

"SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS  
MANOUANE, OBEDJIWAN,  
WEYMONTACHIE"

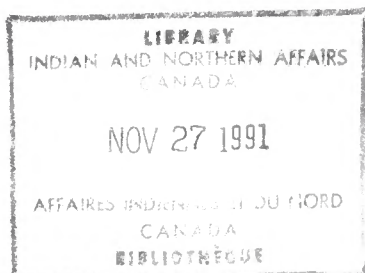
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Socio-economic Development Prospects

Manouane  
Obedjiwan  
Weymontachie



Research and Evaluation  
Planning Division  
Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program, Quebec Region  
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## FOREWORD

During the summer of 1977, band councils for each Attikamek community in the St. Maurice Valley and the Planning Division of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) undertook an extensive study aimed at "translating the needs and aspirations of the St. Maurice Valley Indians into a strategy for development and growth."<sup>1</sup>

The goals of the study were as follows:

- to detect potential for development on the reserves themselves, in terms of both physical and human resources;
- to identify regional resources, particularly natural resources (forest, fauna), and potential for economic development (forest industry, trapping, tourism, hunting and fishing);
- to determine the restrictions on development and to identify the problems encountered by communities;
- to identify people's aspirations in each of the key areas of development;
- to introduce a planning process within the reserves, firstly, by increasing band members' awareness of the situation and secondly, by providing band councils with the tools and information needed to establish a development plan.

During the year following the band councils' decision to proceed with the study, research was carried out locally by Indian researchers and interviewers. They interviewed individuals about housing and the labour force (manpower and employment) and met with groups interested in specific issues (education, health, trapping, etc.). In addition, at the regional level, information on the situation in the forest industry, tourism, fishing, hunting and trapping was obtained from the various companies and departments concerned.

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<sup>1</sup> INAC, Project for planning the socio-economic development and growth of the St. Maurice Valley reserves, May 1977, p. 1.

The results of these surveys were published recently<sup>2</sup> and are available from the Planning Division of INAC. Finally, on the basis of the socio-economic information available at the time, physical development plans were drawn-up under the supervision of the Engineering and Architecture Branch of INAC.

This report synthesizes the content of the survey reports, presents a brief analysis and outlines the problem for each of the main areas of interest in terms of the spatial, social and economic aspects of development. Secondly, the report suggests possible solutions in each of the areas mentioned above and includes recommendations.

The summary of these conclusions and recommendations appears at the end of the report.

During meetings held in October 1978, band councils expressed their priorities for action in their communities. The next step for the councils and the people concerned must be to determine their medium- and short-term objectives and to develop courses of action in keeping with the objectives.

#### GENERAL PROBLEM

As a result of the surveys and analyses done, it is possible to identify several crucial factors relating to different areas of development on the reserves. We have grouped these factors under three headings: spatial aspect, social aspect and economic aspect.

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- Preliminary file, socio-economic study, Manouane, INAC, January 1978.
  - Preliminary file, socio-economic study, Weymontachie, INAC, March 1978.
  - Preliminary file, socio-economic study, Obedjiwan, INAC, April 1978.
  - Socio-economic consultation report, Obedjiwan, Daniel Cloutier, July 1978.
  - Socio-economic consultation report, Manouane, Daniel Cloutier and Richard Petiguay, August 1978.
  - Labour force survey, Manouane, 1977, INAC, September 1978.
  - Labour force survey, Obedjiwan, 1977, INAC, September 1978.
  - Labour force survey, Weymontachie, 1977, INAC, September 1978.
  - Socio-economic consultation report, Weymontachie, Daniel Cloutier, October 1978.
  - Study on the tourist potential of the three Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves, Manouane, Weymontachie, Obedjiwan, INAC, November 1978.



### SPATIAL ASPECT

The land, basic to a people's lifestyle, survival and culture, is for the Indians of Upper St. Maurice Valley, defined by the limited area of their reserve.

We have illustrated the difficulty Indians have in establishing a cultural and economic territory larger than that of the reserve. Indians cannot do what is necessary to exploit their trapping grounds because administrative authorities and economic forces transform this geographic area into a complex regional unit.

In addition, the main centres of attraction and services available to the reserves are no more than secondary towns offering no economic spin-offs. The reserves are isolated and relatively difficult to reach, as they are not yet integrated into the provincial road system. This lack of opportunity for communication and economic exchange also exists between reserves.

### SOCIAL ASPECT

The population explosion which began in the early fifties has more than doubled the population on reserves, resulting in a broadening of the younger age groups and an increase in family size and in the number of households, without a comparable diversification in the employment sector. Meanwhile, it is predicted that from now until 1990, this population growth will decrease. But there are already problems: housing (inadequate, of poor quality and overcrowded); community services (minimum installation of water, sewer and electrical services, problems with garbage collection, poorly maintained roads, and so on); education (decline in the number of students attending elementary school from now until 1990, large numbers of students leaving school early); health (mainly in connection with community health and alcoholism) and leisure (excessive involvement in passive leisure activities at the expense of active, creative leisure activities).

### ECONOMIC ASPECT

The economic fluctuations of recent years have also affected Indian reserves by decreasing already inadequate employment opportunities and slowing the faltering attempt to stimulate economic activity.

Analysis of the manpower and employment situation has made it possible to identify the following problems: a sudden growth in the labour force, a high rate of unemployment (particularly during the winter months), a concentration of manpower in two sectors of the economy (construction and the forest industry), and finally, a lack of training and mobility of that manpower.

In the forest industry, various factors have made the demand for workers more selective; this has meant a considerable decline in the importance of forest work as a source of income during the last five years.

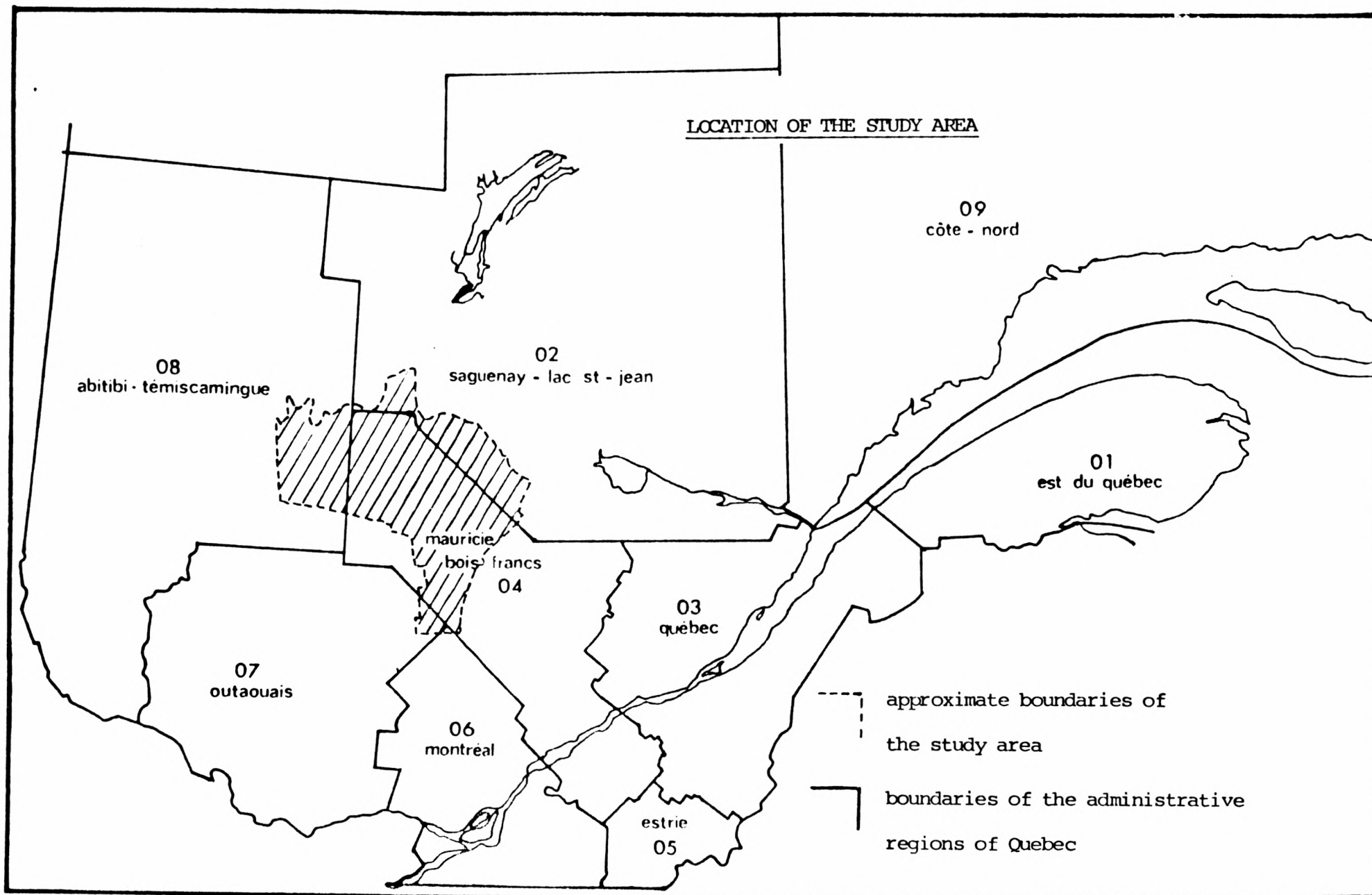
In general, handicrafts are not organized or exploited economically at Weymontachie and Obedjiwan, contrary to the situation at Manouane, where this cottage industry has rendered a good part of the labour force dependent on market demand. We also noted that regular pursuit of traditional activities has given way to occasional participation as a secondary source of income. This has brought about a decline in the quality of the natural habitat and game and consequently a lessening of the economic contribution of the traditional activities.

The Upper St. Maurice Valley has some tourist potential, but the Indian reserves lack qualified personnel and sufficient technical, territorial and financial resources to develop such a large area coherently.

None of the reserves have major, locally controlled businesses, with the exception of the Manouane's Artisans Amisk corporation. The population's relative indifference to developing enterprises and businesses on the reserve is unlikely to give rise to economic development capable of raising their standard of living or quality of life.

Although four million dollars in income from all sources is in circulation these reserves, no revival of the bands' local economy can be expected in the short term, as transfer payments make up more than 50 per cent of the total income.

We shall discuss the elements of this problem in greater detail and suggest possible solutions.



## SPATIAL ASPECT

### 1. TERRITORY

#### 1.1 The problem

The territorial problems of the Indian reserves in the Upper St. Maurice Valley can be explained by an overlapping of interests in a territory whose boundaries fluctuate at the whim of those concerned.

Four interests can be defined: the federal government, the provincial government, private enterprise and the Indians. In these circumstances, it is difficult for the native people to identify with a defined territory outside the reserve and to take an active part in the management and social and economic development of this territory. In addition, this overlapping of jurisdiction and resultant territorial partitioning make it difficult to inventory the resources of the Indian bands and to establish social and economic development projects. As a result, local efforts through various departments and service centres are dissipated and part of the collective effort is rendered ineffective.

To illustrate this situation, we shall present some characteristics of the administrative partitioning of the territory in terms of the various services.

#### 1.2 The situation

##### 1.2.1 The Indian reserves

The Indian reserves are under federal jurisdiction. A short description of their land follows:

##### - Manouane

(lat. 46° 41', long. 73° 55') Manouane is located on the shores of Lake Nadon about 150 miles, as the crow flies, northwest of Quebec City, 125 miles north of Montreal. The reserve covers a trapezoidal area about three miles by one mile, comprising 1,906 acres.

##### - Obedjiwan

(lat. 48° 39', long. 74° 57') Obedjiwan is located on the Gouin Reservoir (Lake Marmette) 214 miles northwest of Quebec City and 227 miles north of Montreal.

This is a reserve of 2,290 acres, about 2 1/2 miles by 2 miles.

- Weymontachie

(lat. 47° 41, long. 73° 55') Weymontachie is located on the north bank of the St. Maurice River some 57 miles northwest of La Tuque, 164 miles north of Montreal. It is the largest reserve in the St. Maurice Valley, since it covers 7,420 acres, an area of some 4 1/2 miles by 3 miles.

The Weymontachie band also has another reserve, Coucoucachem with an area of 12 acres, 30 miles northwest of La Tuque, on the bank of the St. Maurice River. This reserve is however uninhabited.

1.2.2 The administrative region

The three reserves of the Upper St. Maurice Valley are located in Quebec administrative region 04, Mauricie-Bois Francs.

However, Manouane and Weymontachie are part of the Laviolette electoral riding, while Obedjiwan is part of the Abitibi-Est district.

1.2.3 The trapping grounds

Administrative region 04 does not comprise all the land used by the Indians. In fact, there is only one single, legally registered territory common to the three reserves: this is the south part of the Abitibi beaver sanctuary. We have therefore chosen this territorial division to establish the practical limits of the land used by the Indians.

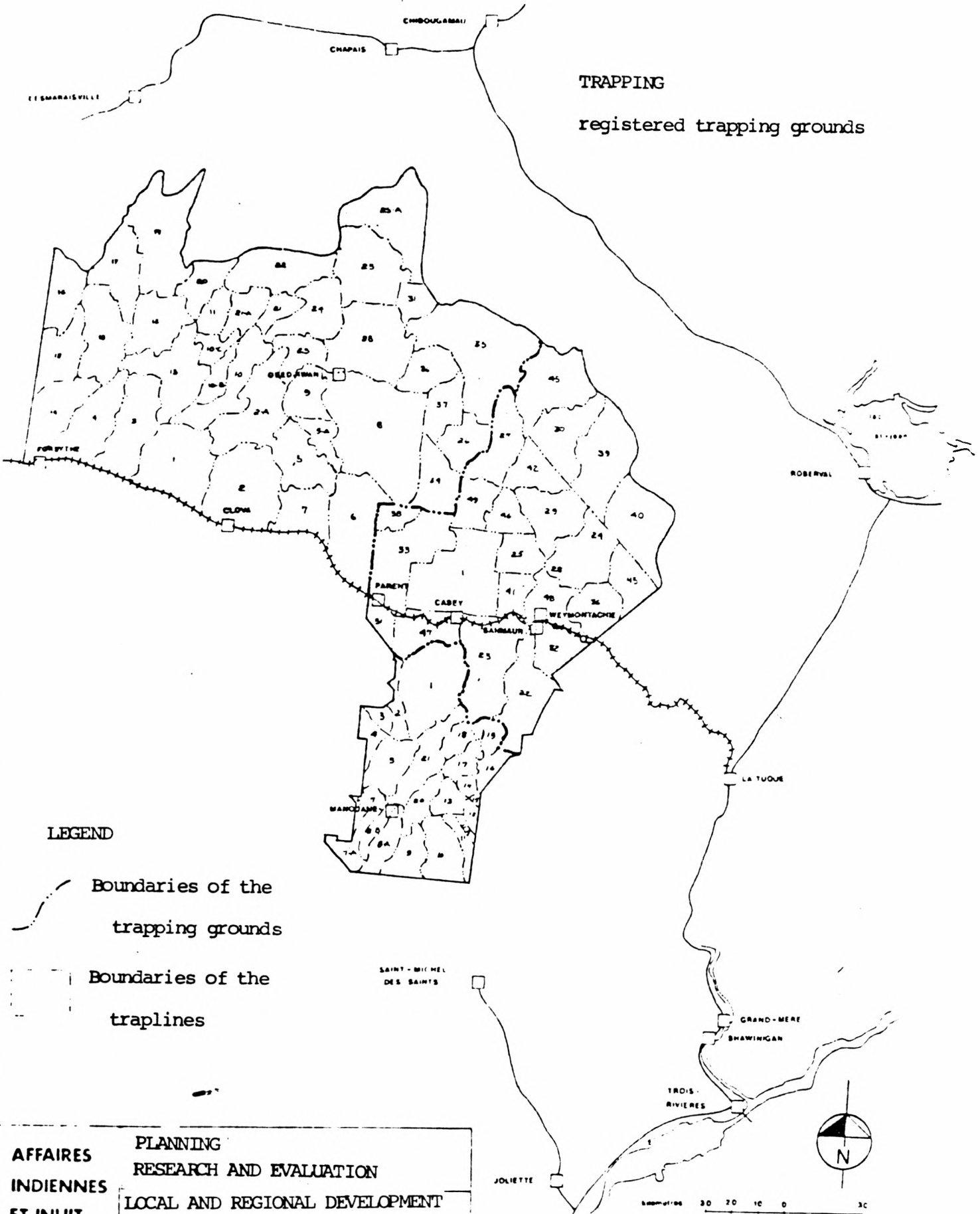
Each reserve has trapping grounds within the area defined by the Abitibi beaver sanctuary and each is divided into traplines which are distributed among the trappers of the band.

The trapping grounds of the Upper St. Maurice Valley Indians begin around 100 miles north of Montreal at 47° latitude and continue north of Lake St. John and 49° latitude. In the east-west axis, the grounds cover the region to the east of the 73rd meridian to halfway between the 76th and 77th meridian. They encompass almost all of the Upper St. Maurice provincial reserve, the drainage basin of the Gouin Reservoir and the network of the Kempt, Manouane, Mazane, Nadon, Némiscachingue Lakes, and so on. The CN railway line between Forsythe and Parent defines the southern boundary of the Obedjiwan trapping grounds. At Parent, the southern boundary of the trapping grounds turns in the direction of the western boundary of the Mont-Tremblant Park.



# TRAPPING

registered trapping grounds



In the southern part of the Abitibi beaver sanctuary, we calculated that the Manouane reserve has an area of approximately 1,350 square miles of trapping grounds, the Obedjiwan reserve, 6,500 square miles, and the Weymontachie reserve, 3,200 square miles.

The Department of Tourism, Fish and Game (DTFG), Wildlife Directorate, Wildlife Development and Exploitation Branch, is responsible for managing the trapping grounds. The reserves of the Upper St. Maurice Valley come under the Trois-Rivières regional office.

#### 1.2.4 Development and conservation zones

The DTFG is also responsible for operating the "Development and Conservation Zones" which were set up in 1978 at the same time as the policy of granting private clubs exclusive hunting and fishing rights was reversed. These territorial units should make it possible to establish regional plans for wildlife management. The three Indian reserves and their adjacent territories are part of three separate "DCZs" under the jurisdiction of the Trois-Rivières regional office. Manouane is in the "Manouane DCZ," Weymontachie in the "Windigo DCZ" and Obedjiwan in the "Gouin Reservoir DCZ." The three aforementioned DCZs do not take in all of the trapping grounds of the three reserves. Part of the Manouane trapping grounds is included in the DCZs managed by the Montreal regional office, while the western part of the Gouin Reservoir comes under the Nord-Quest regional office.

#### 1.2.5 Outfitters' territories

The DTFG was responsible for leasing lands to private clubs, but this type of leasing has been abolished. Outfitters' territories are also controlled by this Department (Service for locating outfitters' territories).

In 1978, there were 14 territories in which outfitters had exclusive hunting and fishing rights within the trapping grounds of the Upper St. Maurice Valley. We estimated the territory affected by this type of leasing at around 490 square miles.

#### 1.2.5 Catch basins

With respect to the hydrographical divisions of Quebec made by Hydro-Quebec, 90 per cent of the trapping grounds of the Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves are contained in the St. Maurice Valley region. Part of Manouane's trapping grounds (to the west) is located in the Laurentian region and the

extreme western and northern parts of the Obedjiwan trapping grounds are in the Abitibi and SEBJ regions respectively. Obedjiwan is in the catch basin of the Gouin Reservoir, Weymontachie in the catch basin of the St. Maurice River and Manouane in that of the Manouane, Kempt, Sincennes, Montonac and Chateauvert Lakes.

#### 1.2.7 Forest management units

The territory of concern to us in this study of the Upper St. Maurice Valley Indian reserves is mainly under the jurisdiction of two large forest management units: units 42 - La Tuque and 43 - Gouin, which are themselves located within the Trois-Rivières administrative region. Other management units are concerned with this territory but take in only remote parts of it. Units 84 - Mégiscane and 87 - Quévillon, of the Nord-Ouest administrative region, are responsible for the most western part of this territory while unit 26 - Chibougamau, of the Saguenay-Lac St. Jean administrative region, has right of inspection over the most northern part of the territory. Its southernmost part also comes under management units that belong to different administrative regions. Thus, all the forest land located to the southwest of the Manouane reserve belongs to unit No. 77 - Rivière Lièvre supérieure, of the Outaouais administrative region, while its southwestern counterpart comes under unit No. 62 - Assomption-Mattawa, of the Montreal administrative region.

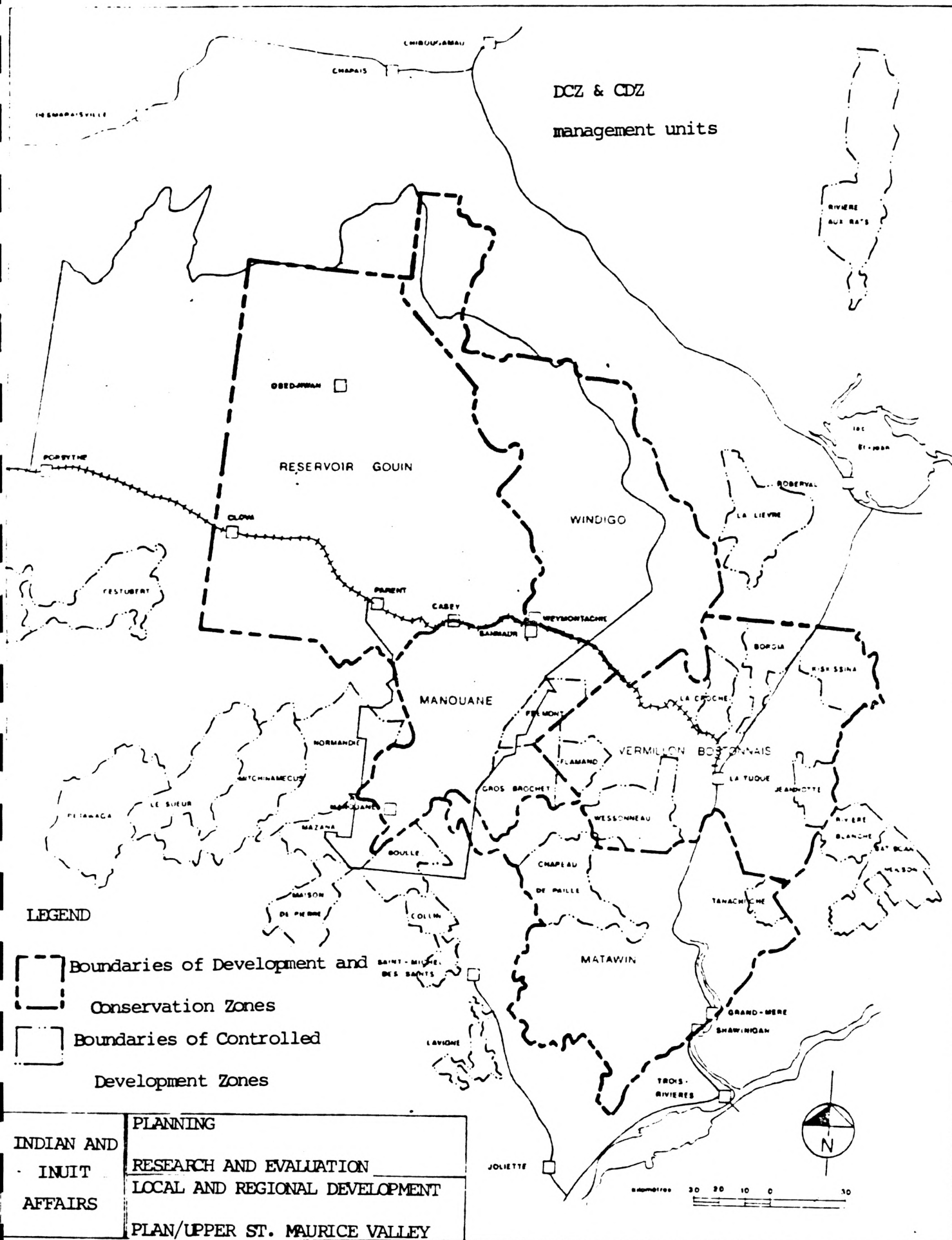
As we can see, territory generally identified as the Attikamek hunting grounds is located from the lumbering view point, on the boundaries of several administrative regions: Trois-Rivières, Nord-Ouest, Saguenay-Lac St. Jean, Outaouais and Montréal. Having the land subdivided in this way might somewhat complicate the Indians' efforts if they should even wish to become more involved in developing the timber resource.

#### 1.2.8 Service centres

Each reserve obtains goods and services from a different urban centre, mainly because the transportation corridors favour certain centres.

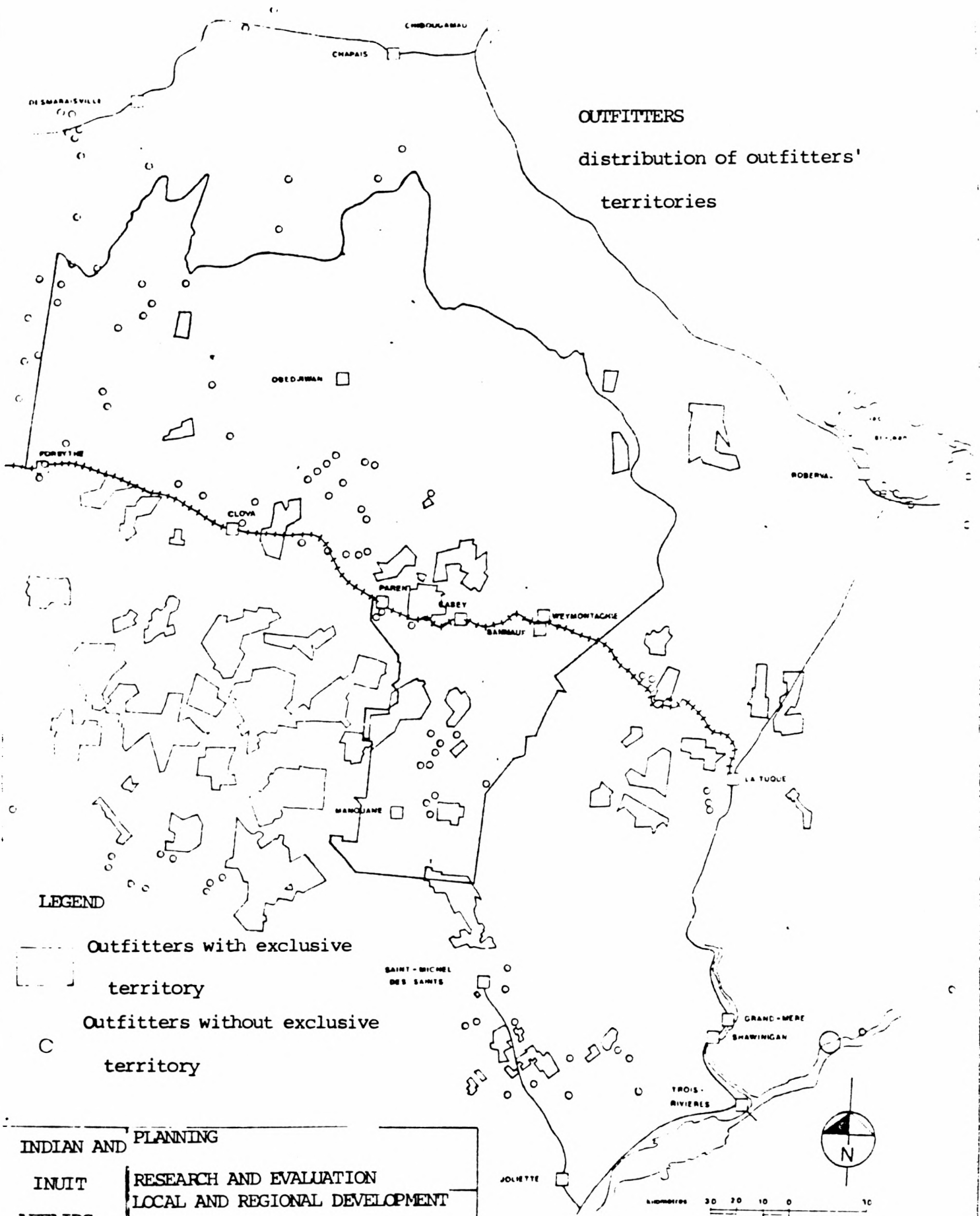
The main centre of attraction for Manouane is Joliette, where the young people go to high school, the people receive medical and hospital services and do much of their shopping (except for food). St. Michel-des-Saints is visited quite frequently, and it is mainly there that food and general merchandise (pharmaceuticals, tobacco and so forth) are purchased.





# OUTFITTERS

distribution of outfitters'  
territories



The people of Weymontachie visit the town of La Tuque almost exclusively for business, health care and all the personal services. However, most of the food, some clothing, hardware and so forth are purchased at Sanmaur. Since the population of Sanmaur has dropped drastically during the last few years (closing of the school, departure of the conservation authority, closing of the restaurant), there are only two merchants left who are there just to serve the Indian population of Weymontachie. Finally, Shawinigan is a secondary centre of attraction for Weymontachie, being visited almost solely for educational purposes.

Finally, Roberval is the only centre of attraction for Obedjiwan since it is there that the people receive their secondary education and personal services including medical and hospital care; it is there that they do some of their shopping, although the commercial function is secondary to the service function. Indeed, the people of Obedjiwan do almost all of their shopping on the reserve or by catalogue, and only shop in Roberval when they happen to be there.

The people from the reserves feel welcome in these service centres and do not feel that they are the object of discrimination. It should be noted, however, that for the past ten years, the students from Weymontachie have attended secondary school in Shawinigan rather than La Tuque. It was the parents who requested this at the time, fearing that their children were not welcome in La Tuque. Although the situation seems to have changed since, the people have not asked for the students to be brought back to La Tuque.

The service centres and centres of attraction for the St. Maurice Valley reserves are regional centres of secondary importance in Quebec. Until now, these centres have not demonstrated the economic vitality that might enable the Indians of the St. Maurice Valley to find work and settle there permanently. Neither do they seem to offer the social advantages that might hold the Indians, with the result that the centres of attraction, Roberval, La Tuque and Joliette, have become more places to visit to obtain specific goods and services than immigration centres for the Indians.

### 1.3 Restrictions

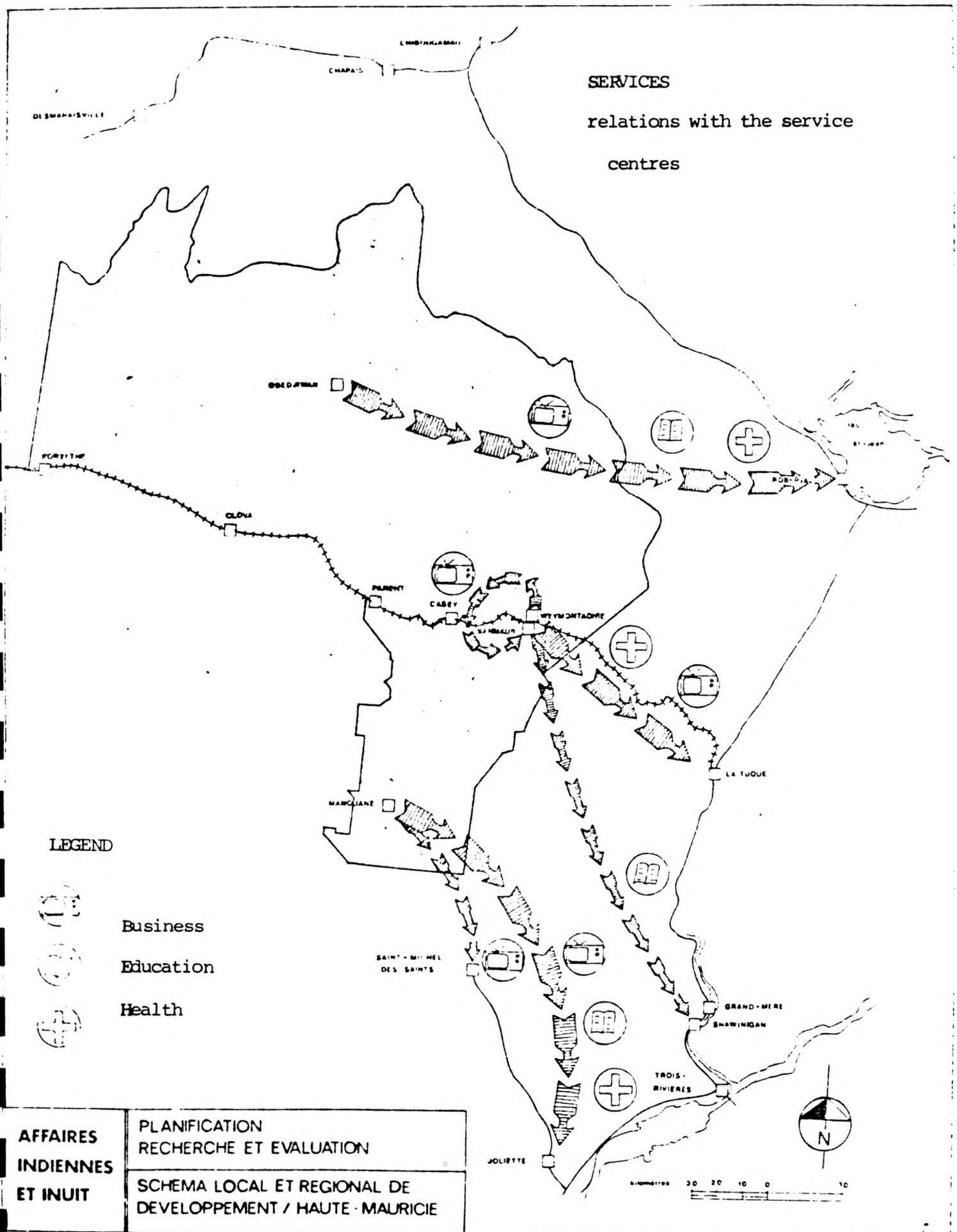
Analysis of the various components of the territory and those who have access to it has made it possible to identify the following restrictions on development:



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- Incompatible use of the trapping grounds by various interest: lumbering, recreation, conservation, hunting, fishing and so on ... due to the lack of a regional development plan:
  - Fragmentation and concentration of jurisdictions at various levels of government;
  - Restricted number of traplines (vs the number of trappers) and tracts within the trapping grounds held by various private enterprises;
  - Growing difficulty in identifying regional territory;
  - Difficulty in co-ordinating activities and interests in the trapping grounds;
  - Hampering of natives' relationships with representatives of government services.

#### 1.4 Solutions

- Establishment of a regional development plan by the provincial government, involving:
  - creation of one recognized management unit;
  - political and technical consultation with the groups and interests involved;
  - choice of a joint management committee and recognition of this committee's terms of reference by the persons and groups affected;
  - native representation to assert their rights to use the land.
- If the trapping grounds were clearly defined for the use of the Indians, this entity might become an administrative unit for the three bands of the Upper St. Maurice Valley. Pressure might be put on the provincial government (particularly the DTFG and DLF) to set up an agency to co-ordinate action in the territory. This agency would be the reference centre for Indians and non-Indians for both economic and social needs.
- If things are left as they stand, in order to establish clearly the level of communication and the government services with which the band administrators must work to simplify management of the territory, the band councils should:

- suggest to the DTFG a method for management of the wildlife habitat by the natives;
- study the possibility of managing the "CDZs" or outfitters' territories;
- contact the regional councils to establish the contribution that the Indian communities might make in developing the economy of the region. Explore the possibilities of participating in the running of regional bodies (CRD, CRL and so on).

2. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

2.1 TRANSPORTATION

2.1.1 The problem

All three St. Maurice Valley reserves are isolated and relatively difficult to reach, since they have not yet been linked up with the provincial roads system.

Each reserve is linked fairly closely to a town or village which acts as a service centre, but there is no point common to the three reserves. The communications network between them is practically non-existent.

2.1.2 The situation

Each reserve can be reached as follows:

WEYMONTACHIE

The reserve itself can only be reached by boat on the St. Maurice River; on foot, by motorcycle or snowmobile across the footbridge on the railroad bridge from Sanmaur.

Plane:

On Lake Poisson Blanc, four miles from the reserve. A road links the lake to the footbridge. For weeks in the autumn and spring, during the freeze-up and thaw, the village cannot be reached by air.

Weymontachie is located about 90 miles, as the crow flies, from Roberval.

Motor Vehicle:

Sanmaur is only linked to the provincial road system by forest access roads.

Manouane is located 90 miles to the south down a road that is not maintained in winter. St. Michel-des-Saints is 60 miles south of Manouane.

To the north, a CIP road links Sanmaur to Belle Plage Camp, 97 miles away, and stretches from there to highway 167 which connects Lake St. John and Chibougamau. In all, Sanmaur is located 228 miles from Roberval. However, the Indians have not been able to use this road for the last few years because



CIP has discontinued the ferry service across the Manouane River just west of Sanmaur which made it possible to reach this road.

#### Train:

Sanmaur is located on the Canadian National railway line which runs directly from La Tuque to Senneterre in Abitibi. The frequency with which the trains run (every day except Saturday), the relative proximity of La Tuque (the trip takes about 2-3/4 hours) and especially the low cost of transportation (\$6 one way) are among the reasons why this method of transportation is by far the most used by the people of Weymontachie and why La Tuque has become their service centre.

Weymontachie can thus be reached by a relatively inexpensive means of public transportation. However, this method of transportation has two major disadvantages:

- Train schedule

The train leaves Sanmaur at 12:55 at night and does not reach La Tuque until the middle of the night (around 3:45 am). Upon returning, the train leaves La Tuque again in the middle of the night (3:35 am) and arrives in Sanmaur at 6:14 am.

- Distance between the reserve and the station.

There is no station on the north bank of the St. Maurice River, although there is a service track for unloading goods.

#### MANOUANE

#### Plane:

On Lake Nadon across from the reserve - same restrictions as at Weymontachie with respect to the freeze-up and thaw.

#### Motor Vehicle:

Manouane is linked by road to St. Michel-des-Saints, which is about 60 miles away. This road is in rather poor condition especially the section closest to the reserve.

In the early summer of 1978, a bus transportation system was established by an individual from St. Michel-des-Saints. A bus that seats 24 passengers shuttles between St. Michel and Manouane every day. It leaves the reserve around 10:00 am

and returns from St. Michel around 7:00 pm. The bus usually runs half full, except on Fridays, when it makes two complete trips.

The trip take two hours and costs six dollars.

#### OBEDJIWAN

##### Plane:

On the Gouin Reservoir (Lake Marmette) across from the reserve - same restrictions as at Weymontachie.

##### Motor Vehicle:

By CIP roads to highway 167 (a distance of 127.5 miles). The condition of this road varies according to the section; the parts most used by the company are, of course, better maintained. From the junction of the forest access road and the provincial highway, it is 58 miles to Roberval and 84 miles to Chibougamau.

There is no public transportation linking Obedjiwan to a service centre. The Indians hire one of the residents of the reserve to take them in his vehicle; the cost of travelling to and from Roberval in this way generally comes to 150 dollars.

If an Indian is staying in Roberval for some time, he must hire someone else to take him home, which doubles the cost of the trip.

An alternative, which however costs close to \$300 return, consists of travelling from Obedjiwan to Clova by chartered plane and from Clova to Roberval by train.

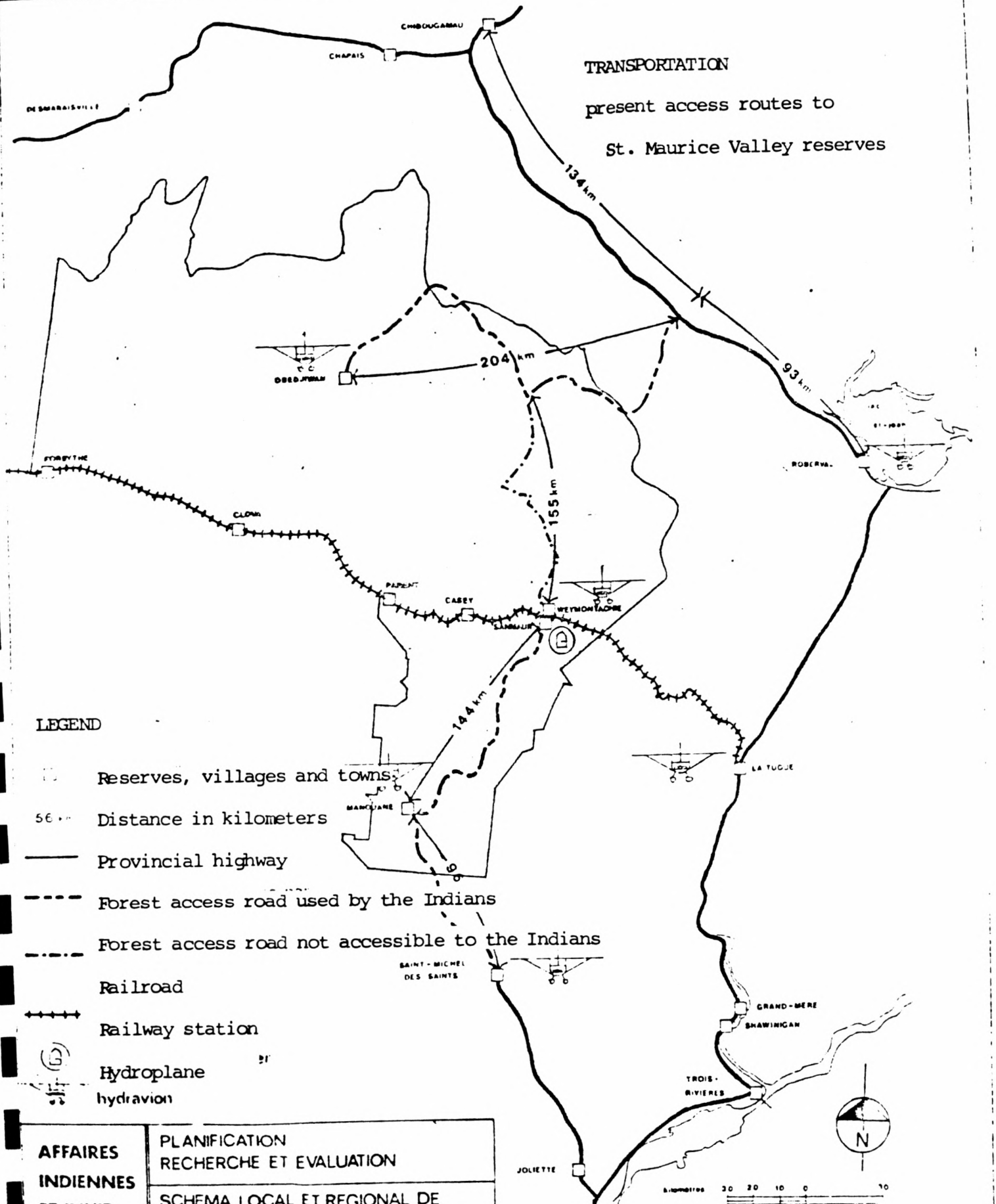
#### 2.1.2 Restrictions

The major problems related to accessibility are the following:

- The road system that leads to the reserves is a private one, as until now, the land has been granted to the lumber companies (CIP and CBL); the roads were built and are maintained by these companies according to their operating needs.
- For this reason certain sections of the roads that are not in use by the lumber companies receive little or no maintenance and their condition is deteriorating rapidly.

# TRANSPORTATION

present access routes to  
St. Maurice Valley reserves



## LEGEND

- Reserves, villages and towns
- Distance in kilometers
- Provincial highway
- Forest access road used by the Indians
- Forest access road not accessible to the Indians
- Railroad
- Railway station
- Hydroplane
- hydronautics

**AFFAIRES  
INDIENNES  
ET INUIT**

PLANIFICATION  
RECHERCHE ET EVALUATION

SCHEMA LOCAL ET REGIONAL DE  
DEVELOPPEMENT / HAUTE-MAURICIE

During the last few winters, INAC has defrayed the cost of snow removal from the roads leading to Manouane and Obedjiwan, because the companies do not maintain the roads during the period that the lumberyards are closed. Until recently, moreover, responsibility for maintaining the access roads to the reserves was poorly defined.

- Since the road is in such poor condition, vehicle speeds are reduced and the distances take much longer to travel.
- Again because of road conditions, the most appropriate vehicles are 4 X 4s, pick-ups and so forth, which are more expensive to buy than regular automobiles.
- On these roads, vehicles, especially cars, break down more easily. There are no garages on the St. Maurice Valley reserves. Minor repairs can sometimes be done by individuals with mechanical knowledge, but in most cases, breakdowns necessitate having the vehicle towed to the nearest village, which is quite expensive. As a result, many used vehicles, often in poor condition, are abandoned on the road or the reserve when they break down and are left there until a clean-up operation is carried out.
- The cost of air transportation, which is the most efficient means of transportation, remains prohibitive for most Indians. Therefore, the plane is used only rarely, mainly in medical emergencies.
- While Manouane and Weymontachie have inexpensive public transportation systems serving the reserve, Obedjiwan is the most disadvantaged in this respect, since it has no organized system and the cost of a trip to Roberval is at least \$150.

#### 2.1.4 Possible solutions

##### Road system

- Come to an agreement with the Quebec government and the lumber companies (CIP and CBL) for maintenance of the roads:
  - A) between Manouane and St. Michel-des-Saints
  - B) between Obedjiwan and highway 167
  - C) between Manouane, Sarmaur and Belle Plage Camp.

Negotiations are currently under way between the band councils, INAC, Quebec, CIP and CBL to settle this issue.

- Link Weymontachie to the provincial roads system

The following two solutions have already been considered:

- A) Construction of a bridge across the St. Maurice River. The cost of such a bridge was estimated at \$700,000 some years ago.
- B) Construction of 50 miles of road to the east to join the road at "mile 22." This proposal provides for 17 miles of new road to be constructed and a 33-mile section of abandoned CIP road to be rebuilt. The advantage of this option is that it would link Weymontachie to La Tuque more directly, but it would make it more difficult to justify simultaneous maintenance of the road between Manouane and Sanmaur and between Sanmaur and Obedjiwan (past Belle Plage Camp).

Railroad

- Train schedule

As things stand, it seems difficult to change the schedule of the train that goes through Sanmaur, because there would be many more people negatively affected by a changed schedule than there are at Weymontachie.

However, requests for a change in the schedule can be made to Via Rail.

- Location of the Station

Move the Sanmaur station to Weymontachie, which would help compensate for the disadvantage of the schedule.

- Public transportation

Establish a bus transportation system between Obedjiwan and Roberval (or St. Félicien) with trips to be made twice a week, on Mondays and Fridays, for example.

Indications are that the service might be profitable, since a number of people have expressed a desire to visit Roberval more often if there were a means of transportation. The price considered reasonable for this service ranges from \$20 to \$50, depending on who is consulted.

- Service stations

The possibility might be considered of setting up a garage on each reserve where people could buy gas and have maintenance and routine repairs done on their vehicles. The garage might be fairly simple in the beginning, with a minimum of equipment, which might be augmented in stages.

This type of business might also provide work for a few young people who are presently receiving mechanical training.

In a case such as that of Manouane, where there is potential for developing tourism, the service station might also benefit by a clientele other than the residents of the reserve.

- Parking Lot

In case neither the bridge nor the road to "mile 22" is built at Weymontachie, it would be advisable to establish a parking lot at the south end of the footbridge. Indeed, if the road is being maintained regularly from Sanmaur to St. Michel-des-Saints in the south and to Roberval in the north, the number of vehicles belonging to Weymontachie Indians can be expected to increase.

2.2 COMMUNICATIONS

2.2.1 The situation

While access to the St. Maurice Valley reserves is difficult and they are isolated from the viewpoint of transportation, the situation is basically the same for other types of communication.

Telephone

Only the Weymontachie reserve is linked to the provincial telephone system. Obedjiwan and Manouane can only be reached by radiotelephone (via Alma). In Manouane, the telephone station is located in the office of the band council, in Obedjiwan, in the home of the person responsible for maintaining IANC equipment. The disadvantages of this system are:

- lack of communication after regular hours of use (for example, in cases of emergency at night, the station must be opened);



- lack of privacy for any conversation with the outside;
- impossibility of sending more than one message at a time to the outside, which sometimes results in long waits to make a call;
- frequently poor connections.

Another disadvantage was that the users all had to go to the telephone station to place or receive a call. This problem has, however, been resolved by installing telephones in the homes, which give access to the central station and permit the making of calls within the village.

#### Radio-television

Each reserve is served by radio (around two-thirds of the households have sets), but reception is rather poor. Until December 1978, television was available only at Weymontachie, where a relay station was set up on the reserve, but since the end of 1978, Manouane and Obedjiwan have had television. There is no doubt that this will have a profound impact on the community. It is too early, however, to determine how behaviour or attitudes will be modified.

#### Mail

Mail comes every day by train to Sarmaur. (There is no post office on the Weymontachie reserve.) At Manouane and Obedjiwan, however, mail arrives only once a week by plane, which considerably slows bureaucratic-type relationships with the outside.

#### 2.2.2 Possible solutions

- Installation of a regular telephone line to Obedjiwan and Manouane.
- Daily delivery of mail by road to Manouane. This system will be all the more effective when the road is improved. It would no doubt be advisable to establish a service contract with the owner of the bus service to bring the mail from St. Michel-des-Saints to Manouane.
- Double the frequency of the mail service to Obedjiwan either by maintaining the air service, or by using the road if a regular bus transportation system is established.
- Establish a post office on the Weymontachie reserve itself.

## SOCIAL ASPECT

### 3. POPULATION, FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

#### 3.1 The problem

The reserves of the St. Maurice Valley are now facing major problems created by the recent growth in their population and the large number of young people who are almost ready to enter the job market and to start new families. Their decision whether or not to leave the reserve will directly influence its future development. A general outline of the present situation and the alternatives open to the Indians of the St. Maurice Valley are given below.

##### 3.1.1 Growth

The population has grown very rapidly on all three reserves of the St. Maurice Valley during the last twenty years; it has in fact more than doubled. (See table 3.1)

The growth, due to increased fertility, has had many consequences:

- the large number of young people

Close to 55 per cent of the Attikamek population is now under the age of 15. During the last ten years alone, the population of the 15-19 year age group has almost doubled.

- the size of families

The size of families has increased sharply. One family out of four now has eight or more members, with the result that small houses that might have seemed adequate in the beginning have quickly become overcrowded at Manouane and Obedjiwan.

- the importance of the educational sector

The rapid growth of the school population has made it necessary to invest large amounts to build new schools and to enlarge or renovate existing schools; considerable human resources (teachers, caretakers, maintenance staff) have had to be assigned to educating these young people. In all three communities, the school has become the heart of the village and a not insignificant economic catalyst in view of the number of full-time jobs it creates.



The wages paid to band members by the educational sector alone in 1977 accounted for 36.5 per cent of total wages in Manouane, 27.8 per cent in Obedjiwan and 25.4 per cent in Weymontachie.

In addition, the consequences of this growth will be felt for several years, even if fertility continues to drop rapidly. Indeed, it is the large number of young adolescents who will make up the nucleus of the adult population in the coming years.

Future consequences will be:

- Accelerated formation of families and increased housing needs

This phenomenon has already begun to manifest itself in the St. Maurice Valley in a growing number of marriages. For the St. Maurice Valley as a whole, the number of families is expected to rise from 436 in 1976 to more than 900 in 1990.

- Growth of the labour force

The labour force will grow rapidly, since the proportion of people of working age will rise from 43 per cent of the total population in 1976 to around 60 per cent in 1990.

TABLE 3.1

Summary of demographic data

	Manouane	Obedjiwan	Weymontachie
Total population			
1959	394	473	248
1977	963	1,050	584
1990	1,300	1,400	750
Number of young people (1977)			
0 - 14 years	507	539	299
15 - 19 years	138	134	76

Source: Indian records

### 3.1.2 Fertility

For the past few years, fertility has been declining on each of the reserves (the overall fertility rate has dropped from more than 300 per thousand in the late sixties to around 150 per thousand in 1977) and according to our sources, it should continue to fall in the future. This decline will have the following results:

- reduction in the size of families
- reduction in the elementary school population
- reduction in the income derived from family allowances, which presently constitutes a major part of the family income.

### 3.1.3 Migration

Until very recently, permanent migrations were negligible, since only a few families left the reserve. Of course, there was some migration due to seasonal work, particularly at Weymontachie, where some fifteen lumberjacks moved with their family to work in Abitibi during the cutting season, but these moves were of a temporary nature.

However, in 1977, migration began from Obedjiwan to Parent, and this movement increased during 1978. During the winter of 1979, there were 41 Indian workers in Parent (37 from Obedjiwan, two from Manouane and two from Weymontachie). These 41 workers occupied some 30 jobs at the Scierie Parent Inc., a sawmill that has been operating steadily for some years. Most of these workers are young; more than two-thirds of them are under 30 and their average age is 27. About half of them are married and have brought their families with them, with the result that the Indian population living in Parent has now risen to 145 (123 from Obedjiwan, 12 from Weymontachie and 10 from Manouane).

A good many of these workers seem inclined to stay in Parent if the company that employs them continues to operate. They have taken the necessary steps to bring in their families, to send their children to school and even, in some cases, to obtain houses in Parent with INAC assistance.

However, at the moment, there is little possibility that the number of jobs available in Parent will increase, and it would be difficult for the town to accommodate many more migrants.

Then again, it is difficult to foresee an increase in the number of migrations in the future, since only a small proportion of the young people has indicated a definite intention not to live on the reserve.

A number of factors have thus far worked against emigration:

- cultural and family cohesiveness on the reserve
- the fringe benefits of staying on the reserve (no taxes, very low rent or none at all)
- strong competition on the job market outside the reserve (high rate of unemployment in Quebec)
- the general lack of academic and technical training
- the few people who do have a higher level of education have preferred to work on the reserve, where they have easily obtained the few jobs available and where they do not have to pay income tax.

However, the situation has changed during the last few years, and the following factors might lead to increased emigration:

- breaking down of the cultural and family cohesiveness mentioned above. For example, the youth know French much better than their elders and as a result, it is much easier for them to communicate with other Quebecers. Then again, contact has become more frequent between the Indian communities and the neighbouring towns and villages; radio and television will have a definite impact on the Indian culture;
- deterioration of housing conditions on the reserve. For the most part, young couples must live with parents, a situation that becomes more difficult when the young couple begin to have children.

Since the Department's housing program does not permit the building of houses on the reserve unless the band of individuals contribute, the young people will no doubt have to dip into their own pockets to obtain suitable housing, which further diminishes the financial attraction of staying on the reserve, particularly as the Department also has a program subsidizing housing off the reserve.

- deterioration of the social situation. This takes the form of alcoholism, delinquency, assaults and so on. If this deterioration continues or worsens, it may prompt some to leave the reserve, particularly girls.

- the young people are getting more education, which may make it easier for them to get jobs off the reserve.
- even if unemployment remains rather high in Quebec in the coming years, it will still be lower than that on the reserves. Considering the sharp increase in the labour force on the reserves, great efforts will have to be made in the next twenty years to create enough jobs just to maintain the present level of unemployment, which is about 60 per cent.

Obviously, some young people will not be able to find work on the reserve in these circumstances. They may thus have to choose between staying on the reserve, with the low standard of living provided by social assistance, or emigrating to town, where they will have a better chance of acquiring the consumer goods which they have seen either on television or during their studies outside.

### 3.2 Possible scenarios for future development

Depending on whether or not the young people decided to leave the reserve, the future population of the reserves of the St. Maurice Valley may undergo considerable change and the development of the reserves will be directly affected as a result.

Theoretically, the following two extreme scenarios might be visualized:

#### Scenario 1:

Only a few families leave the reserves. The population continues to grow: by 1990, there are around 750 people at Weymontachie, 1,300 at Manouane and 1,400 at Obedjiwan.

#### Main advantages:

- preservation of cultural and family unity
- maintenance of social vitality through the presence of the young people
- development of a fairly large population in order to maintain or obtain certain services (e.g. bank, public transportation and so on) as well as a market, making it possible to develop local business.

Main disadvantages:

- entry of close to 600 new workers on the market from now until 1990
- high unemployment rate on the reserves, despite major job creation efforts
- more families dependent upon social assistance
- construction of 580 new houses to make up for the present delay and to meet new needs for the next 12 years. This will be all the more difficult to achieve since a great proportion of the population will be unemployed or dependent upon social welfare and therefore unable to contribute much financially
- possible deterioration of living conditions (employment, housing) which might negate the advantages mentioned above.

Scenario 2:

A great many families leave the reserve, especially young couples. The reserve's population stagnates at its present level and begins to drop in the late 80's.

Main advantages:

- slowdown in growth of the labour force on the reserve so that the unemployment rate does not rise sharply
- decreased demand for housing
- general rise in the standard of living for the people who stay on the reserve.

Main disadvantages:

- risk of losing the most dynamic people on the reserve as well as those with the best academic training
- risk of people being swept along in the young people's movement to leave. Indian villages might even experience the problems of an aging population that rural villages in Quebec have had during the last twenty years.

### 3.3 Solutions

The problems of population growth on the St. Maurice Valley Reserves are all the more complex and difficult to solve because they are contingent upon the decisions of individuals rather than governments or band councils, which lack the necessary leverage to control the migrations.

The Department and the band councils must bear in mind, however, that some of their policies or the measures they implement may affect emigration. For example, there is no doubt that if all the elementary teaching were provided in Attikamek, it would be much more difficult for young people to pursue secondary studies in French and later to fit into Quebec society. Such a policy would therefore be aimed at discouraging emigration of young people.

The two scenarios that we have presented above represent, as we have said, extreme cases, each entailing a number of disadvantages. Analysis makes it obvious that the solution lies in an intermediate situation, or moderate increases in the population and households entailing emigration of some of the young people.

To achieve this, it is necessary to:

1. ensure that young people acquire training which will permit them to find work if they wish to leave the reserve;
2. identify urban centres which might accommodate them more easily because they already have a native population or are located within the area usually visited by the Indians, as is the case with Parent.
3. establish centres in these urban areas where the young natives can meet and obtain services (job placement, lodging, cultural centre).

Meanwhile, to meet the needs of the people who wish to remain on the reserve, it will be necessary to set up on each reserve an accelerated development program focusing on housing and community services as well as employment and economic activities. The following chapters are devoted to these concerns.



4. HOUSING AND PUBLIC SERVICES

4.1 The problem

4.1.1 Present and future housing needs

The housing situation on the St. Maurice Valley reserves, except for Weymontachie where the fairly new houses were renovated during the summer of 1978, can be termed tragic.<sup>1</sup>

The main problem is the shortage of housing. Indeed, in order to meet present housing needs, it would be necessary to build 40 houses in Obedjiwan, 48 in Manouane and 24 in Weymontachie. As for future needs, they are enormous. If no families emigrated, to make up the present deficit and accommodate new households, it would be necessary to build about 24 houses a year in Obedjiwan, 20 in Manouane and 10 in Weymontachie, from now until 1990.

4.1.2 Housing conditions

Size

With respect to existing housing, the situation in Obedjiwan is the most tragic. Even with an average occupancy rate of 8.0 persons per house as compared with 8.6 in Manouane, families are more cramped for space in Obedjiwan as the houses are smaller. Sixty per cent of Obedjiwan houses have only one or two bedrooms, while 30 per cent accommodate ten or more persons.

According to Quebec housing occupancy standards, almost all the houses in Obedjiwan and Manouane are overcrowded, as are approximately 35 per cent of Weymontachie houses.

Quality of the housing

In Obedjiwan, only 13.5 per cent of the households claim to have no problems with their houses. The most frequent complaint is poorly fitting doors and windows that let in the cold and dampness, causing the doors, windows, walls and floors to rot away. Insulation problems are also mentioned by a great many respondents to the housing questionnaire, as well as excessive humidity in winter. The situation is substantially the same in Manouane, where most of the houses are insalubrious, especially in winter. Since nothing or

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<sup>3</sup> See preliminary file, ch. 4, 5 and 6.

practically nothing has been done in the last few years on these two reserves to renovate or even to ensure routine upkeep of the houses, the situation is deteriorating rapidly.

#### 4.1.3 Water, sewers, electricity

##### Manouane:

All the houses and public buildings are linked to the sewer and water system. This system consists of a community artesian well, a pumping station used to pump the water into 100,000 gallon tank located on a hill to the south of the reserve, a chlorinator and a system for distributing the water by gravity. The sewage from 75 homes is collected in septic tanks: the other homes are linked to a sewer system which moves the sewage by means of a lifting pump to a sewage lagoon. There is an outlet channel to drain any overflow into Lake Nadon, some hundred feet from the shore. However, this outlet has never been used; until now, the overflow has been pumped into tanker trucks. Only the public buildings and a few Indian residences have electricity, which is supplied by three generators (two 175 KW/h and one 250 KW/h). These generators are owned and maintained by INAC. However, INAC and Hydro-Quebec recently concluded an agreement whereby Manouane will be linked to the provincial hydro network and served by Hydro-Quebec. All the houses should therefore have electricity soon.

##### Obedjiwan:

Only during the last two years has work been done to install a water and sewer system to serve the Indian residences. When housing needs were last analysed in 1977, only 22 Indian homes were linked to the system. Almost all the homes are now connected. This system consists of a community artesian well, a pumping station and a chlorinator. The sewage system is the same type as at Manouane (lifting pump, sewage lagoon). The previous system consisted of five community water taps and 25 septic tanks serving 50 houses.

Electricity was supplied to 84 Indian homes in 1977 by two 300 KW/h generators; a third is expected to be added in 1979.

##### Weymontachie:

All the Indian homes are linked to the water system. The water comes from the St. Maurice River just above the village; a pumping station pumps the water directly into the pipes. The system is also equipped with a chlorinator.



Domestic sewage was collected in septic tanks during the village's first years; however, these tanks proved to be ineffective and the homes were all linked to a sewage system equipped with a lifting pump. The sewage is not treated and is released directly into the St. Maurice River below the village. All the homes are supplied with electricity, which is produced by two 150 KW/h generators and one 250 KW/h generator.

On all the reserves, the water, sewer and electrical systems frequently break down, either because of pipes breaking or because of defective equipment (pumps or generators). In addition, the chlorinators only work intermittently, which is particularly serious since the well water at Manouane and Obedjiwan could be contaminated by the proximity of the septic tanks, and water is pumped directly from the St. Maurice River at Weymontachie.

This situation is due in part to accidental occurrences which can always happen, but also in large measure to the lack of regular maintenance of the equipment.

#### 4.1.4 Household garbage collection

A garbage collection service has been set up at Manouane, where it operates more or less regularly, and at Weymontachie, where until now the band council has operated the service effectively. The council collects monthly fees from users and awards the collection contract to an individual who has a truck which he also used for other work on the reserve.

There is no organized garbage collection service at Obedjiwan, where each household must transport its own garbage to the dump. As a result, sanitary conditions on the reserve have deteriorated, with garbage bags being torn open by dogs and garbage strewn around the houses and along the road to the dump.

On all the reserves, neither the location of the dumps nor their operation conforms to environmental protection standards, and they may constitute a public health hazard.

#### 4.1.5 Roads

The three reserves have only a rudimentary road system. At Manouane and Obedjiwan, there are only dirt roads which turn into mud in the fall and spring. As for Weymontachie, erosion ravages the gravel roads every spring, but they are in fair shape if you consider that the reserve is not linked to any access road and that there are no cars.

#### 4.1.6 Police services

Police services are provided by Indian police on each of the three reserves of the St. Maurice Valley, although at Obedjiwan the local police were recently dismissed and replaced by Pointe-Bleue police officers.

During investigations held on location, some citizens complained of lack of police action, particularly in connection with the illegal trafficking of alcohol and drugs. It seems that it was difficult for the police to act, firstly, because of a lack of clear instructions and municipal by-laws and secondly, because of their ties and friendships with many members of the band.

#### 4.1.7 Fire protection services

Only the Weymontachie reserve has a minimum of fire protection for the Indian homes, each of which is equipped with a portable extinguisher. The people of Weymontachie have been given courses on fire prevention and the use of domestic extinguishers.

Schools on the three reserves have a minimum of protection in the form of portable extinguishers and alarm systems that need to be modified. Only the new school at Manouane, built in 1977, has automatic sprinklers.

On the three reserves, all the school buildings will have to be modified to comply with the Dominion Fire Commissioner's recommendations.

#### 4.2 Solutions

##### 4.2.1 Housing

The band councils and population in general recognize that housing has become a priority for each of the St. Maurice Valley bands, particularly Manouane and Obedjiwan. The housing survey showed firstly, that there was a considerable need for housing repair and construction, and secondly, that part of the population was ready to contribute to the construction of housing either financially or by providing free labour. Furthermore, a labour force survey showed the availability of workers with related experience, interested in working in construction as unskilled labourers (see chapter 8).

Bearing in mind the needs expressed and the resources available, it is imperative:

- that the band councils, with INAC support, set up an integrated program to build and repair houses.
- that this programme take in all of the 1979-1980 period and that it include four three-year periods allowing for necessary changes to be made to the plan at the end of each three-year period, as needs arise.
- that local materials be used insofar as possible in order to provide work for the largest number of residents of the reserve, not only in the actual construction, but also in the processing of materials.
- that the construction plans and techniques chosen permit maximum use of local labour.
- that various methods of financing the construction and repairs be studied in order to allow the beneficiaries to participate, either by providing free labour or contributing financially, either individually or as part of a housing co-operative.
- that information sessions be held with the people on the programs being considered, in order to stimulate effective participation.
- that basic home maintenance and repair courses be given, not only to new owners, but also to those who already occupy a house.

It should be noted that the band councils and INAC are currently in the process of setting up a pilot project to build houses on each of the St. Maurice Valley reserves and that this project implements most of the recommendations listed above. It will therefore be important to make the most of this experiment when drawing up a medium- and long-term and construction program.

#### 4.2.2 Water, sewers, electricity

It is of course recommended that water, sewer and electrical services be extended to the Indian homes that are not already serviced.

The capacity of the water systems should be increased in Manouane and Weymontachie to allow for the installation of fire hydrants.

The systems must be maintained and the water chlorinated regularly. It would no doubt be more effective to assign this work to a member of the band, who would be responsible to the council. The person to whom the work is assigned must first receive adequate theoretical and practical training.

#### 4.2.3 Household garbage collection

It is recommended:

- that a garbage collection system be set up as soon as possible in Obedjiwan.
- that an advertising campaign be mounted to increase public consciousness of the quality of the environment (garbage collection, cleanliness of the river banks).
- that the environmental protection standards with respect to dumps be met.

#### 4.2.4 Roads

The physical development plans proposed various modifications to the reserves' road systems. It is recommended that the band councils ratify these plans and that the proposed modifications be implemented.

#### 4.2.5 Police services

It is recommended that the police services provided on the St. Maurice Valley reserves be the subject of a complete investigation by the Indian police in co-operation with the band councils and in consultation with the people.

#### 4.2.6 Fire protection services

When the capacity of the water system at Manouane and Weymontachie has been expanded, it is recommended that fire hydrants be installed and that the reserves be equipped with fire engines. Obedjiwan's present system is adequate for fire hydrants and these should be installed.

It will then be necessary to train firemen on each of the reserves.

Finally, it would be advisable to install smoke detectors in each Indian home and to provide portable fire extinguishers for houses that are not already so equipped.

5. EDUCATION

5.1 The problem

For some years now, considerable resources have had to be devoted to the educational sector as a result of the growth in the school population. Despite a marked rise in the level of education attained, on each of the reserves many students fail and drop out of school without having acquired any training that would facilitate their entry into the job market.

5.1.1 Development of the school population

As a result of the high fertility rate among the Attikamek bands, the school population has grown very rapidly, especially at the elementary level.

In the future, the school population should level off at the elementary level if the fertility rate continues to decline. The population from the pre-kindergarten level to the seventh grade inclusive should thus drop from 930 in 1976-77 to 905 in 1990-91 for all three reserves. Should the fertility rate decrease considerably, there would be only 756 students at the elementary level in 1990.

Finally, if a number of young people leave the reserve during the coming years, these figures might be further reduced, since it will be mainly the young couples who will supply the elementary school clientele during this period.

At the secondary level, the die is cast, since all the children who will attend secondary school in the next twelve years have already been born. Their number should double, going from 129 in 1976-1977 to 255 in 1990, assuming, however, that the young people improve their school attendance rate. These students are not so likely to be affected by migrations since their parents are already middle-aged.

5.1.2 Resources

On the Obedjiwan and Weymontachie reserves, educational services are provided from the pre-kindergarten to pre-secondary levels (7th year). At Manouane, these services are provided up to and including the first year of secondary school.

In the three communities, facilities are now adequate; Manouane has 18 classrooms, Obedjiwan 15 classrooms and Weymontachie 9. Each reserve also has a gymnasium and a library. As for the teaching staff, each reserve has a principal, a teacher of Indian languages and a physical education teacher. In addition, Manouane has 17 regular teachers, Obedjiwan 15 and Weymontachie 9. At Manouane and Obedjiwan, there is also a "teacher supervisor" whose role is to assist the Indian teachers-in-training with their work. There are 9 Indian teachers at Manouane, 11 at Obedjiwan and 5 at Weymontachie.

### 5.1.3 Schooling

General schooling of young people is a relatively recent phenomenon on the St. Maurice Valley reserves. Until the early fifties, the people still largely carried on the traditional activities and parents took their children with them to the traplines during the major part of the school year. During the summer, band families met on the reserve and it was then that the Indians were first offered an academic education. It was during the fifties that the Department adopted a policy aimed at educating the Attikamek people intensively. At first, the young people were placed in the boarding school at Pointe-Bleue, then schools were built on the reserves.

This brief history makes it easier to understand the adult population's relatively low level of education, as shown by the data of the following table.

TABLE 5.1

AVERAGE LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED BY  
POPULATION NO LONGER ATTENDING SCHOOL

(by sex) - 1977

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Manouane	7.1	6.1
Obedjiwan	5.5	5.2
Weymontachie	6.5	5.4

Source: Labour force survey

The level of education of those who are 40 years of age or older is very low (generally less than 5 years), since these people just took summer courses or adult education courses at the elementary level. In contrast, the younger people have



attained higher levels of education (for men aged 20 to 24: 10.3 years, 8.5 years and 10.6 years at Manouane, Obedjiwan and Weymontachie respectively).

#### 5.1.4 Present attendance

The school attendance rate of young Indians of the St. Maurice Valley is now as high as that of young Quebecers in general at the elementary level and the beginning of high school. However, as soon as the young people reach the age of 15, the rate of school attendance drops sharply (69.0 per cent at Manouane, 58.1 per cent at Obedjiwan and 81.0 per cent at Weymontachie).

As the preliminary files showed, a great many students fail as early as the end of the first year in elementary school. For example, in 1976-1977 the proportion of students aged 9 years who were behind one or more school years was 63.3 per cent at Manouane, 97.6 per cent at Obedjiwan and 42.9 per cent at Weymontachie.

The main problems people identified were these failures which lead to the students' dropping out because they become discouraged when they reach 15 or 16 years of age and are still in only first or second year of secondary school. Young people are usually compelled to follow a technical programme which normally ends with the fourth year of secondary school, because they have not obtained high enough marks in their first and second years of high school to follow the general secondary program leading to CEGEP.

According to the results of conferences which were held on each reserve, it seems that a distinction must be made between the causes of failed years in elementary school and failed years in secondary school.

At the elementary level

On all three reserves, the causes identified are practically the same, namely:

- lack of discipline
- lack of motivation, which is shown by the many absences
- parents' lack of interest
- the fact that the curriculum is poorly adapted.



Except at Weymontachie, where courses are taught in French at all levels with a few courses in the Indian language, the first grades are taught in the Indian language and the percentage of courses given in French increases progressively. To date, efforts have been made to adapt the teaching to the Indians' situation, but almost everyone who participated in the conferences felt that the programme could have more Indian content in terms of both language and traditional activities.

In other areas, the people expressed satisfaction with the educational services: the facilities are considered adequate, the teaching staff competent. However, parents are not greatly concerned with their children's studies. On one hand they themselves have no formal education and, on the other, they do not identify education as a real development tool for their children. They have difficulty seeing the benefits their children might gain by pursuing their studies, just as the child himself has trouble seeing why he should force himself to study if his parents have made a living without doing so. For a number of parents, education may even represent a danger: of losing contact with their children whose language and values are changing, of losing the children's respect because they are less educated, of seeing their children move away to the city. These fears have not been voiced, but it is possible that they are at the root of the permissive behaviour of some parents.

It is not however, a total lack of interest. There are groups of individuals on each reserve, particularly on the Indian teaching staff or the school boards, who feel that education may become a major power source for developing these communities. Moreover, these people have suggested several solutions which will be discussed later.

At the secondary level, the reason most students fail and drop out is a lack of knowledge of French. The fact of being away from home, difficulty in adapting and lack of supervision in the boarding homes may cause a good number of the problems.

However, the students we interviewed did not mention these factors as causing problems for them. When they were asked if they had problems in their studies, they all referred specifically to subjects: French, mathematics and so forth.

## 5.2 Possible solutions

As we mentioned earlier, a large part of the population does not seem to consider education an important factor in developing the community. A basic cause of this attitude seems to be the wide gap between the child's school environment and cultural environment, with the school acting as an agent of assimilation, if not alienation.

### 5.2.1 Amerindianizing the school

The programme to amerindianize schooling was designed to fit the school into the environment rather than the reverse. The main elements of this program are: training Indian teachers, teaching the mother tongue and designing educational program and teaching material adapted to the environment.

Almost everyone consulted feels that amerindianizing the schools still constitutes the main solution to the problems found in the education sector.

It certainly looks as though the parents' negative attitudes toward the school are not directed against the actual principle of education but against how it is applied.

It is essential that specific aspects of the physical, economic and social environment (traditional and modern exploitation of the land) be taken into account when drawing up programs and curriculums.

### 5.2.2 Learning French

Learning French very early and intensively seems to be an important element in solving the educational problems encountered, particularly at the secondary level. This solution has already been applied by the Weymontachie band in particular, where the teaching is done in French from the start of elementary school, although some courses are also given in Attikamek.

A good knowledge of French is necessary to pursue studies at the secondary and post-secondary levels, and only intensive French training beginning in elementary school will offer the young people a real chance of choosing the studies they want to pursue.

On that score, it must be emphasized that television, which has only recently become available on the St. Maurice Valley reserves, will no doubt have a direct impact on the learning of French by the youth.

### 5.2.3 Increasing parents' awareness

As was stressed earlier, parental lack of interest is one of the major reasons why children fail and drop out. There are certainly no short-term solutions to this problem. However, the work undertaken by the teachers and school boards to inform and motivate the parents to encourage their children is an effort that should be continued.

### 5.2.4 Operating methods

The various people who contributed to this research as parents, teachers or school board members, have also proposed certain guidelines for operating the school:

- hold monthly parent-teacher meetings (related to 5.2.3 above)
- give the students homework and tutor them
- organize research work to be done in the library in the evening with a study period
- develop extra-curricular activities (courses in painting, music, mechanics, cooking and so on).

6. HEALTH

6.1 The problem

6.1.1 Services provided

Generally, the health services provided in the Upper St. Maurice Valley seem to meet the needs of the three Attikamek reserves. Each of these reserves has a well equipped dispensary which, in the case of Manouane, is completed by a "Mother and Child Centre." A range of medical services is provided there. The Manouane and Obedjiwan dispensaries each have two nurses, while Weymontachie has one nurse and a nursing assistant. The dispensaries play a role similar to that of outside clinics; they offer prenatal and education consultations. In addition, the nurses make some home visits for general consultations.

Patients requiring more specialized care are directed to various regional hospitals. In Manouane, patients are referred to the St. Eusèbe Hospital in Joliette, those in Weymontachie to La Tuque, while those who are ill in Obedjiwan go to the Hôtel-Dieu in Roberval. When the care provided in these hospitals is insufficient, patients are referred to even more specialized hospitals such as St. Justine, Montreal General, Royal Victoria, Reine Marie and so forth. When patients must leave their reserve to receive medical care, they stay in boarding houses. There are a number of them in each reference centre (Joliette, La Tuque, Roberval) and they specialize according to the age of their clientele. Generally, the Attikamek people are satisfied with the accommodation provided outside the reserves.

Besides the annual visit of a general practitioner, the Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves are visited by various specialists. For example, a dentist and a pediatrician visit once a year. Manouane has already taken steps to increase the frequency of the pediatrician's visits. Similarly, Weymontachie has negotiated for monthly visits by the general practitioner. An optometrist as well as an X-ray technician also visit Manouane annually.

6.1.2 Health problems

Considerably less is known, incidentally, about community health problems or, in any event, they have been the subject of little study. Various health problems such as otitis among young children, miscarriages and infant mortality have been frequent on these reserves, but they have not as yet been evaluated systematically. To rectify this situation,

Health and Welfare Canada recently set up a training program for health resource persons. Unfortunately, only Weymontachie has such a resource person. The latter acts somewhat like an ombudsman within his own area, which is not completely satisfactory in the present circumstances. Working without formal liaison with the local nursing centre, this young resource person cannot co-ordinate his actions with those of the nurses on location. Given this situation, Health and Welfare Canada has therefore modified its training program so as to integrate the work of the resource person into the existing medical services and has chosen henceforth to train community health representatives. Their mandate will be to function in their own environment by conducting information programs and setting up a health committee on each of the reserves. Their work will thus be done in co-operation with the medical services established on the reserves. By making the local people more aware of health and environmental sanitation problems, Health and Welfare Canada hopes to greatly improve the present situation.

It is expected that two community health representatives will soon be trained for Obedjiwan, along with three others for Manouane.

A second program, NAAP (Native Alcohol Abuse Program), was recently decentralized to the level of the Montagnais-Attikamek Council under the project entitled "Caribou." Its goal is somewhat like that of Alcoholics Anonymous, and it seeks mainly to inform the local people of the consequences of alcohol abuse. Each reserve should soon profit by the services of one of these resource persons.

The recommendations formulated in 1975 by Rémis, Stewart and Gill, in a report published by the Indians of Quebec Association, on the health and health services of the Indians of Quebec, (see Appendix 1) are still generally quite relevant.

The problems related to environmental sanitation - dumps, septic tanks, chlorinators, sewers and so forth - are still acute and little has been done as yet to improve the situation.

There are still problems in recruiting nursing staff. The turnover of staff assigned to the nursing centres does not encourage the social involvement of these resource persons in these disadvantaged environments. Some elderly Indians still encounter language problems and complaints are made occasionally about the boarding houses located in the different reference centres (Roberval, La Tuque and Joliette).

## 6.2 Solutions

A step has been made toward solving these problems, thanks to Health and Welfare Canada's training programs for community health representatives. It is essential that Manouane and Obedjiwan be included in this program as soon as possible. With these community health representatives, the reserves will be able to evaluate their own needs systematically and then formulate more relevant recommendations.

In the immediate future, the experiment carried out at Manouane in setting up the "Mother and Child Centre" should be continued and expanded to Weymontachie and Obedjiwan. As for the problems related to environmental sanitation, it is particularly desirable that the band councils be made aware of the minimum standards for maintaining the quality of the environment and that the Department ensure that they are supplied with the necessary resources to meet these standards. Action is urgently required to ensure that the chlorinator is operating properly, that the water supply system is clean, that the sewer system does not leak, that the garbage is collected and buried properly, and so forth. Additional details concerning the state of these services are contained in the chapter on public services.

Housing conditions also have an effect on the people's health. Overcrowding can thus be seen as a deleterious factor.



## 7. LEISURE

### 7.1 The problem

Leisure is a feature of a relatively affluent socio-economic situation which allows the individual a certain amount of free time after his work and domestic tasks are done. It is possible for individuals to gain a personal sense of worth through their involvement in leisure activities as well as in work, and for social systems to develop and be perpetrated in this way. Indians today are caught in an ambivalent social and cultural situation, in that they are simultaneously exposed to the white and living in the Indian cultures; at the same time they are confronted with an economic situation over which they have no control. Consequently, they are unable to enjoy complete leisure and are limited for the most part to the recreational side of leisure. In fact, the economic abundance which makes it possible for them to have free time and leisure facilities originates outside their culture and traditional way of life and is not conducive to the development and perpetration of an original social system. It is therefore normal that they should participate in leisure activities which offer a temporary escape from the daily reality and which in consequence have little formative effect.

The data available on participation in particular recreational activities and the use of existing facilities on the reserves are not sufficiently complete to identify a general problem with respect to leisure among the Indians of the Upper St. Maurice Valley.

Consequently, we can offer only a partial analysis. The leisure activities studied here act as a "safety valve" through which to burn up a certain amount of energy (human and monetary) and time which the particular situation of the reserves renders unproductive; they do not contribute to an enhanced sense of personal worth or to social development.

In such an analysis, leisure is reduced to three components:

1. physical facilities
2. leisure activities pursued
3. support staff and operating structure.

#### 7.1.1 Facilities

The range of facilities to be found on the three reserves is similar and can be described as follows:

- a library built into the school's physical and administrative structure
- a gymnasium also administered by the school
- a schoolyard which is often used as a playing field or ball park
- a skating rink
- a community hall and some educational premises
- a nearby natural environment\*
- a transportation system providing access to various urban centres offering different consumer services which do not necessarily help reinforce the Indian culture
- a structure for reception of such electronic media as radio and television.

#### 7.1.2 Activities

The leisure activities have been organized into three main categories indicative of the way these activities are performed, namely:

1. free activities
2. organized activities
3. informal activities.

Rather than draw up a complete list of the activities in each category, we have just described the main characteristics of each category and given a few examples of activities.

Free activities are contrasted here with organized activities since they are subject to the individual's creativity with respect to the space-time definition. The individual may participate passively or actively, but the effect sought is of an escapist nature.

Components:

- games: walking, orienteering, football, skating, snowshoeing, ball

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\* Manouane has a campground, a canoe-camping route and cross-country ski trails.

- traditional activities: handicrafts, hunting, fishing, trapping
- educational activities: reading, music
- outdoor activities: camping, canoe-camping, summer cottage.

Organized activities are events which may take place inside or outside, with or without specialized equipment. They may involve individuals or groups and require active or passive participation, although active participation predominates. The difference is that these activities are structured by precise and agreed-upon rules, including definition of the time and space in which the activity is to take place. The results anticipated may be of a diversional, social, educational, skilled or competitive nature.

Components:

- games: skating, swimming, water skiing, horseshoes, flag
- educational activities: handicrafts, sewing and mechanics courses
- sports activities: softball, hockey, volleyball, floor hockey, badminton
- social activities: community nights, films, bingo, card parties, dances
- outdoor activities: camping, cross-country skiing.

The so-called informal activities are closely integrated into the way of life, to the point that they are part of everyday life for groups of all ages. Generally, they require only passive participation by the person.

Components:

- meetings within the primary group (family and friends)
- participation in various celebrations
- consumption of soft drugs and alcoholic beverages
- trips off the reserve (to get away from the places usually frequented and to take advantage of different services, particularly those that are not provided on the reserve)

- listening to the electronic media (radio and television)
- participating in different social organizations (board, association, group, brotherhood)
- performing various activities not seen by the participant as work (mechanical work, do-it-yourself projects, and so on).

#### 7.1.3 Support staff and organization

Organization of leisure activities on the reserve is rather simple, in that the band council is the main promoter of recreational development. Participation in leisure activities is more complex, but is not necessarily organized.

The band council is assisted by a recreation committee which defines the orientation of the recreational program; games and sports are organized by the recreation director. There does not seem to be any official mechanism for consulting the people in order to determine the content of the program.

The school board has an indirect influence on programming because it controls a good number of the facilities and consequently determines the times that they are available for use.

A number of parallel activities (various courses among other things) are available, but they do not seem to be jointly planned by their promoters and the recreation committee.

In most cases, the participants program their own leisure time.

#### 7.2 Recommendations

The various recommendations given below were provided by the recreation directors. This means that they represent the views of those who participate in the leisure activities at present being promoted, but do not necessarily reflect the demands or aspirations of the whole population or all age groups.

##### AT MANOUANE:

- develop extra-curricular and leisure activities
- relocate and improve the playing field

- establish a recreation and sports centre with:
  - . games rooms (pool, weight lifting and so on)
  - . film library, record library, film club
- set up weekend sports clinics
- offer courses and such free activities as music, painting, mechanics, culinary art, sewing, skiing, swimming, volleyball.

AT WEYMONTACHIE:

- No specific recommendations were made, but the people seem to be satisfied with the services provided. When the survey was being conducted, there were plans to build a community hall where films would be shown, bingo organized and card parties and dances held.

AT OBEDIJWAN:

- provide more gymnasium equipment
- build a second skating rink
- develop a ball park
- equip a billiard and ping-pong room
- hire an additional recreation director for the school year
- there are great hopes for the community hall in terms of organized group leisure activities, although no one can define what these might be.

7.3 Future prospects

The people of the reserves seem to be satisfied with the state of organized leisure activities but would like to see the recreational facilities and some community equipment improved in order to have a more varied recreational program.

It is likely that the accessibility of the electronic media (radio and television) to most individuals will influence the demand for certain consumer items associated with the idea of leisure (sports, trips and so forth).

Nevertheless, it will be necessary to emphasize consultation with all age groups in order to develop a recreational program reaching the greatest number of people. A study of attendance at organized activities might be undertaken to establish a profile of the clientele affected.

Finally, the development of leisure activities must not be seen as a solution to the social problems (such as laziness) for it would in fact be no more than a poultice.

The development of leisure activities entailing the passive use of non-productive time should therefore be abandoned in favour of development of a programme of activities that will help people grow and gain a sense of personal worth and will also strengthen cultural identity.

Such activities might be outdoor activities (swimming, canoeing, snowshoeing, cross-country skiing) or activities of a scientific nature (for example, forming groups interested in botany, archeology) or of a cultural nature (community television, photography, music, traditional dances, cultural pow-wows and so on).



## ECONOMIC ASPECT

### 8. MANPOWER AND EMPLOYMENT

#### 8.1 The problem

##### 8.1.1 Growth of the labour force

The population explosion experienced by the three St. Maurice Valley reserves since the fifties is now producing a rapid growth of the labour force, which will continue until 1990.

#### Male labour force

The male labour force participation rate, or the proportion of men aged 15 to 64 years who are part of the labour force, exceeds 80 per cent on all the reserves and reaches its peak at Obedjiwan, where 95 per cent of the men aged 15 to 64 years are on the job market.

Since the level of education of the young people should continue to rise, the rate of participation in the job market should drop, especially at Obedjiwan, since some young men should enter the job market later.

As table 8.1 shows, the male labour force will more than double between 1975 and 1990 on each of the reserves, if there are no migrations. For instance, Obedjiwan should have some 200 workers more in 1990, or almost 14 workers more each year. At Manouane, there will be 165 more workers on the job market, and at Weymontachie, 100, and this takes into account only the male labour force. Women might well also wish to enter the job market.

#### Female labour force

Until now, female participation in the job market on the St. Maurice Valley reserves has been very limited; in 1975, there were only 93 women on the job market. However, with a higher level of education and a lower fertility rate, women will be more inclined to enter the job market, and we feel that the female participation rate will rise to 22 per cent in 1980, 25 per cent in 1985 and 30 per cent in 1990. Thus, the female labour force might easily triple from now until 1990, again assuming that there are no migrations.

To meet this unprecedented growth in the labour force on St. Maurice Valley reserves, a substantial number of jobs would have to be created. From the beginning of the study, there were various indications of an already difficult economic

situation. To get a better idea of the manpower and employment situation, a survey was conducted among the workers, in order to ascertain their training, experience and aspirations; this survey also tried to include housewives and students who constitute potential or future manpower. In all, 707 questionnaires were filled out, and the information contained in these questionnaires were filled out, and the information contained in these questionnaires was used for the following analysis of the situation.

#### 8.1.2 Knowledge of language

Close to 60 per cent of the labour force of each of the St. Maurice Valley three reserves has a good knowledge of French; that is, the people understand, speak and write French. A good proportion of the rest of the population also knows French but cannot write it.

Obedjiwan has the highest proportion of unilingual Attikamek speakers (28 per cent of the labour force) followed by Manouane (11.2 per cent) and Weymontachie (1 per cent).

TABLE 8.1

#### GROWTH OF THE LABOUR FORCE BY SEX AND RESERVE 1975 - 1990

	<u>MALE LABOUR FORCE</u>			
	1975	1980	1985	1990
Manouane	146	194	242	311
Obedjiwan	180	247	312	379
Weymontachie	96	125	156	195
Total	422	566	710	885

	<u>FEMALE LABOUR FORCE</u>			
	1975	1980	1985	1990
Manouane	39	58	89	130
Obedjiwan	41	59	88	126
Weymontachie	13	32	50	71
Total	93	149	227	327

There are only a few individuals in the three bands who understand English. Generally, language knowledge does not seem to be a determining factor in getting a job. However, the proportion of unemployed remains higher among the unilingual Attikamek.

#### 8.1.3 Level of education

As mentioned in the chapter on education, the level of education of the labour force is still relatively low, although steady progress has been made in this area. In 1977, the average level of education of the labour force was no higher than the elementary level. In contrast, most of the young people have completed two or three years of secondary school. Until the present time, very few individuals have been able to get a complete technical training, although large proportions of the labour force have had make-up courses (either general elementary or secondary courses, or more technical courses such as handicrafts, mechanics and so on).

The lack of skilled or semi-skilled labourers, such as plumbers, electricians, mechanics, heavy machinery operators, accounts or administrators, constitutes an obstacle to the development of the St. Maurice Valley reserves.

On each of the reserves, we noted that the people who were employed had a higher level of education than those who were unemployed, which leads us to believe that level of education is a factor in obtaining employment, even on isolated reserves.

#### 8.1.4 Areas of activity

The main area of economic activity on each of the three reserves is the forest industry, which involves 53.2 per cent of the male labour force at Weymontachie, 49.6 per cent at Obedjiwan and 38.1 per cent at Manouane. The area second in importance is construction, involving 34.5 per cent of the male labour force at Obedjiwan, 29 per cent at Weymontachie and 23 per cent at Manouane.

In each of these areas, the great majority of the labour force is unskilled (lumberjacks and day labourers). The skilled labourers and those who are employed in other areas of the economy, such as business or the services, particularly teaching, are younger (mainly between 20 and 30 years of age) and better educated.

Finally, there is an increasingly serious problem on these reserves, particularly Manouane and Obedjiwan, related to the fact that a large number of young people under 29 years of age are coming onto the job market with only a limited general education and little or no specialized training in either the traditional or other economic activities. These young people "with no definite occupation" will year-by-year swell the ranks of the unemployed and the social assistance recipients.

#### 8.1.5 Unemployment

Unemployment has become a major economic and social problem on the St. Maurice Valley reserves. Since the labour force is concentrated in two particular areas of the economy, unemployment varies with activity in the forest industry and construction. As we shall see in the chapter on the forest industry, that industry has gone through a rather difficult period in the last few years, and the employment situation for the Indians has deteriorated at Consolidated Bathurst (CBL), which particularly affects the Manouane reservation. However, the job situation has been better at CIP, which explains in part why summer unemployment is considerably lower at Weymontachie and Obedjiwan than at Manouane (see table 8.2).

Finally, since there has been no home construction for a number of years, the unemployment rate of construction workers has remained very high (table 8.2), with only the building of community facilities or infrastructures and home repair programs providing employment in this area.

Unemployment is high all year long, but it still reflects substantial seasonal variations. It is during the winter months, when forest operations and construction work cease, that it reaches its peak.

In addition, unemployment varies with the age of the workers, those most affected being the younger ones, under 25 years of age, while the middle-aged men have a relatively low unemployment rate.

#### 8.1.6 Main employers

At Manouane and Obedjiwan, the band council has become the principal employer. In Manouane, it even provides up to 50 per cent of the jobs, while the proportion is 44 per cent in Obedjiwan and 34 per cent in Weymontachie. Some of these jobs constitute regular employment (band manager, teacher, caretaker), but most often they are temporary, subsidized by

TABLE 8.2  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT VARIABLES  
AND BY RESERVATION 1976-1977

	Manouane	Obedjiwan	Weymontachie
<u>Seasonal variations</u>			
Summer 1976	73.2	41.2	60.1
Winter 1976-1977	67.7	85.4	74.6
Summer 1977	61.0	41.4	47.6
Average	67.3	56.0	60.8
<u>Variations by occupation</u>			
Lumberjacks and forest workers	82.0	45.0	63.0
Construction workers	82.0	60.0	75.0
<u>Variations by age</u>			
Men 15-19 years of age	83.2	78.6	72.5
Men 25-29 years of age	53.8	37.8	36.5
Men 45-49 years of age	86.9	50.1	81.4

Source - INAC, Planning Division  
 - Labour force survey, Manouane - 1977  
 - Labour force survey, Obedjiwan - 1977  
 - Labour force survey, Weymontachie - 1977

such government programs as "Canada Works" or "Local Initiatives Projects" and are intended mainly for unskilled workers (lumberjacks and day labourers). The lumber companies rank second as employers in Manouane and Obedjiwan, with CBL providing 14.2 per cent of the jobs in Manouane and CIP, 36.2 per cent of the jobs in Obedjiwan.

The situation is quite different in Weymontachie, where the band council provides only about one-third of the jobs and large companies such as CBL or CIP occupy a marginal position as employers. More than half of the labour force has been employed by various small lumbering contractors.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from this brief analysis as to the relationship between the incidence of unemployment and the role of the band councils as employers. It seems,

however, that some councils have been compelled to act as entrepreneurs when the employment situation, particularly in the forest industry, deteriorated. Another hypothesis is that the creation of jobs by the band councils diverted the Indians from other employers, including the large companies, perhaps by offering a lower salary but better working conditions, including being able to work on the reserve under Indian foremen. The danger of this situation would be that it might in the medium-term destroy the job market by compelling businesses to recruit non-Indian labour and create almost complete dependency on the band council and government subsidies for the creation of jobs on the reserve. Employment programs would thus run the risk of becoming panaceas or disguised forms of social assistance, unless they were part of a real plan for developing the resources and potential identified in the chapters of this report on the various areas of economic activity.

#### 8.1.7 Aspirations of the labour force

Once again, Weymontachie stands out from the other two reserves in that the great majority (82 per cent) of its labour force wants a job with an annual wage. This proportion is only 43 per cent in Obedjiwan and 33 per cent in Manouane. It is in Manouane that the proportion of those who wish to devote themselves solely to the traditional activities is the highest (17 per cent); this is also the reserve where the income drawn from traditional activities, including handicrafts, is the highest (see table 13.1).

Excluding the traditional activities, the areas of activity or jobs sought correspond roughly with the areas of activity identified in 8.1.4. The construction trades constitute the first choice of the male labour force at Weymontachie in 35.6 per cent of the cases and at Manouane in 21 per cent of the cases.

At Obedjiwan, the construction trades rank second in terms of preferred occupation (for 27 per cent of the labour force, however) while trades related to the forest industry take first place (for almost 37 per cent of the labour force). At Manouane and Weymontachie, trades related to the forest industry occupy second place.

It should be noted that among the youth, ambitions are not expressed very clearly:



In Obedjiwan, one-third of the young people between 15 and 24 years of age did not answer the survey question dealing with their career aspirations; this high rate of non-reply can be interpreted in various ways:

- 1- the young people are not interested in the type of questionnaire with which they were presented, or
- 2- they are undecided, incapable of choosing, or
- 3- they are not interested in working.

Among those who expressed a choice, work in the forest industry came first, followed by construction work.

In Manouane, on the other hand, none of the young people between the ages of 15 and 19 and only four individuals between the ages of 20 and 24 hoped to work in the forest industry. However, as in Obedjiwan, the low response rate to this question, as well as the rather large number of undecided young people, raises several questions. Among those who replied the areas of work sought are, in order: mechanic, game warden, firefighter, club gamekeeper, caretaker and construction labourer.

In Weymontachie, few young people were contacted during the survey. Most of those who replied expressed their career choice; like their elders, the youth of Weymontachie are attracted by both forest work and construction.

#### 8.1.8 Job satisfaction

Most of the people whose present or last job was of the professional, skilled or semi-skilled type, as well as most construction workers claim to be satisfied with the work. However, there is some discontent among lumberjacks and labourers in the forest industry, a good number of whom hope either to change their area of employment or to do more skilled work within the forest industry (such as heavy equipment operator, mechanic and so on).

#### 8.1.9 Place of work

Most of the labour force wants to work on the reserve itself; this proportion exceeds two-thirds at Weymontachie. Close to a third of the respondents had no preference, while a slight minority (those who are at present occupied in the forest industry and want to pursue that activity) prefer to work off the reserve.

Women as well as mature men make up the group that prefers to work on the reserve, while younger people prefer to work off the reserve or have no preference.

However, if there were no work available on the reserve, more than 80 per cent of the labour force, both male and female, would be prepared to accept a job off the reserve provided that it was still possible to live on the reserve. The whole female labour force would refuse a job that entailed moving off the reserve. The only workers who would agree to leave the reserve to obtain jobs were men under 35.

#### 8.1.10 Housewives

As we mentioned earlier, only a few women participate in the job market and they are concentrated in just a few activities including teaching, business (as saleslady or cashier), domestic work.

However, in Manouane and Obedjiwan, a good number of housewives participated in the labour force survey. It is obvious from their answers to this survey, that most housewives want at least a paid occupation, if not a full-time job. It is clear that if these women had the necessary training and employment opportunities, they would be prepared to enter the job market, since more than 80 per cent of them, both in Manouane and Obedjiwan, claimed to prefer to work full time rather than part time.

In Manouane, handicrafts attract a large number of housewives; it must be pointed out that a number of these women are already very active in this area. A number are also interested in becoming seamstresses or babysitter/maids. These three occupational categories alone account for close to 80 per cent of the housewives wishing to enter the job market. These occupations are in fact all very similar to the traditional activities of Indian women, namely, producing objects for domestic use, making clothes and caring for children.

In Obedjiwan, the situation is quite the reverse, with handicrafts, sewing, housekeeping and babysitting attracting in all only about 15 per cent of the housewives. The most sought-after occupation is that of teacher (close to 35 per cent of the housewives, including those who wish to teach handicrafts); next come the occupations of secretary/typist and cashier.

The main obstacles keeping women from participating in the job market are lack of training and especially lack of jobs or outlets for production. In addition, most housewives would not be prepared to take a job off the reserve.

#### 8.1.11 Students

The young people, who are still in school but who will be swelling the workers' ranks in coming years, were contacted both while the survey was being conducted and during meetings which took place on the reserves or in secondary schools off the reserve. It became apparent from these encounters that:

- 1- These young people will be slightly better trained than their elders. Most of them would like to finish their secondary education, but with few exceptions they will not be able to go on from there, since most of the students are already committed to the "short" secondary or technical program and they will not be able to go on to CEGEP unless they repeat their general secondary schooling.
- 2- Their training is mainly geared toward such occupations as mechanic or welder for the boys and nurse or seamstress for the girls, which they want to pursue once they have completed their studies.
- 3- Most of the young people want to work on the reserve once their studies have been completed, and only a minority (around 10 per cent) plan to settle permanently off the reserve.

#### 8.2 Possible solutions

From an analysis of the labour force and its aspirations on the three reserves, the following conclusions can be drawn with respect to development:

- 1- Employment programs must be set up to meet the Indians' aspirations and lower the unemployment rate.
- 2- These programs must satisfy the desire to alternate paid employment with traditional activities.

Thus, we recommend the development of a few areas of employment which could make it possible to alternate various seasonal activities in order to provide intermittent employment on a year-round basis.

For example, since the forest and construction industries are particularly active from May to October, trapping might be developed from November to April.

- 3- The employment programs should be sufficiently varied to meet the aspirations of the labour force. It is not a matter of making heavy equipment operators of all the Indians of the St. Maurice Valley or making them all trappers, but of promoting certain sectors which show potential, in which the people have demonstrated an interest, for example, traditional activities (particularly trapping and handicrafts), the forest industry and construction.

While it is not wise to "put all one's eggs in one basket," neither is it wise to do the reverse and squander one's efforts on various types of projects which can only be of secondary interest. Since the human resources capable of initiating and administering development projects on these three reserves are still limited, it will be necessary to concentrate first on sectors which provide a ripple effect and employ more people.

For instance, the effort required of a contractor or consultant to establish a business may be equivalent to that required to obtain and fulfil a woodcutting contract; however, the social and economic repercussions of the second type of project will be greater than those of the first.

- 4- The economic development must be in keeping with the training, experience and aspirations of the Indians. For example, even though the forest industry has experienced some difficulties during the last few years, it is none the less true that this sector constitutes the backbone of the economic development of the Upper St. Maurice Valley, that the Indians have experience in the field and that some want to continue working in it, especially at Obedjiwan and Weymontachie.

The band councils' recent attempts to act as contractors (by subcontracting with the lumber companies) constitute experiments which, while not always as successful as anticipated, may serve as a basis for similar projects in which past errors may be avoided.

- 5- Home construction is another priority on each of the three reserves, but particularly at Manouane and Obedjiwan. The needs identified are tremendous and if new homes were built using as much local material and labour as possible,

a large part of the labour force interested in this field might be provided with seasonal work for several construction seasons.

- 6- The hiring of labour for local projects should not divert those who are already working from their present or usual jobs. It would serve no purpose to employ on this type of project all those who might otherwise obtain work with the lumber companies, for example. This would cause them to lose their seniority and would make it more difficult for them to get back into the forest industry later. At the same time, employment would not really be created, since all those who are at present unemployed or dependent on social assistance would most likely remain in the same situation, since they do not have the seniority or the training to find jobs off the reserve.
- 7- Home construction should not be considered strictly as an economic project, but as a social development project.
  - promoting the employment of young people who are entering the job market
  - giving these young people training and experience as lumberjacks, machine operators and so on, if local building materials are used, which would enable some young people to find work more easily with the lumber companies once the intense period of construction is over
  - giving another group of young people training and experience in construction itself (carpentry, plumbing, electricity), which might eventually enable them to find work off the reserve if they wish to move. Moreover, some of the young people who will be coming out of secondary school during the next few years are taking technical courses.
  - stimulating the independence of a community by enabling it to carry out from start to finish a project vital to its well-being, using its own resources and its own means. To achieve this, the support of consultants or foremen from outside is still necessary at this stage, but these consultants should not take the place of the project's promoter, likely the band council or housing committee.

- 8- The training and employment programs should be directed mainly at the young people. The part of the labour force that is older than 25 has already had the opportunity to take make-up courses and it has, moreover, the lowest unemployment rate.

Finally, it is the young people with limited training and no experience, who are entering and will continue to enter the job market in great numbers during the coming years, who will have the most difficulty in finding work.

- 9- Finally, although the situation is quite similar on the three St. Maurice Valley reserves, certain differences can still be observed in terms of both the potential and the aspirations of the labour force. The development programs will therefore have to be adapted on each reserve to take these factors into account.

For instance, home construction is a development priority at Manouane and Obedjiwan, while at Weymontachie, the housing problem is less acute and the potential for development in the forest industry is relatively greater. Likewise, the Manouane labour force, particularly the young people, have demonstrated interest in activities related to those of conservation officer, club gamekeeper and so forth. At the same time, this is the reserve with the greatest potential for the development of tourism, sport fishing and hunting.

- 10- Considering the great number of housewives who expressed the desire to enter the job market, these housewives should organize themselves into groups to study the possibilities of developing the employment sectors in which they have demonstrated the most interest. It is recommended that the band councils lend their support to these groups.



9. THE FOREST INDUSTRY

9.1 The problem

9.1.1 Situation of the forest industry in Quebec

The Quebec pulp and paper industry is going through a difficult period because its wood products are no longer competitive: producers in western Canada and the southern United States, in particular, produce paper at a lower cost. To increase yield per acre, the companies have been mechanizing more and more. For these companies, the traditional lumberjack is a creature of the past and mechanization results in fewer workers in the forest. In addition, unionization has appeared on the forest scene and work stability premiums have greatly reduced labour turnover. Seniority with an employer has become increasingly important as an employment factor, and the recruitment policies of the companies favour owner-operators of forest equipment.

In addition, the cutting the pulp wood has undergone great fluctuations during the last three years. The closing of New England lumberyards to Quebec workers and the more rational use of wood chips have also upset considerably the usual demand for labour in this sector.

9.1.2 Participation of the Indians of the St. Maurice Valley in the forest industry

Employment

The importance of forest work as a source of income for the natives has decreased considerably during the last five years. In 1972, 50 per cent of the Indian labour force of the Upper St. Maurice Valley was employed by the Canadian International Paper Company, while in 1977, only 22.9 per cent of the labour force was actually working in the whole forest sector. The forest industry has therefore lost its importance as the economic base for these reserves in the Upper St. Maurice Valley.

Until 1974, the large lumber companies operating in the Upper St. Maurice Valley suffered from a severe lack of manpower, and the Indian's benefited from this state of affairs. Today, the situation is completely reversed and the Indian work teams who occupied the surplus jobs have now disappeared.

### Productivity

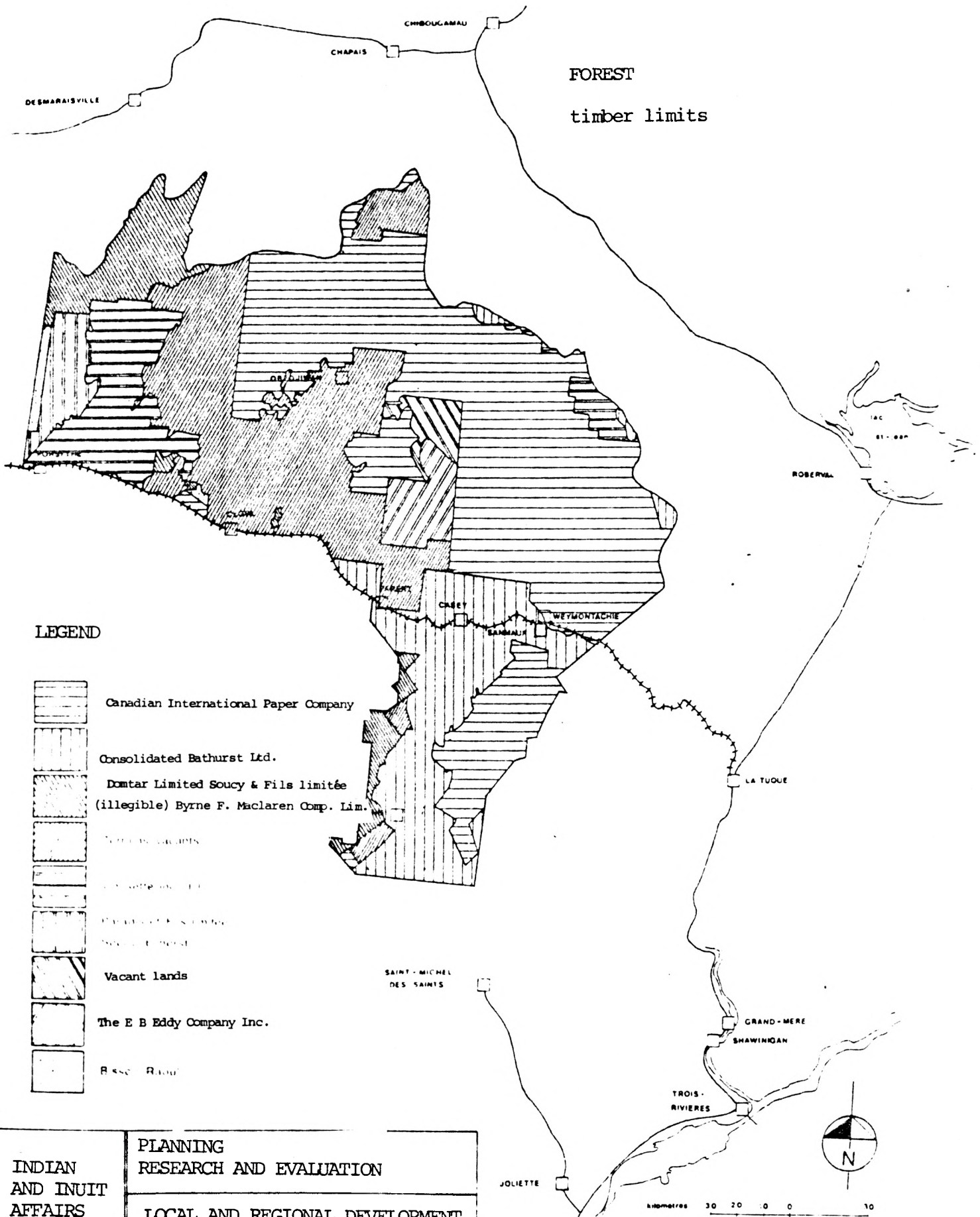
The productivity of Indian workers is lower than that of non-Indians. Generally, "good" native operators have a lower level of productivity than non-Indians but, then again, they are better at operating the equipment at their disposal. This situation might be explained by the reputation that natives have of being "less hard" on machinery than their non-Indian co-workers. Is this a matter of skill and talent or quite simply due to the fact that the Indians take the time to be more careful about what they do when they work at their own speed?

### Recruitment

Be this as it may, the forest employer always experiences the same type of difficulty when he recruits native employees. "We never know what to expect!" exclaim the directors of the two large companies with cutting rights in this region. Instability and absenteeism or quite simply lack of motivation and interest constitute the main reasons for the high native turnover in the forest industry. The fact that they have no great needs to satisfy and that it is relatively easy to get access to different work assistance programs and social allowances lessens their incentive.

However, while the Indians work when they feel like it, the non-Indians build up seniority with the companies, seniority which the unions are zealous in protecting. This is why it has now become almost impossible for a new arrival, native or otherwise, to find work with these large companies, if he has not already worked for one of them. The natives thus see the door gradually closing on interesting and well paid work. At present, the only work opportunities left to them are smaller operators who, on one hand, require less but, on the other hand, pay less and also offer poorer working conditions.

The log drive also offers some employment potential. Although temporary, this type of activity seems nevertheless to appeal to them and also has the advantage of being paid by the hour. A fact to be noted is that the Indians prefer to be paid by the hour rather than at a flat rate. According to some foremen, the Indians prefer this method of payment because in this way they can evaluate daily the income earned during their work. The perception of value, at least the monetary aspect of work, is thus made easier for them. Financial gain does not have the same attraction for them as it does for non-Indians. Contract cutting, which in most cases pays much better than hourly-paid cutting, does not have any stimulating effect on the productivity of the natives.



INDIAN  
AND INUIT  
AFFAIRS

PLANNING  
RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
PLAN/UPPER ST. MAURICE VALLEY

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### Mechanization

The investment policies of the large lumber companies favour the owner-operators of heavy equipment. For example, around 95 per cent of the equipment used for the lumbering operations being carried out in the Upper St. Maurice Valley by Consolidated Bathurst and CIP is rented. In order to reduce the restrictive effects of this policy on the Indian community, since 1969, the Department has encouraged and helped certain members of the Manouane and Weymontachie reserves to buy skidders. Unfortunately, five of the six skidder owners who tried the venture resold their machines as soon as they had paid off their loans. The sixth one kept his machine but preferred to work on the reserve; that is, he chose to remove the snow from Weymontachie streets rather than return to lumbering operations.

### Aspirations of the labour force

Table 9.1 contains the results of the survey carried out during the summer of 1977 on the three Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves, on the labour force's participation and aspirations in connection with lumbering activities.

On each of the reserves, the total number of jobs provided by the forest industry exceeds the aspirations in that direction. Despite this state of affairs, the aspirations of these workers for skilled jobs in the forest invariably exceed the present job opportunities. The Indians of the Upper St. Maurice Valley still seem therefore to be attracted to lumbering, but they want to get into more skilled work and get away from the general work of the "lumberjack."

## 9.2 Possible solutions

This study showed increasing disenchantment with forestry activities among the Indians of the St. Maurice Valley, due as much to the difficult time experienced by industry in this sector of the economy during the last few years as to the decreased interest of the Indians themselves. However, on each reserve, a certain part of the male labour force interviewed still wants to participate in the forest industry (37 per cent at Obedjiwan, 29 per cent at Weymontachie and 17 per cent at Manouane) by increasing its skills.

There is no doubt, however, that activity in the forest industry will continue to fluctuate with the economic situation and that Indians will remain dependent on the demand for labour in this sector. Nevertheless, considering the infrastructures in place and the relative proximity of



TABLE 9.1

NATIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE FOREST INDUSTRY

(Sample of 307 Indians in the labour force)

<u>Reserves</u>	<u>Number of persons who have actually worked in the forest industry</u>	<u>Number of persons who wish to find work in the forest industry</u>
Obedjiwan	Total: 59 ( S : 5) (US : 54)	Total: 36 ( S : 13) (US : 23)
Weymontachie	Total: 33 ( S : 0) (US : 33)	Total: 17 ( S : 1) (US : 16)
Manouane	Total: 45 ( S : 7) (US : 38)	Total: 20 ( S : 8) (US : 12)

S : skilled labour  
US : unskilled labour

processing plants, the Upper St. Maurice Valley will remain a zone with high potential for the forest industry in future years.

It is therefore recommended that the necessary measures be taken to get the forest workers who are still interested back into the forest industry by continuing the efforts already begun during the last few years:

- to offer development courses to those who want more skilled work
- to encourage those who have built up seniority to apply for higher classification levels
- by setting up a joint plan with the lumber companies and the band councils for the natives to participate in the forest industry.

For instance, the band councils might draw up agreements (sub-contracts) with the large lumber companies and form homogeneous groups of Indian workers in which they would be able to apprentice for a skilled lumbering job. This experiment would involve the mechanization of operations and would thus result in the creation of two "pools," one of heavy equipment and one of skilled labour.

This solution has the advantage of transforming into skilled labourers (operators and mechanics) workers who otherwise would only be able to get work as "lumberjacks" or "unskilled labourers." This choice would make it possible, once the effects of a precarious economic situation are no longer being felt, for the native labour force to be rehired on an individual basis by the large lumber companies. This solution would result in more job opportunities for people living on the reserve.

The jobs left vacant by more experienced workers would then be filled with newcomers and so on. Given the opportunity to specialize in this way, the Indians of the Upper St. Maurice Valley might be able to improve their job stability, since for a good number of them, the technical aspect seems at first glance to be of the utmost importance.



10. HANDICRAFTS

10.1 The situation

While at Obedjiwan and Weymontachie handicrafts are an individual activity and there is no official marketing mechanism to handle the sale of finished products, the Manouane artisans are organized into an association called "Les Artisans Amisk." This association handles the production and marketing of handicrafts on a large scale.

10.1.1 Artisans

According to the surveys conducted by the band councils, there are 138 artisans living on the three St. Maurice Valley reserves (see table 10.1). Close to 60 per cent of these artisans are women and at Manouane, the average age of the artisans was calculated at 51.4 years.

For Quebec Indians as a group, the Arts and Crafts Division of INAC's Economic Development Branch has estimated that 10.3 per cent of the population between the ages of 20 and 69 are considered artisans. Obedjiwan and Weymontachie therefore have a slightly lower proportion of artisans than the Quebec average, while Manouane has three times more.

TABLE 10.1

BREAKDOWN OF ATTIKAMEK ARTISANS  
BY SEX AND RESERVE - 1977

		<u>Population between the ages of 20 and 69</u>	<u>Artisans</u>	<u>% of artisans</u>
Manouane	M	146	48	33%
	F	154	47	31%
	T	300	95	32%
Obedjiwan	M	169	5	3%
	F	166	25	15%
	T	335	30	9%
Weymontachie	M	97	3	3%
	F	94	10	11%
	T	191	13	7%

Source: Record of the Montagnais-Attikamek Indian Council established from surveys conducted by the band councils.

Manouane's special situation seems to be due to the sudden increase, in 1977, in demand for birch bark products as a result of large orders from the Canadian Indian Marketing Services (CIMS). In fact, only 26 of the 95 member artisans of the Artisans Amisk association are regular suppliers; the others are either artisans whose production is more limited or sporadic, or persons, most frequently men, involved in gathering raw materials (bark, roots, spruce gum).

#### 10.1.2 Products

For the past few years, the Manouane artisans have mainly concentrated on making products from birch bark (mostly canoes and baskets), although they can also produce various articles in leather -- mitts, moccasins and so forth.

The artisans of Obedjiwan and Weymontachie work with leather and fur, while the men mainly manufacture snowshoes.

Handicrafts have recently been transformed at Manouane into a small business of an industrial nature. Although the products are still of good quality, production has been standardized and is mainly intended to meet the orders that the Association receives. At Obedjiwan and Weymontachie, the products are still original and diversified.

#### 10.1.3 Production and marketing organization

At Weymontachie and Obedjiwan, as we mentioned earlier, the production and sale of handicrafts are not organized. The artisans experience some difficulty in acquiring raw materials. Also, the finished products are mainly sold locally through teachers, friends and so forth. Consequently, production is limited and the income drawn from it remains negligible.

At Manouane, the Association is responsible for supplying raw materials and equipment and for marketing. In 1977, orders were up, and the artisans could work as much as they wanted, with the result that the income drawn from the sale of handicrafts came to more than \$100,000. In contrast, in 1978 the artisans were still producing while orders were down, and consequently, inventory stocks built up and the Association found itself without funds to pay its artisans.

Such fluctuations cause many tensions within the community (waiting for orders, increased inventories, the threat of unemployment). Today, handicrafts represent an important source of income for a number of people in Manouane and therefore the slightest fluctuation in demand threatens to dry up this source.

## 10.2 Development objectives

The following objectives can be established as part of a policy for developing handicrafts on the reserves:

- preserve the handicrafts traditions
- preserve the diversity of products, the originality of designs
- stimulate the artisan's creativity
- make it easier to produce handicrafts
- make it easier to sell and distribute handicrafts.

## 10.3 Means of attaining these objectives

In order to preserve the handicraft traditions, it is essential to ensure that they are passed on. The average age of the artisans is fairly advanced, and few young people are well enough acquainted with the techniques to practise them. The handicrafts courses given to date have not always satisfied needs in this area, and the content of the courses as well as their organization should be reviewed.

To maintain the diversity of products and to stimulate the artisan's creativity, it would seem essential to avoid a repetition of Manouane's experience, where large orders resulted in standardization of products and semi-industrial production.

It would no doubt be advisable, on the other hand, to aim first at the local or regional market rather than the national market, which would allow the artisan to produce at his own speed rather than sporadically in response to the sudden variations of the national market. For example, to develop the regional market, it would be necessary to open small sales counters in St. Michel-des-Saints or La Tuque.

Finally, depending on the actual type of organization visualized, an artisans' association might help make it easier to obtain raw materials and market the products.

## 11. TOURISM

In this chapter, tourism is studied from the following three angles:

1. an overall evaluation of the situation of the tourist industry in Quebec and the St. Maurice Valley
2. summary of the demand in Quebec for different leisure facilities and activities
3. an overview of the tourist potential and restrictions on the development of tourism in the Upper St. Maurice Valley.

### 11.1 The situation

The tourist industry is an important socio-economic sector in Quebec because of the direct and indirect employment it creates, the consumption of goods and services it gives rise to and the cultural exchanges it engenders.

For the past several years, Quebec has been registering a substantial deficit in tourist trade. It is mainly the Quebec tourist who must be attracted in order to put Quebec's tourist economy on its feet again. The tourist has changed his habits. Because of higher costs, he seeks more and better services for his money, a more original product, a more unusual physical and cultural change from his own environment, specialized and less stereotyped activities, as well as vacations spaced out over several periods during the year.

The three Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves are located in the northern part of administrative region 04, which contains 3.8 per cent of the area of public parks and reserves in Quebec and accounts for 7.2 per cent of the total area of the province. Taking the use of provincial outdoor facilities (parks and reserves) as an indicator, we find that region 04 absorbed 14.2 per cent of the total tourist visits in 1974.

The region's lodging capacity (1974-1975) in comparison with Quebec as a whole was 11.6 per cent and the rate of facility use was 11.1 per cent. The percentage of visits for all activities was 74.9 during summer as compared to 25.1 per cent during winter, while the Quebec average was 81.4 per cent for summer and 18.6 per cent for winter (1977).

We feel that the accessible market for the three Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves is located mainly in three administrative regions: (02) Saguenay-Lac St. Jean, (04) Mauricie-Bois Francs, (08) Abitibi-Témiscamingue. The population basins of Montreal and Quebec City should have a lesser impact than centres in the aforementioned regions.\*

## 11.2 Demand

### 11.2.1 For lodging

Lodging is one of the determining factors of the tourist industry, and the following table illustrates for region 04 the interregional and regional importance of the various types of lodging. It shows the interregional importance of "campgrounds" and "vacation farms"; in contrast, the region is greatly disadvantaged from the view point of "summer camps." At the regional level, it is the extensive infrastructure constituted by the "secondary residences" and "campgrounds" as types of lodging that stands out to the disadvantage of other types of lodging.

In the area of lodging, the principal demand on an annual basis (39.5 per cent of vacationers in 1971) is for hotel accommodation. Camping accounts for around 31.5 per cent of the choice of lodging. And, in this area, the average user prefers developed campgrounds to semi-developed or rustic campgrounds.

Administrative region 04 accounts for 11.9 per cent of the total number of campgrounds in Quebec and 15.0 per cent of the total number of campsites (in 1975) in a ratio of 55 per cent tent sites and 45 per cent trailer sites (this ration was 61 per cent and 39 per cent for Quebec).

In 1975, region 04 represented 7.2 per cent of Quebec's hunting and fishing outfitters and 5.8 per cent of Quebec's capacity for accommodation in this type of lodging.

### 11.2.2 For outdoor activities

In the provincial parks, the most frequently performed activities are, in decreasing order of importance:

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\* If we consider the owners of secondary residences as residents.

TABLE 11.1

INTERREGIONAL AND REGIONAL IMPORTANCE OF REESTABLISHMENTS AND THEIR  
CAPACITY ACCORDING TO TYPE OF LODGING (Region 04)

	<u>Interregional % of Quebec</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Regional % of region 04</u>
Hotel lodging 1974			
- establishments	7.3	226	9.8
- capacity*	5.9	9,390	-
Secondary residences 1974			
- establishments	7.8	12,982	61.1
- capacity**	7.8	58,419	-
Youth hostels 1974			
- establishments	2.8	1	0.2
- capacity	6.7	168	-
Campgrounds 1975			
- establishments	11.9	88	27.4
- capacity	15.0	26,153	-
Vacation farms 1975			
- establishments	12.2	16	0.1
- capacity	8.6	78	-
Summer camps 1975			
- establishments	3.2	3	0.3
- capacity	2.8	370	-
Hunting and fishing outfitters 1975			
- establishments	5.8	191	1.1
- capacity	6.1	1,013	-
Total			
- establishments	7.8	13,507	100
- capacity	8.6	95,591	-

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\* Lodging capacity is expressed in persons/day.

\*\* A multiple of 4.5 persons per secondary residence was used.

Sources: OPDQ page 144 and 145, interregional sectoral characteristics.



<u>Activities</u>	<u>Rate of growth in % for the period 1974-1975 to 1976-1977</u>
1. Camping	10
2. Cross-country skiing	65
3. Hiking	88
4. Fishing	-2
5. Staying in a cottage	22

For the same years, the following activities underwent the most rapid rate of growth:

<u>Activities</u>	<u>Rate of growth in % for the period 1974-1975 to 1976-1977</u>
1. Hiking	88
2. Canoeing	74
3. Cross-country skiing	65
4. Snowshoeing	59
5. Canoe-camping	33

According to a HCYSL study carried out in 1977, the seasonal activities preferred by Quebecers 18 years of age and older (4,012,000 individuals) are:

SPRING: Walking (18.0%)\*, cycling (17.4%), fishing (15.3%), jogging (5.7%) and cross-country skiing (5.7%).

SUMMER: Swimming in an outdoor pool (18.4%), cycling (16.1%), swimming in a natural lake or river (12.2%), fishing (11.0%), walking (8.0%), golfing (7.7%).

FALL: Hunting (21.5%), walking (21.3%), cycling (10.3%), jogging (6.5%), bowling (6.3%), fishing (6.3%).

WINTER: Cross-country skiing (32.8%), snowmobiling (11.8%), snowshoeing (9.0%) downhill skiing (8.9%), walking (6.4%), hockey (6.1%), indoor skating (5.2%).

This study shows that three activities are performed during at least three seasons by a percentage of the population higher than 5%, namely: walking, cycling and fishing, with walking being done all year round. Jogging and cross-country skiing are popular activities during the spring and fall, and winter and spring respectively.

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\* This figure represents the percentage of the population participating in the activity considered.

### 11.2.3 For facilities

Outdoor facilities have developed as follows during the last few years:

- LODGING: There has been a drop in the number of hotel establishments (from '70 to '76) and campgrounds (from '73 to '77). In contrast, the number of wilderness camps (from '74 to '77), summer camps and youth hostels (from '73 to '77) has increased substantially.
- WATER SPORTS: The number of public beaches, docks and boat launches has increased gradually from '73 to '77.
- WINTER SPORTS: The number of winter sports centres has grown rapidly from '73 to '77 (cross-country skiing, snowshoeing, tobogganing) although this growth has been less rapid for downhill ski resorts.
- HUNTING AND FISHING: The number of outfitters who are not leaseholders (from '69 to '77) has almost doubled in contrast to a slight increase in the number of outfitters who are leaseholders (from '71 to '77). Simultaneously, the number of hunting licences (from '72 to '77) and fishing licences issued (from '71 to '77) has increased.
- VARIOUS FACILITIES: The number of golf courses increased by 41 per cent from '73 to '77.
- The number of riding stables grew by close to 63 per cent for the same period.
- The number of rifle and pistol ranges more than doubled between '74 and '77.

### 11.2.4 Means of transportation

Most Canadians and Quebecers use the automobile as their means of transportation for vacation purposes in Quebec (75 per cent and up). Next come planes, buses, trains and boats.

### 11.3 Potential

The theoretical potential of the Upper St. Maurice Valley lies in the possibility of opening up a new territory in Quebec for the general public, but more particularly for lovers of the outdoors. To date, the conventional tourist routes only cross the Lower St. Maurice Valley region although there is demand (especially by naturalists and hunter-fishermen) for improved accessibility to the Upper St. Maurice Valley (Manouane area). It is quite likely that the southern part of the Upper St. Maurice Valley will be developed within the near future.

The presence of the Indians in this area, the fact that they know and are used to this territory, and their special culture also offer interesting potential.

#### 11.3.1 Hunting, fishing and trapping

In connection with the division of the administrative region into DCZs, we note that the three reserves are located in Development and Conservation Zones under the jurisdiction of the Trois-Rivières regional office of the Department of Tourism, Fish and Game.

It seems that the provincial government representatives would like to support the bands' initiatives in the areas of nature conservation and related services. This official support might possibly be translated into financial support, support by qualified personnel and a policy promoting the study and evaluation of native proposals for managing the territory.

As for the Controlled Development Zones (CDZ), priority is given to the Indians, despite the fact that the whites (mostly ex-members of private clubs) exert ever greater pressure to have this territory developed. There is no telling how long the authorities will maintain this position. It is therefore a matter in which the natives should be involved, both in order to obtain more direct control over their trapping grounds and to increase the possibilities of developing tourism in this area, particularly in the Manouane region where the political pressure is greater.

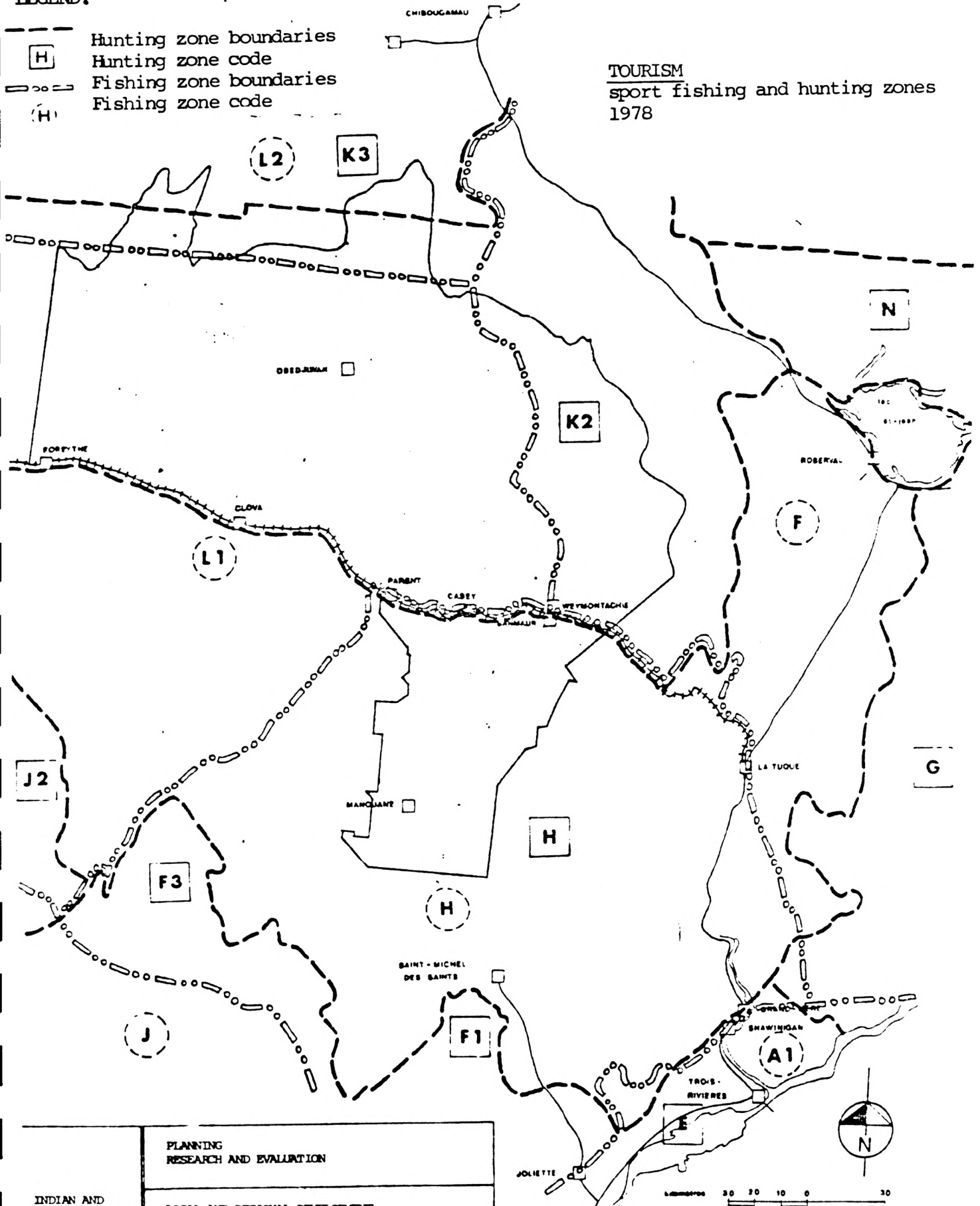
Such traditional activities as hunting, trapping and fishing represent real tourist potential. Conventional trapping might possibly be more profitable if it were better organized (both from the viewpoint of trapping methods and that of improvement of the trapping grounds) and possibly increase the tourist attraction of the region.

LEGEND:

- H Hunting zone boundaries
- H Hunting zone code
- Fishing zone boundaries
- Fishing zone code

TOURISM

sport fishing and hunting zones  
1978



PLANNING  
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At present, the Upper St. Maurice Valley attracts a large number of visitors during the big game hunting season because it is one of the better moose areas and there is a rather high density of bear. The territory is also visited very frequently for game fish other than salmon. It would seem that there is good potential for operating outfitting services.

For the year 1977, we counted 113 private clubs, 14 outfitters with exclusive rights and 50 outfitters without exclusive rights on the trapping grounds of the Upper St. Maurice Valley. The area occupied by private clubs comes to slightly more than 1,600 square miles and the outfitters' territories to around 490 square miles.

In terms of number of visitors, we counted 26,432 fishing days for 96 private clubs and 11,238 hunting days for 90 private clubs; the outfitters with exclusive rights reported 6,124 fishing days for 13 outfitters and 2,340 hunting days for 11 outfitters.

The DTFG estimates that for 1977, hunting activity in zones H and K in terms of moose hunting trips, totalled 238,035 hunting days with average stays of 8.07 days (H) and 6.39 days (K). Bear hunting activity for 1977 is estimated at 7,844 hunting days (for trips), and small game hunting overall (trip and excursion) at 234,974 hunting days. Zones H and K are the destination of 28.6 per cent and 19.1 per cent of the Quebec moose hunters. According to the same source, it would seem that there is a European market that might take up hunting in the Upper St. Maurice Valley if the necessary services were provided. Hunters between the ages of 25 and 34 generated the greatest hunting activity in Quebec in terms of trips. Small game hunting accounts for 68.2 per cent of the total hunting activity (in hunting days), moose hunting, 18.2 per cent, deer, 12.6 per cent, bear, 0.8 per cent and caribou, 0.2 per cent.

Four sport fishing zones (H, F, L and L<sub>2</sub>) infringe on the Indians' trapping grounds and according to the DTFG, the combination of brook and lake trout is to be found most frequently in the territory located to the north of the St. Lawrence plain and south of the Upper St. Maurice Valley reserve. The combination of Northern pike and walleye is to be found in the large reservoirs, the St. Maurice River and its tributaries.



Pike and walleye are fished legally from mid-May to the month of April, while most varieties of trout are fished from the end of April until mid-September. The quality of the flesh of these fish varies from one species to another and from one place to another.

According to the DTG, the following quantities of fish were caught in region 04 in 1975:

<u>Type of territory</u>	<u>Catch (fish)</u>	<u>Fishing days</u>
. territory under lease	323,040	131,563
. parks and reserves (except the Upper St. Maurice Valley reserve)	160,232	41,256
. public waterways	-	-

Speckled trout accounted for 78 per cent of the catch on leased land and 99 per cent of the catch in parks and reserves. It was established that 65 per cent of the users were between 26 and 55 years of age (1977) and that they planned a short stay of one or two days.

#### 11.3.2 Camping and related activities

Camping is an activity with tourist appeal compatible with the physical environment of the Indian reserves, but this type of facility requires the investment of amounts of money that are large in relation to the operating period possible in the Upper St. Maurice Valley (maximum 60 days).

It must be noted that the concept of camping goes beyond the image of the site on which the tent is pitched. It requires the establishment of related services both on the grounds and nearby (grocery store, gas station, breakdown services, garage, road and so on).

The camper is a difficult, demanding client. From the viewpoint of development, the work done at Manouane does not meet the aspirations of the average camper (for more information on the standards for developing a campground, consult the study on the tourist potential of the three Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves, p. 13 et seq).

It is difficult to evaluate the clientele available for this activity, but the effect of the physical distance between the Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves and the large urban centres is an important limiting factor for this type of activity



which, in reality, represents only 18.4 per cent of visits to provincial parks and reserves for the 1976-77 season. During the 1976-77 season, this type of facility was only used at 36 per cent of its capacity as compared with hotels and cottages, which were used at 71 and 69 per cent respectively for longer periods. The "fishing-walking-camping" activity would fit in well with camping; the flow of clients would be minimal although worthwhile.

For all of Quebec, those participating in canoe-camping make up only four per cent of all campers. Generally, canoeing accounts for only 1.1 per cent of total visits to provincial parks and reserves in 1976-77.

Canoe-camping is not yet profitable. It is likely that over the medium term a larger proportion of the middle and upper layers of Quebec society will be involved in this activity.

Be this as it may, the Quebec federation of canoe-campers identifies five distinct regions in the trapping grounds of the Upper St. Maurice Valley. These regions show good potential for canoe-camping but the Manouane region is the one with the most potential and it might eventually compete with the provincial and federal parks offering this activity.

#### 11.3.3 Handicrafts




The development of original Indian handicrafts may constitute an attraction for a good number of tourists. Until the present time, Indian handicrafts have been advertised very little in the immediate area of the reserves. Thus the recommendations concerning handicrafts formulated in the preceding chapter might have an effect on tourism.

#### 11.4 Restrictions

In contrast with the potential that has just been described, there are a certain number of restrictions on the development of tourism on the St. Maurice Valley reserves, including:

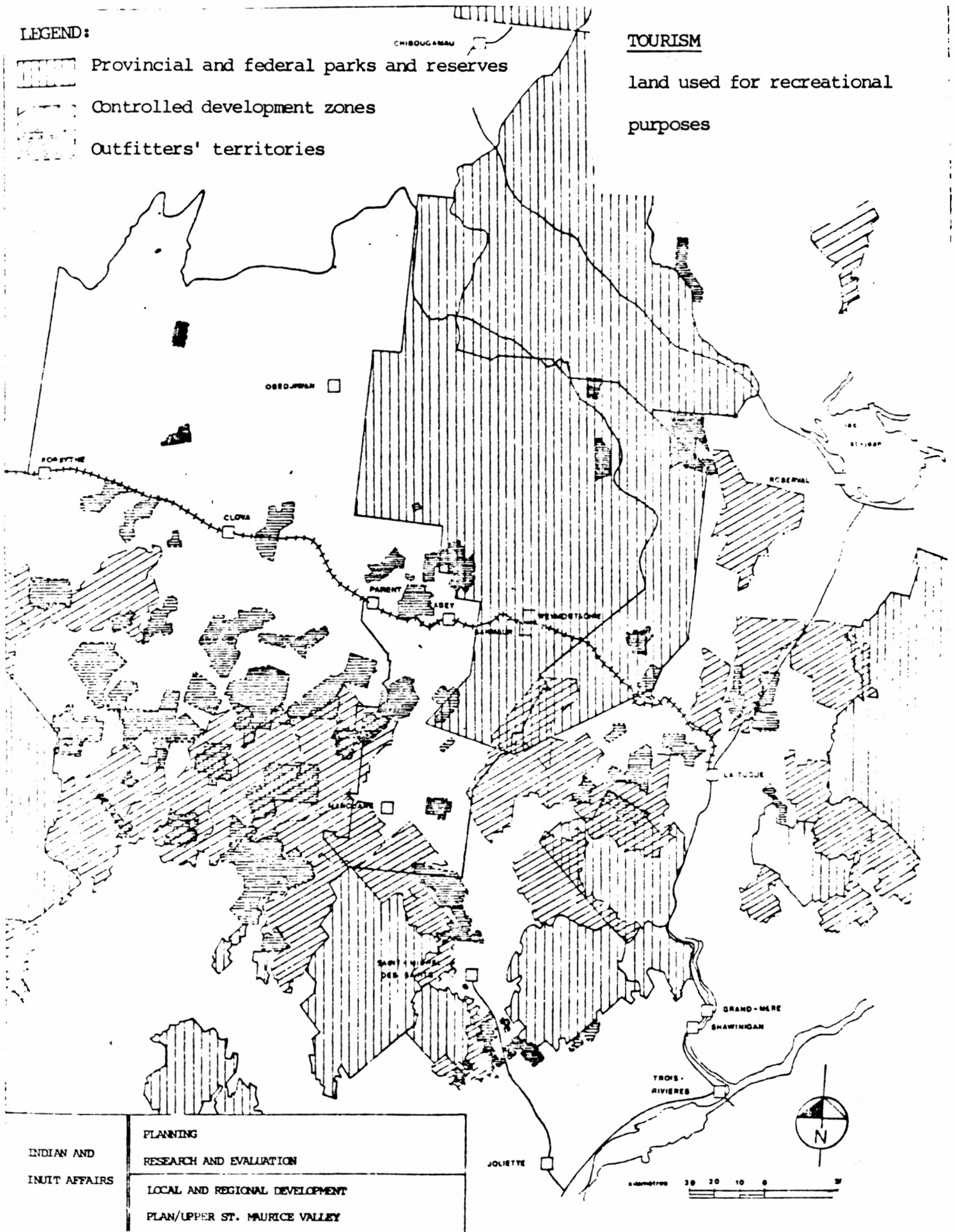
1. The lack of an adequate physical link with provincial tourist routes. It is a known fact that the tourist's main activity is driving; he hardly ever strays far from the main roads because that is where lodging, restaurant, supply and maintenance services are to be found.
2. In order to set up and operate a tourist industry, a promoter must have training both in the general areas of administration and finance and in the special field of tourism, which includes procedures for providing the

LEGEND:

-  Provincial and federal parks and reserves
-  Controlled development zones
-  Outfitters' territories

TOURISM

land used for recreational purposes



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hospitality and services necessary to meet the clientele's expectations. The St. Maurice Valley reserves do not yet have the human resources with enough training to ensure the success of this type of enterprise, and this lack of native manpower constitutes a major short- and medium-term handicap for these reserves.

3. The mainly sectoral involvement of governments and the private sector does not facilitate this type of development nor enhance its chances of being profitable.
4. In order to exploit the existing physical potential, the investment costs (infrastructure, facilities and so forth) must be amortized over a period of operation longer than just the summer season. It is important to seek a variety of facilities that will make it possible to achieve this objective. Not one, but a network of facilities (garages, restaurants, grocery stores, hotels and so forth) must be considered; in this sense, the regional context is not particularly favourable to the Upper St. Maurice Valley reserves.
5. In terms of lodging, demand is increasing and favours the hotel type of accommodation (cottage and cabin) rather than camping. In addition, indications are that Canadian preferences with respect to camping favour developed campsites over semi-developed or rustic campsites. There is nevertheless a growing demand for the latter type of facility.
6. As for hunting and fishing, they are neither developed nor organized on the reserves to allow for the participation of tourists. It would seem that an outfitting service would be rather difficult to organize because the Indian is timid in his relationships with the tourist and the latter must press the Indian to obtain his services. Moreover, the number of Indian guides would be very limited in the Upper St. Maurice Valley. There is however the possibility that INAC (Economic Development - Operations) might provide technical and financial assistance to organize such a service.
7. The presence of CDZs on the Indians' trapping grounds does not seem to have an undue effect on life on the reserve, but might eventually affect the trappers who have their traplines within the boundaries of Controlled Development Zones. The belt of provincial and federal parks will constitute a serious barrier to the development of tourism in the Upper St. Maurice Valley as long as these facilities are not used to their capacity. The CDZs which



maintain a recreational program may have the same effect. However, over the long run, these facilities may become centres of attraction which may increase the clientele available for the Upper St. Maurice Valley.

8. The ever-present possibility of developing along with the tourist industry, a process whereby bio-physical, physical, cultural, economic and political potential is lost, still haunts the reserves. Within the territorial limits of the reserves, it is essential that the development of tourism be subordinated to the preservation of Indian values. For instance, tourist development, especially if it is oriented toward sport fishing and hunting, could have very negative effects on the wildlife and the Indians' traditional activities.
9. The Indian bands alone cannot be responsible for developing tourism in the Upper St. Maurice Valley because of their very limited human and financial resources.

#### 11.5 Technical support services

Although we have identified significant restrictions on the development of tourism, having mainly to do with the bands' lack of human and financial resources, there are nevertheless a number of departments or agencies capable of lending support to such projects, namely:

Federal Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce  
Industry and Commerce Development Branch  
Canadian Government Office of Tourism

Federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion  
- Agricultural and Rural Development Act (special ARDA program)  
- Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED)  
- Regional Development Incentives Act (RDI)

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada  
Indian and Inuit Affairs Program  
Economic Development - Operations

Federal Business Development Bank  
Counselling Assistance to Small Enterprises

Provincial Department of Industry and Commerce

Provincial Department of Tourism, Fish and Game  
(Trois-Rivières Regional Office)

Provincial Department of Lands and Forests  
(Shawinigan Regional Office)

Quebec Planning and Development Bureau

Department of Education  
High Commission for Youth, Sports and Leisure  
(various outdoors associations)

Provincial Department of Transport

Local Chamber of Commerce.

These services may make referrals to other organizations able to provide relevant information on setting up tourist facilities.

#### 11.6 Possible solutions

Despite the aforementioned restrictions which must be considered in implementing projects, there are various possibilities for developing tourism on the St. Maurice Valley reserves, for example:

Consult with government authorities to assess their interest in developing tourism in the Upper St. Maurice Valley and the technical and financial support available.

To do this, it is necessary:

- to form a study committee for the three reserves;
- to devise a precise study mandate.

Launch tourist development centred around outdoor activities, traditional activities and handicrafts.

To do this, it is necessary:

- to establish an implementation program (capital investment)
- to have available the necessary financial resources
- to train competent staff
- to obtain the necessary licences
- to develop marketing and recreational programs
- to improve access roads
- to construct and operate facilities (lodging, restaurant services, camping, canoe-camping, cross-country skiing, maintenance and so forth).

Operate an outfitting service with or without exclusive territorial rights.

This entails:

- setting up the necessary facilities, either by building them or leasing them
- obtaining an operating licence
- training competent staff
- having available the financial resources
- undertaking an advertising campaign.

Operate a Controlled Development Zone (CDZ)

It would then be necessary to:

- become accredited by the DTFG
- establish a program to inventory and conserve resources
- manage (administer) the territory
- train competent staff.

Use economic development projects (OSE) and job creation projects (CANADA WORKS) to help develop tourism in the upper St. Maurice Valley.

To do this:

- take steps in this direction
- draw up economic development program centred around the tourist industry.

If the Indians are interested in taking over management of a large area, it might be possible to propose to the provincial government a method for managing the trapping grounds that would include developing tourism.

This would make it necessary to:

- prepare and submit a regional development plan
- train competent staff.

Continue to develop tourism at Manouane in keeping with the demand identified and the aspirations of the Quebec tourist.

This entails:

- establishing a detailed investment program
- training qualified staff
- constructing such services as garages, grocery stores, lodging facilities and so on
- promoting the reserve and its facilities
- obtaining the necessary government support and licences.



## 12. TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES

The traditional activities to which we refer here include three types of exploitation of the area's wildlife resources: hunting, fishing and trapping.

### 12.1 The problem

The Indians of the Upper St. Maurice Valley have exclusive trapping rights on the southern part of the Abitibi beaver sanctuary. In addition, they can hunt and fish as they please on this land to meet their needs for food. However, they are gradually abandoning regular exploitation of this territory in favour of occasional forays to make extra money.

The under-exploitation of the territory results in a reduction in the quality of the natural habitat and game and, consequently, a lessening of the economic impact of the traditional activities. The province might well intervene to revitalize the ecology of this environment.

### 12.2 The situation

#### 12.2.1 Activities as a whole

According to the 1977 labour force survey,\* (15 years and older), participation in the traditional activities varies from one reserve to another. At Manouane, most men still participate, though not on a regular basis. Close to 40 per cent of the male respondents (50/128) regularly pursue traditional activities (ten or more days a month), while 22 per cent (27/122) of the female respondents participate.

The situation differs however at Weymontachie and Obedjiwan, where a small proportion of the respondents participate regularly. At Weymontachie, only eight men and six women are regularly occupied with traditional activities, while about 15 men are actively involved at Obedjiwan.

In contrast, at Manouane, 68 women and 8 men stated that they had never participated in any traditional activity, and at

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\* The 1977 labour force survey consists of 335 questionnaires at Manouane, or 76.5 per cent of the labour force, 104 questionnaires at Weymontachie, or 38.4 per cent of the labour force, and 268 questionnaires at Obedjiwan, or 58.0 per cent of the labour force.

Weymontachie, close to half of the respondents (12/22 women and 32/59 men) devote fewer than five days a month to traditional activities. At Obedjiwan, there is little participation by women, while 20/103 men do not participate at all and 39 others spend fewer than five days a month at such activities.

Participation by the respondents in trips related to traditional activities is higher at Manouane and Weymontachie, but participation by women is limited (more than 50 per cent of the men made more than four trips a year).

The unemployed participate more in traditional activities than do the employed at Manouane, while the situation is reversed for the other two reserves.

Generally, the respondents at the three reserves like the idea of alternating traditional activities with paid employment, but at Weymontachie, 82 per cent favoured yearly paid employment, and 17 per cent of the Manouane labour force preferred traditional activities to paid employment.

As we can see, the Indians are turning in increasing numbers from regular and exclusive involvement in the traditional activities to work involving either yearly paid employment (at Weymontachie), or a combination of paid employment and traditional activities (at Manouane and Obedjiwan).

#### 12.2.2 Hunting

Hunting is done less intensively than it was five years ago on the St. Maurice Valley reserves. This decrease is due, according to the natives, to increasingly restricted game resources. This state of affairs might be caused by:

1. the presence of lumber camps near the hunting grounds
2. the invasion on an ever larger scale of sport hunters, some of whom use hydroplanes to locate and track moose
3. poaching and intensive exploitation by some whites and even some Indians.

Thus, at Manouane, hunting has become a sport, a leisure activity that is pursued in fall and winter and is of limited importance as a source of food (in 1977, sources claim that 37 moose were taken on the reserve). This activity is also pursued for recreation rather than food by the residents of Weymontachie (12 moose were reportedly taken on the reserve in 1977). At Obedjiwan, it is known that a number of Indians

hunt a great deal, mainly around the reserve, but there is no estimate of the moose harvest available. The DTFG revealed, however, that 2,329 moose were brought down in the Upper St. Maurice Valley in 1978, a harvest twenty times greater than that of the Indians.

#### 12.2.3 Fishing

There has been a marked decline in fishing on the three reserves, although some fishing is still done. The reasons for the loss of interest in this activity are apparently the drop in the fish population (caused by the log drive and sport fishermen) and the presence of mercury in the flesh of some fish.

The people of Manouane hardly ever fish for pike or whitefish any more, but they still fish for pickerel. Fishing is done without great conviction at Weymontachie, for the fish are reported to be increasingly poor. The purpose of the activity is becoming recreation rather than subsistence.

According to the Obedjiwan respondents, fish are still present in large numbers in the lakes around the reserve, but the people living on the reserve fish much less since the discovery of mercury contamination. The residents of Obedjiwan fish and still eat limited quantities of this catch, but some families no longer eat fish at all.

It should be noted that certain recent studies (including the study prepared by the Grand Council of the Crees for the Mistassini, Waswanipi and Northern Quebec regions) have shown that mercury concentrations are higher in pike and pickerel, but that mercury levels are still tolerable in such fish as perch, sturgeon, speckled trout and whitefish. While the Crees have received precise information on the types of fish and the quantities they can eat, the Attikamek still seem to be ignorant on this question.

#### 12.2.4 Trapping

Trapping, besides being an economic activity, constitutes a food source. Here again, the drop in the game population has dampened the interest of a good number of trappers, although this activity is still pursued more intensively than hunting.

In Quebec as a whole, the yield from the trapping grounds exploited exclusively by the Indians made up only 30 per cent of the furs trapped in 1976-77, although the area to which the Indians have exclusive rights covers 80 per cent of Quebec trapping grounds, that is, four times greater than the territory exploited by non-Indians.

The ratio of Indian trappers to the total number of non-Indian trappers was 6.9 per cent in 1976-77, while it was 13.6 per cent in 1973-74. In 1976-77, 1,134 Indian trappers were registered, compared with 15,219 non-Indians, and the demand for traplines by the latter is constantly growing and exceeds the number of traplines available.

The average income per trapline in Quebec was around \$2,800 for the 1976-77 season, and the average income per trapper at Manouane was \$742.70, at Weymontachie, \$746.66 and at Obedjiwan, \$435.23.

The overall value of the take has increased steadily during the last five seasons. If we compare the number of pelts for the 72-73 and 76-77 seasons, we note an overall increase of 158 per cent, or an annual increase in the order of 30 per cent, Weymontachie being the reserve on which the rate of increase was the most rapid and Obedjiwan, the slowest.

Manouane: Our sources counted 85 regular trappers\*, classified as follows:

<u>Number of trappers</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Average age of group</u>
43	fair	43.3
29	average	45.7
13	very good	47.9

The harvest consists mainly of beavers and otters. Trapping is done during two periods, November-December and March-April. All the traplines are exploited, but the equipment used by the Indians is considered inadequate and obsolete. At Manouane, there is a problem with renewing the labour force, as the young people are trapping less because they are occupied with their education.

Weymontachie: The situation at Weymontachie is similar in that trapping activities have dropped off greatly during the last few years. The 13 regular trappers\*\* are classified as follows:

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\* The DTFG officially registered 33 trappers for 1976-77.

\*\* The DTFG officially registered 47 trappers for 1976-77.

<u>Number of trappers</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Average age of group</u>
3	fair	38.7
7	average	43.4
3	very good	63.0

According to our sources, the traplines are equivalent in the quality of the game and they are all used regularly. The trapping season lasts from October to May, and it would seem that the steady trappers spend three out of four weeks on the line, usually alone. The average trappers stay one week out of four, and the fair trappers only go for a few days each month, in groups of two. At Weymontachie, trapping is not considered an important source of income, but an activity to make extra money.

Obedjiwan: Although a number of Indians at Obedjiwan\* do a great deal of trapping, the reduction in game populations has resulted in less exploitation of this resource. While the classification of the trappers is not known, it would seem nevertheless that almost all the traplines are used, though not intensively. Most of the trappers spend one or two weeks in the spring tending their traps and snares and only return on the weekends to pick up their catch.

#### 12.2.5 Food

Overall, it can be said that game and fish still make up a substantial part of the Indians' food, but it constitutes only 20 to 30 per cent of the meat eaten. This percentage may vary from 0 to 100 per cent, depending on the family and food habits. We have no data available on the fruit picked and eaten on the reservation.

We note generally that the proportion of game and fish eaten on the reserve is tending to decrease as a result of the reduction in quality and quantity of this natural resource and the general tendency of the Indians to abandon the traditional activities in favour of a sedentary way of life.

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\* The DTFG officially registered 119 trappers for 1976-77.



### 12.3 Possible solutions

Analysis of the situation with respect to the activities of hunting, fishing and trapping indicates two major problems, namely:

- 1- the Indians' lack of interest in pursuing these activities on a regular basis
- 2- reduction in game population.

It must be stressed that these two problems are interrelated. The Indians hunt and trap less because, on one hand, they are attracted by other, less demanding activities on the reserve and, on the other hand, because of the reduction in the game population. The reduction in the game population, in turn, is due partly to the factors mentioned above, lumbering and sport hunting by non-Indians, and also to a lack of wildlife conservation measures, underdevelopment of the trapping grounds and even underexploitation of certain species.

Finally, the territory's wildlife resources still constitute an important food source, a source which should be conserved even though an increasingly large part of the labour force is involved in areas of activity other than hunting and trapping.

It is therefore urgent that the Indians take up their traditional activities once more, that they take vigorous action to ensure control and development of their trapping grounds and that they make sure that hunting and trapping continue by training the youth.

To achieve this, the Indian communities should:

1. study the possibility of taking collective charge of management of the trapping grounds, and then placing responsibility for the traplines on individuals. Some of the traplines might be kept for community use
2. establish a stricter method for managing the trapping grounds (inventory, allotment of lines, quota evaluation, development program)
3. improve trapping methods and equipment
4. maintain a regular group of hunter-trappers to make sure that the grounds are adequately exploited. In this connection, it might be appropriate to consider setting up a program to provide income security for these hunter-trappers



5. ensure that these activities are carried on by setting up a program to train young people who have left school and are for the most part unemployed. It might be worthwhile to investigate the possibility of including training periods on the trapping grounds even for young people still attending school.

As for fishing, complete information on the mercury problems in the Upper St. Maurice Valley region (contaminated fish, recommended consumption, and so forth) should be provided to the Indians.

### 13 INCOME, COMMERCE AND ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

#### 13.1 The situation

##### 13.1.1 Income

Total revenue from employment and transfer payments came to close to four million dollars for the three bands of the St. Maurice Valley in 1977, as table 13.1 shows.

Income broken down according to source

On all three reserves, transfer payments made up more than 50 per cent of the total income, although wages came first as source of income. Of the transfer payments, family allowances constituted the main source of income on all three reserves. Despite these similarities, we can detect a number of noteworthy differences between the reserves by examining the percentage distribution of income according to source (table 13.2).

- It was at Weymontachie that the percentage of income from wages was highest. Since a larger proportion of people at Weymontachie worked during 1977, it is not surprising that for some months, more people received income from employment and consequently from unemployment insurance. It is therefore logical that of the three reserves, Weymontachie should have received proportionally the most income from unemployment insurance and the least from social assistance.
- At Obedjiwan, wages accounted for a smaller proportion of income; at the same time, it was the reserve with the highest level of social assistance.
- At Manouane, proceeds from the sale of handicrafts in 1977 accounted for a significant share of the people's income, while income from this source was negligible on the two other reservations. This situation was no doubt due to the fact that the Amisk Artisans association was tremendously successful in 1977, when it received many orders. It seems that the situation in this respect may vary greatly from one year to the next (see chapter 10). On the other hand, it is possible that income from handicrafts on the other reserves has been underestimated, since there are no data on this subject.

TABLE 13.1

INCOME BROKEN DOWN ACCORDING TO SOURCE 1977

	<u>Manouane</u>	<u>Obedjiwan</u>	<u>Weymontachie</u>
<u>INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT</u>			
1. Wages	451,203	561,834	365,839
2. Sale of furs	24,509	51,793	35,093
3. Handicrafts	<u>110,000</u>	<u>6,000</u>	<u>2,600</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	585,712	619,627	403,532
<u>TRANSFER INCOME</u>			
4. Family allowances	340,318	375,189	202,373
5. Old-age pensions	51,636	68,676	58,044
6. Social assistance	200,579	311,578	126,810
7. Unemployment insurance	<u>160,000</u>	<u>192,000</u>	<u>144,000</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	752,533	947,443	531,227
<u>TOTAL:</u>	1,338,245	1,566,070	934,759

- Source:
1. Source and details in table 13.3
  2. DITFG, Wildlife Service, Furs Division, 1976-1977.
  3. Manouane: based on registered sales of \$82,000 from January to the end of September 1977; Obedjiwan and Weymontachie: estimated average of \$200 in sales per artisan.
  4. Calculated on the basic amounts allocated according to the number and age of children.
  5. Calculated on the basic amounts allocated.
  6. Employment and social development, INAC.
  7. Estimate calculated as follows:

	<u>Manouane</u>	<u>Obedjiwan</u>	<u>Weymontachie</u>
. Average labour force '77	200	240	120
. Eligibility %	40%	40%	60%
. Number of recipients	80	96	72
. Average amount received per recipient	\$100/2k x 20 wks = \$2,000.00		

TABLE 13.2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME ACCORDING TO SOURCE, 1977

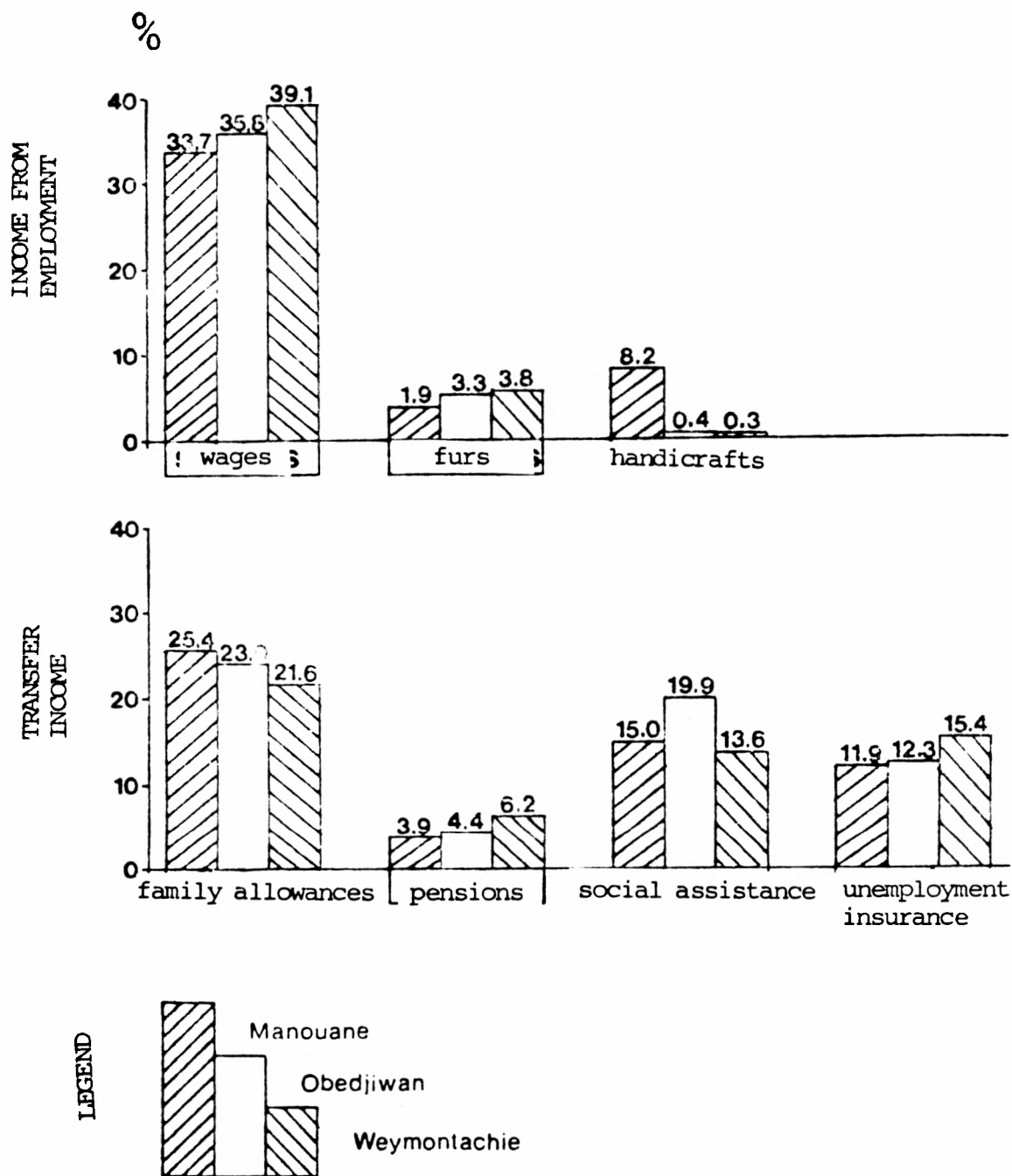
	<u>Manouane</u>	<u>Obedjiwan</u>	<u>Weymontachie</u>
<u>INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT</u>			
1. Wages	33.7	35.8	39.1
2. Sale of furs	1.9	3.3	3.8
3. Handicrafts	<u>8.2</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>0.3</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	43.8	39.5	43.2
<u>TRANSFER INCOME</u>			
4. Family allowances	25.4	23.9	21.6
5. Old-age pensions	3.9	4.4	6.2
6. Social assistance	15.0	19.9	13.6
7. Unemployment insurance	<u>11.9</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>15.4</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	56.2	60.5	56.8
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: 1. Table 13.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME ACCORDING TO SOURCE

ATTIKAMEK BANDS

1977



- Finally, the age structure of the reserves is reflected in the amounts of family allowances and old-age pensions. Since Weymontachie has the smallest proportion of young people, it is the reserve with the least income from family allowances and the most from old-age pensions. In contrast, Manouane, which has the youngest population, derives one-quarter of its income from family allowances.

In this connection, we must stress the unusual importance that the family allowances have assumed on these reserves since the governments' change of policy in this regard a few years ago (general increase in rates, particularly for families with three or more children). This new injection of money compensated for income lost in the forest industry during the same period (see chapter 9).

A change in the policy of the Departments of Social Affairs and Health and Welfare Canada respecting family allowances might therefore have considerable effect on the income of the Indians of the St. Maurice Valley.

- Income from the sale of furs makes up only a small part of total income, especially at Manouane.
- Fishing, hunting and trapping provide fish and meat which have a monetary equivalence difficult to calculate because there are no data on the take, with the exception of fur-bearing animals.

Figures obtained among the Crees make it possible nevertheless to estimate the amount equivalent to income derived from gathering activities. It is estimated in 1975-76, the Crees harvested meat and fish valued at \$3,632,713 or \$548 per capita. However, the Crees fish, hunt and trap much more intensively than the Attikamek people. For example, 40 per cent of the heads of families and singles 18 years of age and older were registered in the income security program for Cree fishermen, hunters and trappers in 1976-77 and 94.4 per cent of them spent more than 120 days a year pursuing these activities. Among the Attikameks, the labour force survey shows that not nearly so large a proportion participates in these activities.

According to the Department of Tourism, Fish and Game (DTFG), the Crees harvested fur worth \$724,204 (or \$109.31 per capita) in 1976-77 while the value of the Attikameks' fur harvest was only \$111,395 for the same year (or \$42.89 per capita). In per-capita terms, the Attikameks' fur harvest represented only 39.2 per cent of the Crees' harvest.



TABLE 13.3

GROSS INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT BY SOURCE AND BAND 1977

<u>Source</u>	<u>Manouane</u>	<u>Obedjiwan</u>	<u>Weymontachie</u>
A. Forest industry			
Cutting wood	\$ 66,494.79	\$151,090.01	\$ 72,626.24
Log drive	-	-	6,160.31
Sawing wood	-	54,914.21	-
Forest protection	-	-	14,119.35
B. Band Council			
General administration	49,493.00	51,433.40	64,548.53
Education	117,430.00	118,169.50	69,913.40
Summer jobs (students)	15,843.00	10,279.12	15,267.58
Special employment programs	64,502.18	62,053.05	79,394.94
C. Indian Affairs			
Education	47,281.66	38,047.80	23,046.92
Others	2,587.00	2,040.00	3,250.00
D. Retail business	24,978.37	35,285.48	-
E. National health	56,829.00	16,227.00	17,512.00
F. Others	5,764.00	22,294.25	-
TOTAL:	\$451,203.00	\$561,833.82	\$365,839.27

Source: Jules Garneau, DIAND, Pointe-Bleue District

Applying the same proportion to the Crees' harvest of meat and fish indicates that the dollar equivalent of the Attikameks' harvest of these items would be \$215 per person.

Income per resident, income per household

In order to obtain a clearer image of the income situation on the St. Maurice Valley reserves and in order to compare this income with the Quebec average, we have calculated in table 13.4 the average income per resident on each reserve.

This table shows that Weymontachie is the reserve with the highest average annual income or \$1,902 per person, while Manouane has the lowest (\$1,517) and Obedjiwan is located in the middle (\$1,739).

If we consider the source of income, the breakdown remains basically the same, with Weymontachie having the highest income, followed by Obedjiwan and Manouane, with the following exceptions:

1. income from handicrafts, where Manouane far outstrips the other reserves
2. social assistance, where Obedjiwan records the largest amount
3. amounts received in family allowances are practically the same on the three reserves.

This income can be considered disposable personal income since it is tax free. In Quebec, per-capita disposable personal income came to \$5,310 in 1977 or three times the average income at Manouane and Obedjiwan, and more than twice that at Weymontachie.

The low per-capita incomes on the St. Maurice Valley reserves can be explained largely by the fact that these communities comprise a high proportion of children who only participate in economic life as consumers.

To reduce these distortions due to the large number of children in Indian families, we may calculate the average income per household (see table 13.5). In Quebec, the average disposable income per household comes to around \$17,500 (since there were 1,894,115 households in Quebec at the time of the 1976 census and disposable personal income came to 33 billion dollars in 1977). This narrows the gap between the income of the Attikameks and that of other Quebecers.

TABLE 13.4

AVERAGE INCOME PER RESIDENT BY SOURCE

	<u>Manouane</u>	<u>Obedjiwan</u>	<u>Weymontachie</u>
<u>INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT</u>			
1. Wages	469	535	626
2. Sale of furs	25	49	60
3. Handicrafts	<u>114</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	608	590	691
<u>TRANSFER INCOME</u>			
4. Family allowances	353	357	347
5. Old-age pensions	54	65	99
6. Social assistance	208	297	217
7. Unemployment insurance	<u>166</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>247</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	781	902	910
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>1,389</u>	<u>1,492</u>	<u>1,601</u>
(1) Dollar equivalent of harvest of meat and fish	128	247	301
<u>TOTAL INCOME:</u>	<u>1,517</u>	<u>1,739</u>	<u>1,902</u>
Population on 31/12/77	963	1,050	584

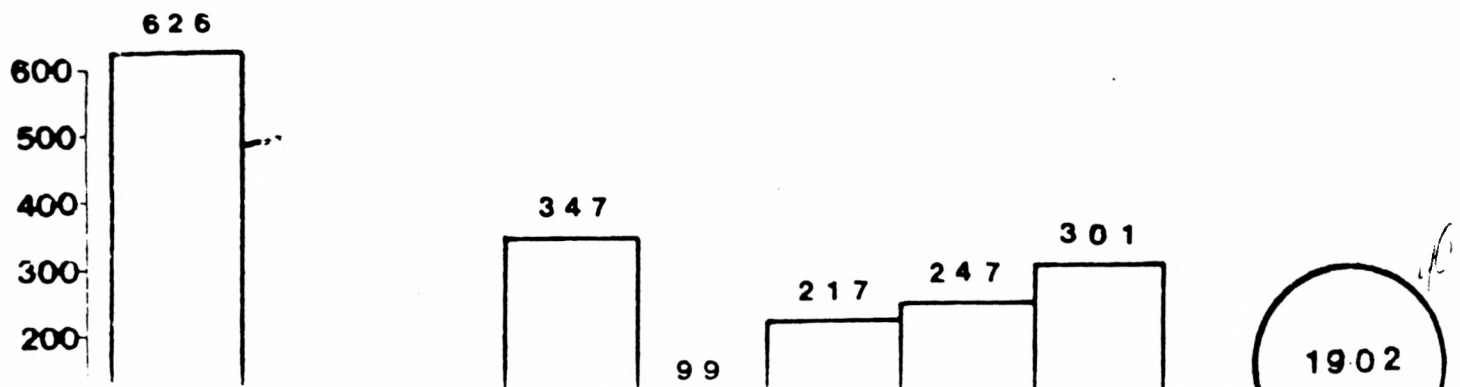
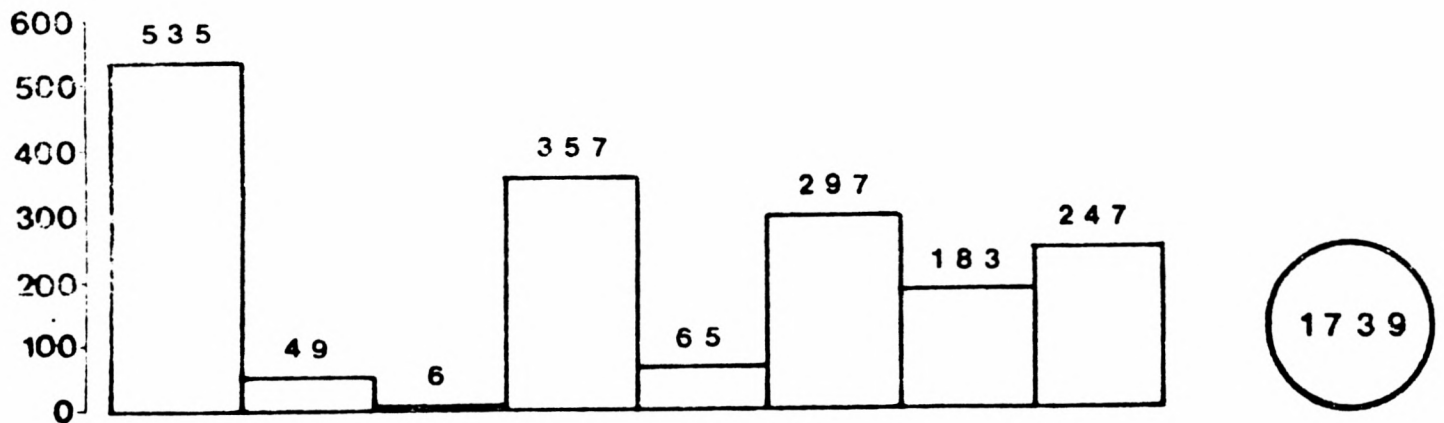
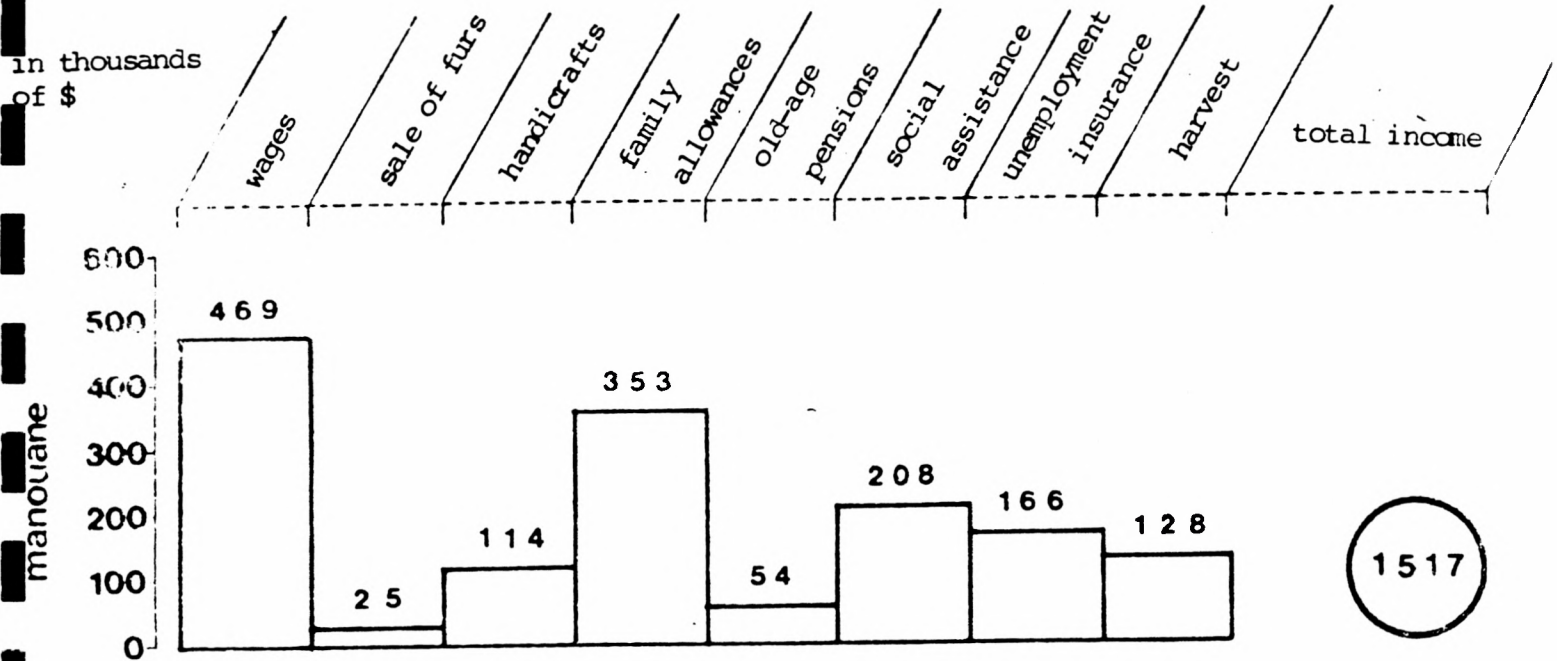
Source: Table 13.1

- 
- (1) These amounts were calculated by using for each band the method used above to establish this equivalence for all three reserves.

AVERAGE INCOME PER RESIDENT BY SOURCE

ATTIKAMEK BANDS

1977



In the same way, the gap between the reserves is narrowed because Manouane and Obedjiwan have more households comprising two or three families. Consequently, there are more "breadwinners" in the same household at Manouane and Obedjiwan than at Weymontachie.

In conclusion, it is true that the income of the St. Maurice Valley Indians is below the Quebec average and that transfer payments as a whole account for more than half of the total income.

However, wages still constitute the main source of income, while social assistance ranks no higher than third or fourth. Finally, the disposable money supply, which until now has not really circulated within the reserve, offers definite potential for development.

#### 13.1.2 Businesses

There are no major, locally controlled businesses on any of the St. Maurice Valley reserves, with the exception of the Artisans Amisk association of Manouane, which produces and markets handicrafts and which had a turnover of over \$100,000 in 1977.

Although approximately \$4 million enters the St. Maurice Valley reserves each year, this money hardly circulates there at all, because few Indians are involved in business or industry. It is used to purchase consumer goods; it is not reinvested and does not help create jobs on the reserve (such as clerk or salesman in local businesses).

##### Commercial enterprises

On the commercial level, the three reserves are controlled to a very large extent by the outside.

At Manouane, the Hudson's Bay Company sells food, general merchandise, gas and heating oil. However, The Bay has strong competition in the grocers of St. Michel-des-Saints, who even deliver to the reserve, and other merchants in Joliette and St. Michel.

There is only one restaurant-grocery store owned by a member of the band; however, this grocery store is patronized mostly for emergency shopping and has not succeeded in attracting a large share of the food market. Finally, there is a small gas station managed by an Indian.

TABLE 13.5

AVERAGE INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE - ATTIKAMEK BANDS 1977

	<u>Manouane</u>	<u>Obedjiwan</u>	<u>Weymontachie</u>
<u>INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT (in \$)</u>			
1. Wages	4,257	4,761	5,153
2. Sale of furs	231	439	494
3. Handicrafts	<u>1,038</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>37</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	5,526	5,251	5,684
<u>TRANSFER INCOME</u>			
4. Family allowances	3,211	3,180	2,850
5. Old-age pensions	487	582	818
6. Social assistance	1,892	2,640	1,786
7. Unemployment insurance	<u>1,509</u>	<u>1,627</u>	<u>2,028</u>
<u>Sub-total:</u>	7,099	8,029	7,482
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>12,625</u>	<u>13,280</u>	<u>13,166</u>
(1) Dollar equivalent of harvest of meat and fish	1,100	1,976	2,318
<u>TOTAL INCOME:</u>	<u>13,725</u>	<u>15,256</u>	<u>15,484</u>
Number of households	106	118	71
DISPOSABLE INCOME OF QUEBECERS AS A GROUP			
	\$17,500.		

Source: Table 13.1

- 
- (1) These amounts were calculated by using for each band the method described above to establish this equivalence for all three reserves.

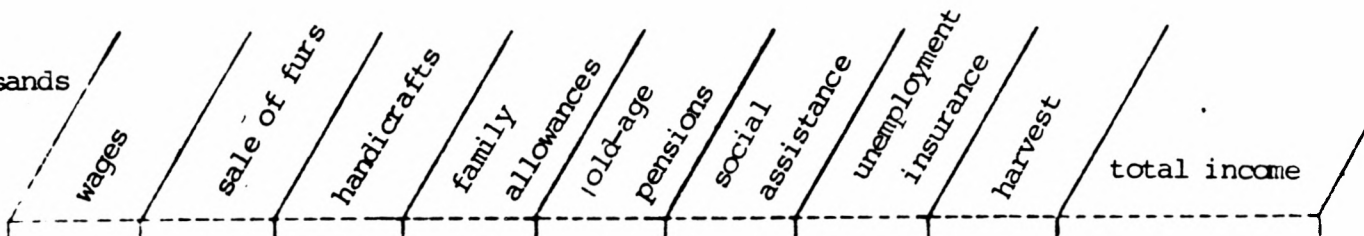


AVERAGE INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE

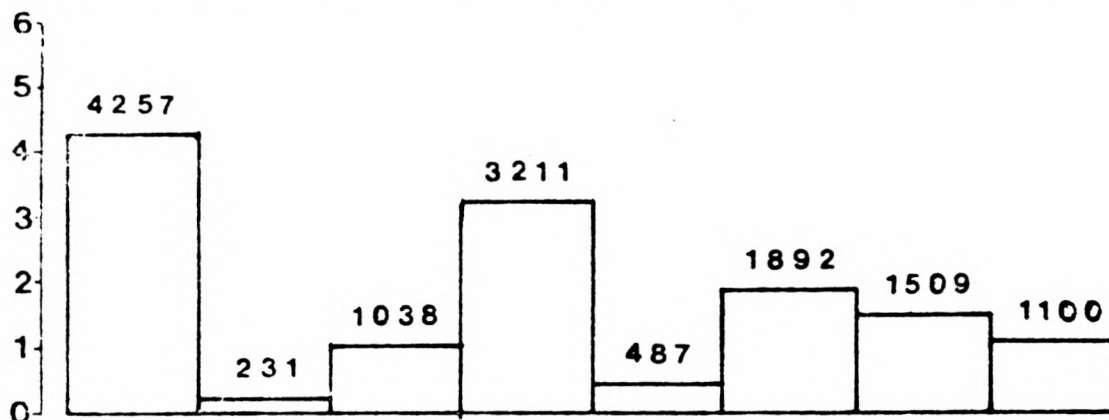
ATTIKAMEK BANDS

1977

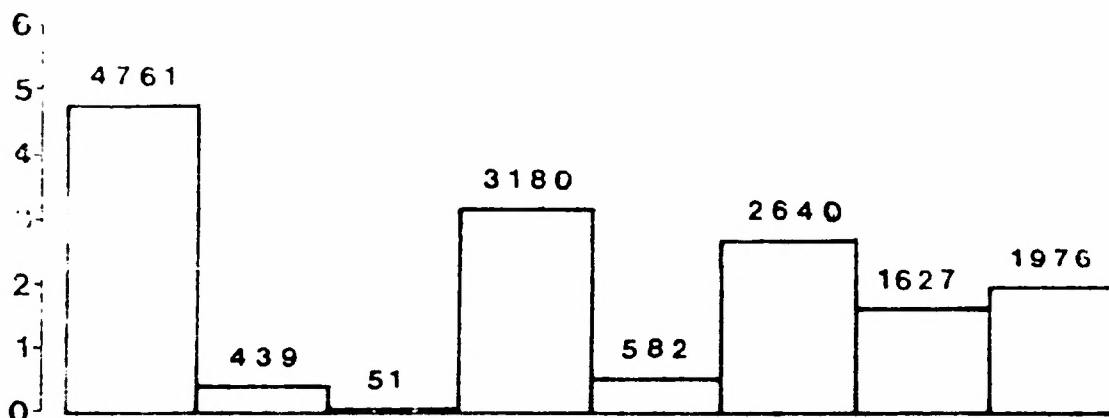
in thousands  
of \$



MANOUANE



OBEJUWAN



MEYNONPACHIE

At Obedjiwan, the Hudson's Bay Co. plays roughly the same role as at Manouane. This time, The Bay's competition does not come from merchants in outside centres because they are too far away, but from a grocery store which was opened in the autumn of 1977 by a Pointe-Bleue Indian. This business, which seems to have been profitable so far, also sells gas. However, general merchandise and heating oil can be obtained only at The Bay.

At Weymontachie, it is the Sanmaur merchants who control the market for both food and general merchandise. One grocery store owned by an Indian, which had operated on the reserve from 1972 on, was forced to close in the spring of 1978 because of financial problems. The people have long taken advantage of their relatively frequent trips to La Tuque, however, to buy merchandise that is not available in Sanmaur. In 1978, the band council bought some of the ESSO equipment when that company closed its distribution centre in Sanmaur. Through this action, the band council took over the distribution of gas and heating oil in Weymontachie.

Finally, on each of the reserves, there are small unofficial convenience stores with limited inventories, which operate out of homes, mainly after the other stores or groceries close, and which are self-financed.

#### Other types of business

Other business is practically non-existent, and ventures in fields other than commerce have been carried out mainly by the band councils. At Obedjiwan as at Weymontachie, the band councils have occasionally acted as lumbering contractors in obtaining cutting contracts from CIP. At Manouane, the council is involved in setting up a canoe-camping project. These projects are generally limited in scope and until now have been rather temporary.

#### 13.1.3 Past attempts and reasons for failure

If the situation is such today, particularly in the area of commerce, it is not for lack of trying to set up businesses on the reservation, either co-operatively (Manouane) or privately (Obedjiwan and Weymontachie). The main reasons for failure were identified as:

##### 1. The population's credit practices

These practices seem to be deep-rooted in the population, no doubt as a result of decades of trading furs with the Hudson's Bay Company when the Company advanced food and

ammunition for the trapping period and reimbursed itself when the Indians brought in their furs in the spring. Money has now replaced furs in most cases, but the practice of consuming before paying still persists, with the result that some individuals routinely have grocery accounts of several hundred dollars.

In another connection, while outside merchants can control credit, the same is not true for a band member who is tied by friendship or family to his customers.

Finally, a merchant who is already well established and has greater purchasing power and a fairly steady flow of money can support a certain margin of credit, while a merchant with limited clientele and inventory will have difficulty maintaining the same level of credit.

2. The practice of obtaining goods other than food products off the reserve as a matter of taste rather than obligation

The people of Manouane and Weymontachie, for whom the cost of transportation to Joliette and La Tuque respectively is not prohibitive, seem to like to make shopping trips. In these centres, they are offered a larger range of products, various choices in each type of product, and often better prices - all advantages that a merchant on the reserve cannot provide.

3. Lack of experience and basic management training

The few individuals who have attempted to set up businesses did not have the necessary training to manage them. The sometimes sizable investments exceeded the budding entrepreneurs' first expectations, with the result that the people who lent them the money took over management of the businesses and the owners felt, as one of them said, as though they were "employees in their own business."

13.1.4 Sale of alcohol

The sale of beer and alcohol constitutes a problem on each of the reserves because a large share of individual budgets seems to be diverted toward a few merchants. Particularly at Manouane, beer routinely sells on the black market for very high prices. However, having an official sales outlet on the reservation itself, as it the case at Weymontachie, does not seem to make it easier to control either the consumption of alcohol or the market to which it gives rise.

This is more a social than a purely economic problem. It is a problem considered major by the band councils as well as individuals, but which neither has ever seriously tackled.

#### 13.1.5 Attitudes on the reserves

As we mentioned earlier, the people do not feel greatly inconvenienced by having to leave the reserve to buy various goods. It is clear that they feel that having grocery and general stores on the reserve is not something that is essential for their wellbeing. However, the people have none the less expressed the desire to see the situation improved. What they want most are convenience stores, small grocery stores which would be open in the evenings and on weekends. At Obedjiwan, where it is more difficult to go shopping outside the community, several have expressed the need for a hardware or general store; at Obedjiwan again, complaints were made about the quality of the meat sold in the two local grocery stores. At Manouane a need was also expressed for a garage or machine shop. However, given the relative indifference of the people in connection with the development of enterprises and businesses on the reserve, the band councils do not feel pressured to act, which explains why they have no development strategies.

#### 13.2 Possible solutions

As things stand now, there is no short-term solution, given:

- the people's lack of interest
- the lack of local entrepreneurship
- the credit practices
- the attraction for the people of urban centres offering goods and services.

However, in order to recover some of the money that comes into the reserve for the benefit of the Indians, and in order to create jobs for the local labour force, it is essential that the band councils adopt a business development strategy on their reserves, by promoting enterprises of either the community type (co-operatives or enterprises managed by the band council) or the individual type.

To achieve this, it would be necessary to:

1. Consolidate and improve existing services.

For example, the Obedjiwan council might study the meat supply question with the local merchants to find a way of shipping meat to the reserve and storing it there. The council might perhaps also study the possibility of organizing a service to obtain and distribute game.

2. Seek ways to end or limit the credit practices.

3. Proceed in stages, first establishing businesses that will be limited in scope but which meet the needs most frequently expressed by the people: convenience stores on each reserve, hardware store at Obedjiwan, small garage or shop at Manouane.

4. Promote the establishment of commercial or other enterprises which do not require substantial investment and which can be mainly self-financed.

5. Through these small enterprises established with limited borrowing, promote the acquisition of basic management experience: on-the-job training might be complemented by adult training courses in accounting and management.

6. Since at present there is no way of channeling the income so that it can be used for development purposes, study the possibility of getting up a caisse populaire on each of the St. Maurice Valley reserves. On the reserves where they have been established, the caisses populaires have played an important role in stimulating saving and investment by their members.



## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### TERRITORY

The main restrictions on development of the territory lie in the Indians' difficulty in identifying with the regional territory and in the incompatible use of the trapping grounds by various interests (lumbering, recreation, conservation, hunting, fishing and so forth).

#### Possible solutions

- Submission of a regional development plan by Quebec in order to direct regional development
- Participation by the native people in drawing up such a plan
- Increased contact between the native people and the various provincial departments and regional bodies involved in developing the territory.

### TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

The road system leading to the reserves is privately owned and is maintained by the lumber companies according to their operational needs. Consequently, some sections of the roads receive little or no maintenance. The cost of air transportation remains prohibitive for most Indians. Public transportation can be used to reach Manouane (bus) and Weymontachie (train), but there is no public transportation available to Obedjiwan, and the Canadian National station is located some miles from Weymontachie.

#### Recommendations

- Reach an agreement with the government of Quebec and the lumber companies for maintenance of the roads
- Link Weymontachie to the provincial road system
- Move the station from Sanmaur to Weymontachie
- Establish a bus transportation system between Obedjiwan and Roberval (or St. Félicien), with trips twice a week
- Set up a garage on the reserve where gas could be sold and maintenance work and routine repairs done on vehicles.

### HOUSING AND PUBLIC SERVICES

Because of the present poor condition of housing at Manouane and Obedjiwan, the inadequacy of the housing stock and the extent of future needs on each of the three reserves, improvement of housing has become the first priority. In addition, the water, sewer and electrical systems frequently break down; the chlorinators only work off and on; there is no garbage collection system at Obedjiwan; only Weymontachie has minimal fire protection for the Indian homes and on none of the reserves are public buildings adequately protected.



### Recommendations

- That the band councils, with INAC's support, set up an integrated home construction and repair program in keeping with the needs identified in the study
- That local materials be used insofar as possible
- That the building plans and techniques chosen allow for maximum use of local manpower
- That various methods of financing the building and repairs be considered
- That sessions to provide information and encourage involvement be held with the people
- that basic courses on how to maintain and do routine repair work on a house be given
- That the water, sewer and electrical systems be extended to the Indian homes that are not already serviced
- That the capacity of the water systems be increased at Manouane and Weymontachie with a view to fire protection
- That the systems be maintained and the water chlorinated regularly; that this task be assigned to a member of the band to be responsible to the council and that this person receive adequate theoretical and practical training
- That a garbage collection system be set up as soon as possible at Obedjiwan
- That an advertising campaign be launched to make the people aware of the quality of the environment
- That the environmental protection standards with respect to dumps be met
- That the physical development proposals for a road system on the reserve be approved and implemented
- That the police services provided on the reserves be made the subject of a complete investigation by the Indian policy in co-operation with the band councils and in consultation with the people
- That the reservations be equipped with fire hydrants and fire engines
- That all the school buildings undergo the modifications necessary to meet the recommendations of the Dominion Fire Commissioner.

### EDUCATION

As a result of the high fertility rate among the Attikamek bands, the school population has grown very rapidly. This growth should cease at the elementary level but continue at the secondary level. The main problem lies in failures which cause the students to leave school early. The causes of these failures at the elementary level are lack of discipline, lack of motivation (which becomes evident in the frequent absences), parents' lack of interest and the fact that the curriculum is poorly adapted. At the secondary level, the main cause of problems is the lack of knowledge of French.

#### Recommendations

- That specific aspects of the physical, economic and social environment be taken into consideration in drawing up the educational programs and procuring equipment and supplies
- That French be taught early and intensively
- That the work undertaken by the teachers and school boards with the parents be continued
- That the recommendations formulated by various sources on the operation of the school (homework, tutoring, extra-curricular activities) be implemented.

#### HEALTH

The population's health problems are quite acute, although they have not been fully evaluated. In this connection, Health and Welfare Canada has set up a program for training community health representatives whose role is to provide information and create awareness. One of these resource persons is stationed at Weymontachie.

#### Recommendations

- That the Manouane and Obedjiwan reservations be included as soon as possible in the program for training community health representatives
- That the "Mother and Child Centre" experiment be extended to Obedjiwan and Weymontachie
- That the band councils be made aware of the need to meet the minimum standards for conserving the quality of the environment, and that the Department ensure that they are provided with the necessary resources to do so.

#### LEISURE

The Indians are limited to the "recreational" side of leisure; they take part in leisure activities which offer a temporary escape from the daily reality and which in consequence have little formative effect.

#### Recommendation

- That the development of leisure activities entailing passive participation be dropped in favour of development of a program of activities that will help people grow and gain a personal sense of worth and strengthen cultural identity.

## MANPOWER AND EMPLOYMENT

The male labour force will more than double between 1975 and 1990 on each of the reserves and the female labour force might well triple. Close to 60 per cent of the active population has a good knowledge of French. However, the labour force's level of education remains relatively low and the lack of skilled or semi-skilled workers constitutes an obstacle to the development of the St. Maurice Valley reserves.

The main area of economic activity on each of the three reserves is the forest industry, while construction ranks second. Unemployment has become a major economic and social problem; it is high throughout the year but is subject to wide seasonal variations, with the peak being reached during the winter months. Unemployment particularly affects young people under 25 years of age.

At Manouane and Obedjiwan, the band council has become the main employer of the labour force. Except at Weymontachie, most of the labour force would like to alternate paid employment with the traditional activities. The male labour force wishes to continue working in construction and the forest industry, but some would like to occupy more skilled positions. Most of the labour force wants to work on the reserve but would be prepared to work elsewhere if it were possible to continue living on the reserve. The only ones who would be willing to leave the reserve are men younger than 35.

The most acute problem is related to the entrance onto the job market of a large number of young people, still with limited education and little or no skilled training, who year by year will swell the ranks of the unemployed and the social assistance recipients. In addition, a good number of these young people do not seem to have any specific aspirations for their future.

Most of the housewives want a paid occupation, if not a full-time job. As for the students, their training is mainly directed toward trades; most of these young people want to settle on the reserve once they have completed their studies.

### Recommendations

- That employment programs be set up to meet the Indians aspirations and lower the unemployment rate
- That a few areas of employment be developed so that various seasonal activities can be alternated to provide year-round yet fragmented employment
- That the sectors of the forest industry, construction and traditional activities be promoted by concentrating efforts on projects having a ripple effect and employing more labour

- That the hiring of labour for local projects not divert those already working from their present or customary work
- That the training and employment programs be aimed primarily at the young people so that home construction is not considered strictly an economic project but a social development project:
  - by favouring the employment of young people arriving on the job market
  - by giving these young people training and experience as lumberjacks, machine operators and so on, if local building materials are used
  - by giving another group of young people training and experience in construction itself
  - by stimulating the independence of a people by allowing them to carry out from beginning to end a project vital to the community, using their own resources and means
- That development programs that take into account differences in both potential and aspirations of the labour force be adopted on each reserve
- That housewives who wish to enter the job market form groups in order to study the possibility of developing the areas of employment in which they have expressed the most interest and that the band councils lend their support to these groups.

#### THE FOREST INDUSTRY

The pulp and paper industry in Quebec is going through a difficult period and this has had an unsettling effect on the demand for labour in this sector. The forest industry is becoming increasingly mechanized; unionization of the workers and work stability premiums have greatly decreased the turnover of labour. Finally, the recruitment policies of the large companies favour owner-operators of forest equipment.

The importance of forest work as a source of income for the native people has decreased considerably during the last five years. In addition, it has become almost impossible for those who do not have seniority to find work with the large companies. The Indians thus see the door to interesting and well paid work gradually closing, and there is nothing left for them but to turn to smaller operators.

The Indians still seem to be attracted to forest work, but they want more skilled employment than as lumberjacks and prefer to be paid by the hour rather than at a flat rate.

#### Recommendations

- That the efforts initiated during the last few years to reinstate forest workers who are still interested in the forest industry be pursued.



## HANDICRAFTS

At Obedjiwan and Weymontachie, handicrafts are produced on an individual basis and there is no official marketing agency involved in selling the finished products. The work is diversified and original; however, production is limited and the income derived from it remains low.

At Manouane, the artisans are organized into an association which handles production and marketing of handicrafts on a large scale; production is high and standardized. Handicrafts now constitute an important source of income which is, however, subject to fluctuations in demand. On all the reserves, the artisans are elderly and the young people are not acquainted with or have not mastered the traditional handicrafts techniques.

### Recommendations

- That the content and organization of handicrafts courses be rethought with a view to the training of young artisans
- That local and regional markets be developed before tackling the national market, which can be unstable.

## TOURISM

The conventional tourist routes touch only the Lower St. Maurice Valley, although there is demand (especially by naturalists and hunters and fishermen) for improved accessibility to the territory of the Upper St. Maurice Valley. In terms of fishing, hunting and trapping, the Upper St. Maurice Valley offers real tourist potential; the Manouane region is well suited to canoe-camping and might eventually compete with the provincial and federal parks offering this activity.

### Recommendations

- That the band councils study the various possibilities for developing tourism, including:
  - . consulting with government authorities
  - . launching a tourist development program based on outdoor activities, traditional activities and handicrafts
  - . operating an outfitting service with or without exclusive territory
  - . operating a Controlled Development Zone (CDZ)
  - . using the economic development and job creation programs to help promote tourism in the Upper St. Maurice Valley
  - . proposing to the provincial government a method for managing the trapping grounds including developing tourism
  - . continuing to develop tourism at Manouane in keeping with the demand identified and the aspirations of the Quebec tourist.

### TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Indians of the Upper St. Maurice Valley are gradually abandoning regular exploitation of the territory in favour of occasional forays to make extra money. It is urgent that the Indians take up the traditional activities once more, that they take positive steps to ensure control and development of their trapping grounds and that they make sure that hunting and trapping continue by training the youth.

### Recommendations

- That Indian communities study the possibility of taking collective charge of management of the trapping grounds
- That a stricter method of managing the trapping grounds be established
- That the trapping methods and equipment be improved
- That a regular group of hunter-trappers be maintained in order to ensure that the grounds are exploited adequately
- That continuity be ensured by setting up a training program for young people who have left school and are for the most part unemployed
- That the Indians be provided with complete information on the problems of mercury-contaminated fish in the Upper St. Maurice Valley region.

### INCOME, COMMERCE AND ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

The income of the Attikamek people comes to around four million dollars a year, more than half of which is derived from transfer payments. However, wages make up 35 per cent of this income while social assistance accounts for only around 16 per cent. This amount of disposable income constitutes an under-utilized development potential. Indeed, the money that comes into the St. Maurice Valley reserves each year hardly circulates there at all because few Indians are involved in business or industry. Various attempts to set up businesses on the reserve have failed because of the residents' credit practices, the entrepreneurs' lack of experience and basic management training and the attraction of urban centres offering goods and services.

### Recommendations

- That the band councils adopt a strategy for developing enterprises on their reservation
- That existing services be consolidated and improved
- That methods be sought to put an end to the credit practices
- That progress be made in stages by first establishing businesses that are limited in scope but meet the needs most frequently expressed by the people



- That the establishment of commercial or other enterprises which do not require large investments and can be self-financed to as great an extent as possible be promoted
- That the acquisition of management experience be promoted through these small businesses for which borrowing will be limited
- That the possibility of setting up one or more caisses populaires on the reserves be considered.

APPENDIX 1

Recommendations contained in the report "La Santé et les Services de Santé des Indiens du Québec"; Remis, Stewart and Gill, Indians of Quebec Association, 1975, in connection with the Manouane, Obedjiwan and Weymontachie reserves.

MANOUANE

- 11-29 1) That complete telephone service be installed as soon as possible.
- 11-31 2) That funds be provided for the establishment of a new dump and regular garbage collection service.
- 11-32 3) That a program to supply the community with full electrical service be undertaken as soon as possible.
- 4) That the resident nurses be involved in teaching home care and that they explain the criteria for use of the health services and that any action to limit excessive use of the health services be taken only after an intensive educational program.
- 5) That the services of an interpreter be provided at the Clinic and during home visits.
- 11-33 6) That there be visits by general practitioners at least three days a month.
- 11-34 7) That, in view of the close relationship between good prenatal care and the health of the child, particularly in connection with perinatal morbidity and mortality, the Mother and Child Centre seriously consider including this service in its regular program.
- 8) That the M&CC begin to give the immunizations and include them in the regular development surveillance program.
- 9) That where infant morbidity and mortality rates dictate, and after a detailed study focusing particularly on growth and development, this concept be implemented on the other reserves.
- 11-35 10) That the services of an interpreter be provided at Joliette.
- 11) That the Department investigate the situation in the Vermette home and take steps to ensure that it provides a normal environment for the Indians during their temporary stay in Joliette.
- 12) That the man days for dental care be increased to 70 per year.
- 11-36 13) That negotiations be started with a view to instituting regular visits to the reserve by the optometrist.

- 14) That a system of regular flights be arranged for Obedjiwan and Manouane in order to minimize patients' waiting in Joliette (for example, the return flight every Monday and the mail plane postponed until Friday).

WEYMONTACHIE

- 11-39 1) That all the necessary measures be taken to ensure proper chlorination of the water.
  - 2) That a community water system be constructed as soon as possible.
- 11-41 3) That a second resident nurse be assigned to the Weymontachie reserve.
- 11-42 4) That arrangements be made for doctors from La Tuque to visit twice a month.
  - 5) That more satisfactory arrangements be made to give women more freedom of movement during pregnancy.
- 11-43 6) That the dental services be expanded to provide 35 man days a year.
  - 7) That the prescriptions given by La Tuque doctors be filled by pharmacies in La Tuque according to the usual arrangements.
  - 8) That the policy as established in the letter from Dr. Gagnon, Zone Director, Medical Services Department, dated 20/02/75 (ref. 148/27-5-F13) requiring authorization for air and taxi transportation, be withdrawn.

OBEDJIWAN

- 11-47 1) That the telephone service between the dispensary and the radio be repaired as soon as possible so that routine and emergency calls can be made.
  - 2) That regular telephone service be installed as soon as possible in Obedjiwan.
- 11-48 3) That a new chlorinator be installed according to the recommendations of the AHM in July 1975.
  - 4) That the plans for installing individual septic tanks be suspended and that consideration be given to installing a community sewer system as recommended by the AHM, Pierre Rousseau, in the July 1975 report.

- 5) That the dump be relocated, that the garbage be buried in a sanitary landfill site and that the person responsible for this service fulfil his contract to collect the garbage regularly.
- 11-49 6) That electricity be installed in all the homes as soon as possible.
- 11-52 7) Manouane report - recommendation No. 13.
- 8) That feedback from the hospital in Joliette be ensured by the liaison worker in Joliette on a regular and frequent basis.
- 9) That after delivery in Joliette, the Mother and Child be allowed to stay together and, if necessary, appropriate accommodation be provided or both be allowed to stay in the hospital.
- 11-53 10) That dental services be increased to 75 man days a year.