas students on a number of university campuses. Although there are marked differences in the degree of formal training between university undergraduates and isolated reserve Indians, substantially, the experiences learned in one situation of cultural adjustment are generally applicable to other human groups as well.
45. While recognizing that the division of responsibilities between governmental agencies and departments is normally defined either by formal agreement or on a statutory basis, I would nonetheless recommend, within whatever limitations the formal structure may allow, that the Indian Affairs Branch be defined as the senior or co-ordinating agency with primary responsibility for carrying out the whole retraining and resettlement program.
46. In the case of the Elliot Lake program the Centre's staff met every two weeks for consultation. The meetings fell into two parts: First, a general discussion of student problems; second, exchanges by teachers of various techniques to be used in the presentation of the instructional material. The theory underlying these meetings was, of course, excellent and in practice it seemed to work out relatively well. The Project Administrator should arrange for similar meetings which would apply to administrative, as well as to academic staff.
47. Consider employing one person of non-European background on each project team. Each year across Canada out of the thousands of graduate students from overseas who study in this country, a certain number of individuals are available for contract employment. Such a person would be able to bring a high degree of

training in the relevant social and administrative skills to the work of a relocation project. He would also bring a special dimension of experience because as a non-European who has lived in this country for some time, he has already undergone a major cultural adaptation to the Canadian way of life. He could well provide a catalytic role in the relationships between Canadians of indigenous and urban backgrounds and he could enrich and strengthen the effectiveness of the project staff.

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