

**ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY RELOCATION: THE NASKAPI  
OF NORTHEASTERN QUEBEC**

**A Thesis**

**Presented to**

**The Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**of**

**The University of Guelph**

**by**

**REINE OLIVER**

**In partial fulfillment of requirements**

**for the degree of**

**Master of Arts**

**August, 1998**

**© Reine Oliver, 1998**



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

0-612-35920-4

**Canada**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY RELOCATION: THE NASKAPI OF NORTHEASTERN QUEBEC**

**Reine Oliver**  
**University of Guelph, 1998**

**Advisor:**  
**Professor David B. Knight**

This thesis is an investigation of the long term impacts of voluntary or community-initiated aboriginal community relocations. The focus of the paper is the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, concentrating on the social, cultural, political, economic and health impacts the relocation has had on the community. Results are based on a literature review, participant observation, and 40 in-depth interviews with members of the Naskapi band. The field work was conducted over a three week period in November 1997 in the Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach, Quebec. The results indicate that the relocation has had a number of positive impacts which have led to significant improvements in the community. However, the relocation has not solved all of the community's problems and the negative impacts need to be acknowledged. The results of the study have been incorporated into a number of recommendations for use in future aboriginal community relocations.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are so many people I would like to thank for helping me finish this thesis (I am sorry if I leave anyone out). Special thanks to David Knight for his friendship and support, and for encouraging me to have confidence in my work. Thanks to Jackie Wolfe-Keddie for her insight and assistance when I needed it the most. Thank-you to everyone at Paul Wilkinson and Associates, I have never met a nicer or more helpful group of people (or a sweeter bunch of dogs). Special thanks to Paul and Jean who opened their office and their home to me, you are very special people. Thank-you to the Naskapi people for welcoming me to your community, I really enjoyed my time there and I hope to one day visit again. Final thanks go to Neil, Mom, Dad and Hali. Thank-you for your never-ending love, support, and encouragement these past two years, I do not think I could have done it without you. (Thank-you C.C. for just being you!)

## **FORWARD**

**“Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat.”**

**Theodore Roosevelt**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>I.0 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 Aboriginal Community Relocation</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 Problem Identification</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>1.3 Study Location</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>1.4 Research Purpose and Objectives</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>1.5 Research Methodology</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>1.6 Organization of the Thesis</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>2.0 BACKGROUND TO ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY RELOCATIONS</b> ....	<b>10</b>
<b>2.1 Aboriginal Issues</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>2.2 History of Aboriginal Community Relocations</b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>2.3 Types of Aboriginal Community Relocations</b> .....	<b>14</b>
<b>2.3.1 Developmental Relocation</b> .....	<b>15</b>
<b>2.3.2 Administrative Relocation</b> .....	<b>18</b>
<b>2.3.3 Voluntary or Community-Initiated Relocations</b> .....	<b>21</b>
<b>2.4 The Impacts of Community Relocation</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>2.4.1 The Relationship to the Land, Environment and Culture</b> ...	<b>24</b>
<b>2.4.2 Economic Effects</b> .....	<b>26</b>
<b>2.4.3 Health Effects</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<b>2.4.4 Social and Political Effects</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>2.5 The Future for Aboriginal Community Relocations</b> .....	<b>34</b>
<b>3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>41</b>
<b>3.1 Study Approaches</b> .....	<b>41</b>
<b>3.2 Techniques For Data Collection</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>3.2.1 Literature Review</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>3.2.2 Interviewing</b> .....	<b>45</b>
<b>3.2.3 Participant Observation</b> .....	<b>50</b>
<b>3.3 Data Analysis</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>4.0 PROFILE OF THE NASKAPI VILLAGE OF KAWAWACHIKAMACH AND THEIR COMMUNITY RELOCATIONS</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>4.1 Nomadic Caribou Hunters</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>4.2 The Fur Trade</b> .....	<b>56</b>
<b>4.3 Relocation To Schefferville</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>4.4 The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the         Northeastern Quebec Agreement</b> .....	<b>62</b>
<b>4.5 A Turning Point</b> .....	<b>63</b>
<b>4.6 The Relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach</b> .....	<b>64</b>

4.7 The Environment .....	66
4.8 The Community Today .....	69
4.8.1 The Population .....	69
4.8.2 Language .....	71
4.8.3 Education .....	72
4.8.4 Employment .....	73
4.8.5 Housing .....	75
4.8.6 Infrastructure And Services .....	76
4.8.7 Conclusion .....	77
<b>5.0 DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY RESPONSES .....</b>	<b>78</b>
5.1 Organizing and Summarizing the Data Responses .....	78
5.2 Identifying Relationships Emergent from the Data .....	79
5.3 Analyzing Relationships and Responses in the data set .....	81
5.3.1 Environment and Culture .....	83
5.3.2 Political Issues .....	92
5.3.3 Housing and Services .....	99
5.3.4 Economic Issues .....	106
5.3.5 Social and Health Issues .....	111
5.3.6 Education .....	123
5.4 Assessing the Implications of Community Responses .....	129
<b>6.0 CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	<b>136</b>
6.1 Summary of Research .....	136
6.2 Recommendations .....	140
6.2.1. Informed Consent .....	143
6.2.2. Participation in Planning .....	143
6.2.3. Economic Improvements .....	145
6.2.4. Formal Authority .....	146
6.2.5. Resources for Healing .....	147
6.2.6. Sufficient housing and services .....	148
6.2.7. Consideration for traditional needs and cultural preservation .....	149
6.2.8. Policies and promises must translate into practice .....	150
6.3 Areas for Further Research .....	151
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>APPENDIX A: Source Table .....</b>	<b>164</b>
<b>APPENDIX B: Letter to the community .....</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>APPENDIX C: Land Categories .....</b>	<b>169</b>
<b>APPENDIX D: Speech .....</b>	<b>170</b>

## **LIST OF TABLES**

<b>2.1 Attempted Suicide at Grassy Narrows Reserve, 1977-1978</b> .....	<b>30</b>
<b>2.2 Relocation Framework Derived from a Review of the Literature</b> .....	<b>37</b>
<b>4.1 List of Naskapi Relocations</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>4.2 Wildlife Found in Naskapi Territory</b> .....	<b>68</b>
<b>4.3 Climate for Naskapi Territory</b> .....	<b>69</b>
<b>5.1 Examples of Keywords and Phrases</b> .....	<b>79</b>

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

<b>1.1 Study Area: The Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>2.1 Incidence of Violent Death at Grassy Narrows Reserve, 1959-1978</b> .....	<b>31</b>
<b>3.1 Process for Organizing and Assessing Interview Data</b> .....	<b>54</b>
<b>4.1 Approximate Boundaries of the Territory Traditionally Used by the Naskapi</b> .	<b>57</b>
<b>4.2 Movements of the Naskapi between 1830 and 1984</b> .....	<b>60</b>
<b>4.3 The Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach</b> .....	<b>67</b>
<b>4.4 The Naskapi Population Distribution by Age</b> .....	<b>70</b>
<b>4.5 Level of Education of the Adult Population of Kawawachikamach, 1986</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>5.1 Results</b> .....	<b>82</b>
<b>5.2 Inter-linkages Among Results</b> .....	<b>135</b>



## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This thesis examines the voluntary Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach by drawing upon community members' own observations about the relocation and comparing the findings with those derived from the literature on aboriginal community relocation. This chapter introduces the reader to the topic of aboriginal community relocation; identifies the research problem; describes the research purpose and objectives; briefly describes the methodology; and concludes with an outline of the thesis.

#### **1.1 Aboriginal Community Relocation**

Aboriginal people in Canada and around the world are trying to achieve greater control over their lives and their land (see, e.g., Fleras and Elliott, 1992; Moody, ed., 1988). Since the arrival of the Europeans, aboriginal people have suffered with the loss of territory, political power, social structures, culture, and economic self-sufficiency. However, recently some aboriginal people have come together in Canada and around the world in an attempt to gain recognition of their inherent rights of self-determination and their rights to govern their lands and their resources (Knight, 1988:117). One of the ways that some aboriginal communities in Canada are trying to rebuild their communities is through voluntary or community-initiated relocation.

In Canada, aboriginal communities are characterized by their shared ancestry, young population, and often insufficient access to housing and services. However, one distinctive quality is their traditionally strong bond with place. The typical bond between

community and place for most people was described by Relph:

The relationship between community and place is indeed a very powerful one, in which each reinforces the other and in which the landscape is very much an expression of the communally held beliefs and values of interpersonal involvements (Relph, 1976:141).

Such a relation has special meaning for aboriginal peoples. Traditionally, such an intimate bond was illustrated in the reciprocal relationship between aboriginal communities and the land, where land was seen as central within the circle of life. The land was an intrinsic part of most communities, playing a role in politics, the economy, the culture and their spirituality. Aboriginal scholar George Manuel explains that:

...the land from which our culture springs is like the water and the air, one and indivisible. The land is our Mother Earth. The animals who grow on that land are our spiritual brothers. We are part of that creation that the Mother Earth brought forth (Manuel, 1974:6).

The removal of aboriginal communities from the land they traditionally inhabited can have devastating consequences due in part to the aforementioned bond between the people and the land. With forced or involuntary relocations there is a well-documented loss of community power due to social, cultural, economic and health problems. The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) states that:

Relocation can be seen as a part of a long and painful process of dispossession and alienation of Aboriginal societies from the land and from the cultural and spiritual roots it nurtures. Alienation leads to a sense of powerlessness, as expressed by the Innu of Davis Inlet and the Gwa' Sala. Separation from their environment - the place where Aboriginal people had always made their decisions - made this sense of powerlessness almost inevitable (RCAP, 1996: 494).

Recognizing that past forced relocations led to serious problems, some aboriginal communities are nevertheless initiating or participating in voluntary and community-initiated relocations. The communities have sought to avoid and/or repair the negative

impacts associated with the forced relocations and have instead tried to achieve positive results for their communities including greater self-determination, spiritual and physical healing, economic growth, and cultural revival. Some such voluntary relocations are moves to more traditional territories from locations where they may have been forcefully relocated in the past. This is illustrated today by the Innu of Davis Inlet.

The Mushuau Innu community experienced many negative impacts from their forced relocation to Davis Inlet in the 1950's. The suffering experienced by members of the community in Davis Inlet motivated the people to successfully negotiate for a relocation to a location they themselves chose. The Innu are hopeful that this time the relocation will result in positive changes for their community. In particular, the people hope that the move will help them renew their community and strengthen their cultural traditions (DIAND, 1997: 8). Former Minister of Indian Affairs Ron Irwin stated that “relocation will provide the Mushuau Innu with a renewed sense of control and purpose over their own destiny” ([www.inac.gc.ca](http://www.inac.gc.ca)). Former Chief of the Mushuau Innu Katie Rich explained that “the key to our healing is for us to take back power and responsibility for ourselves. The relocation is not an end in itself — it is a vital tool for our re-empowerment” ([www.inac.gc.ca](http://www.inac.gc.ca)).

## **1.2 Problem Identification**

These statements serve to illustrate the great hope associated with voluntary or community-initiated relocations. However, the question as to whether these results will be realized or whether previous problems that have plagued the communities will just be moved to a new location, must be answered. The answer to this question may be found

through a study of a community which initiated its own relocation almost twenty years ago. With the settlement of the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NEQA), a modern day treaty settlement with the Province of Quebec and the Government of Canada, in 1978, the Naskapi of Northeastern Quebec were given the option to relocate their community to one of four sites. For a community which had been relocated by the government many times before with little success, yet another relocation may not have appealed to all members of the community. However, this time the relocation was intended to be different from previous moves, as the proposed relocation was part of the NEQA.

The NEQA and the subsequent Cree-Naskapi Act included the settlement of land claims, increasing self-government, hunting and fishing rights, and a cash settlement intended to help the Naskapi prosper. The relocation offered to the community gave them the opportunity to have their own community separate from the reserve they then shared with the Montagnais, and to have new houses, businesses, their own school, and their own band office. So as to be able to move out of the town of Schefferville and establish themselves as a separate community, the community was given the opportunity to vote on whether they wanted to move, choose a site, and be involved in the planning and construction of the village. As with the now-ongoing relocation of the Innu of Davis Inlet, the Naskapi placed a lot of hopes on the relocation, as people saw it as a new beginning and a potential solution to many of the problems that plagued the community.

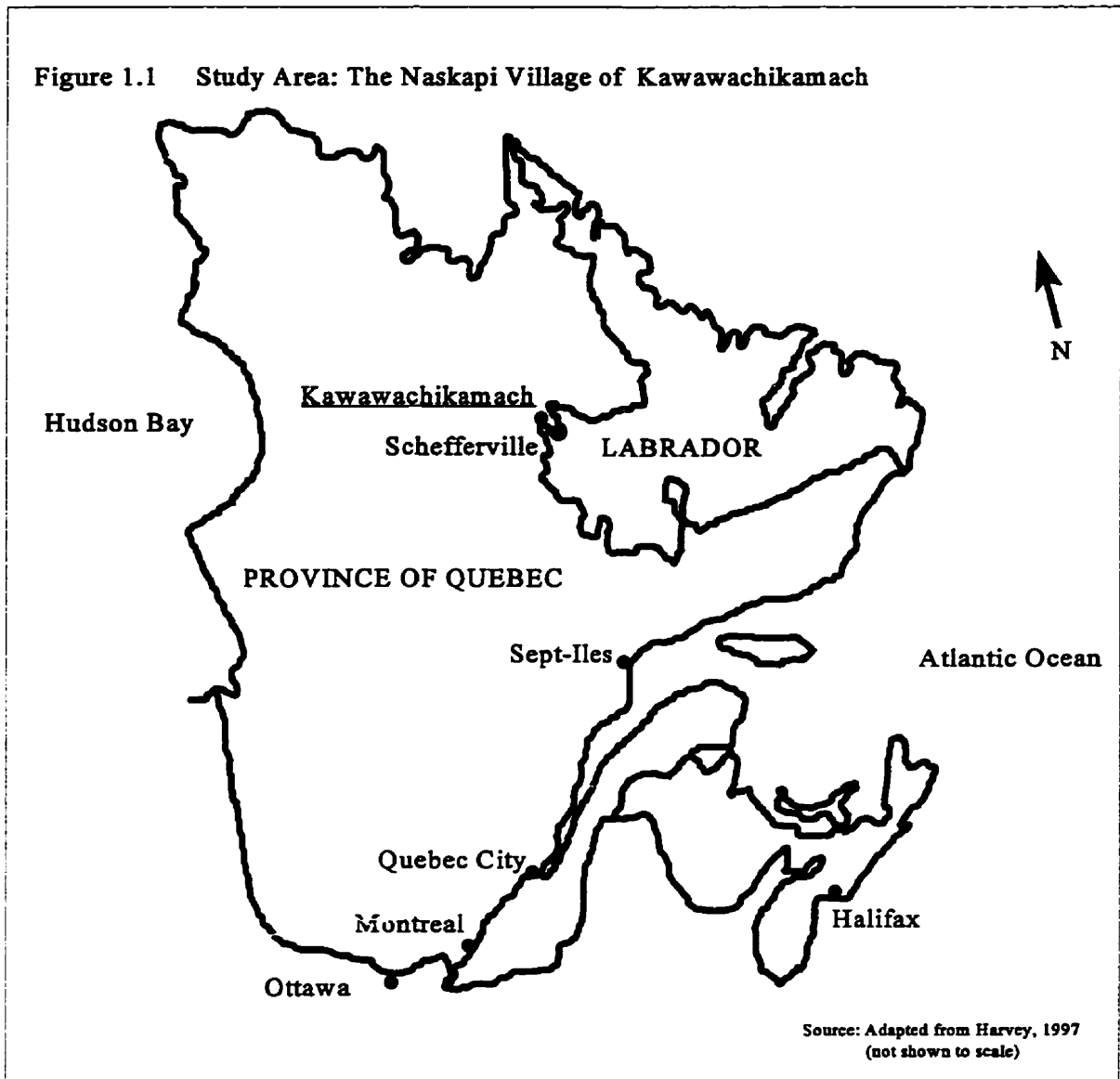
Now, almost twenty years after the relocation, a number of questions remain to be answered. What were the impacts of the Naskapi relocation from Matimekossh to Kawawachikamach? Has the relocation been a success or are there still problems that the community had hoped would be solved by the move? Have new problems been created

by the relocation (as has been the case with so many aboriginal community relocations across Canada)? The answers to these questions are important to the Naskapi, and they could also be valuable to other aboriginal communities who may be considering relocating in the future.

### **1.3 Study Location**

The Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach is located approximately twenty kilometers north of the town of Schefferville in northeastern Quebec and on the border with Labrador (Figure 1.1). Kawawachikamach is in the sub-arctic region of Quebec, just south of the tree-line at approximately 55 degrees N and 68 degrees W. The Naskapi's original territory is the vast arctic and subarctic regions of Quebec and Labrador. There is a road which connects Schefferville and Kawawachikamach. Schefferville is accessible by train from Sept-Iles, or by air from Sept-Iles, Labrador City and Wabush. The isolation and remoteness of Kawawachikamach, together with the high expenses of air travel does not permit frequent trips to and from the community. Accommodation and food in the area are also prohibitively expensive for extended visits. These factors limited the fieldwork portion of the research to only one trip for a three-week period in November of 1997. During the three-week stay, my place of residency was in the McGill Sub-Arctic Research Station in Schefferville. However, visits to the community were made daily. A day trip was also taken out on the land to a hunting and fishing camp at Iron Arm Lake in Labrador.

Figure 1.1 Study Area: The Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach



#### **1.4 Research Purpose and Objectives**

The purpose of the research was to obtain Naskapi community members' own observations about the impact of their community-initiated relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach and, drawing also from pertinent literature, to make recommendations which could be incorporated into the policy of future aboriginal relocations. The specific objectives of the research were as follows:

1. Identify potential impacts of aboriginal community relocations through a review of the literature on selected aboriginal community relocations from across Canada.
2. To determine the possible long-term impacts of the community initiated relocation, by studying the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach through in-depth interviews with community members and from a critical examination of relevant literature and documents.
3. To make recommendations, based on the results of this study, which could be incorporated into the policy framework for future aboriginal community relocations.

#### **1.5 Research Methodology**

The research methods in this study, including data collection and analysis, were developed from two research approaches: "researching from the margins" (Kirby and McKenna, 1989) and "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). These approaches, described in Chapter Three, were adapted to help ensure community involvement in the research process and to avoid the imposition of the researcher's preconceived notions into

the data collection and analysis.

To accomplish the purpose and objectives of the research, three main data sets were utilized. These included a literature on aboriginal community relocations and pertinent case studies from across Canada; documents and literature relating specifically to the Naskapi of Northeastern Quebec; and primary research data obtained from fieldwork in Kawawachikamach. Fieldwork was conducted in the Naskapi village of Kawawachikamach, Quebec for three weeks in November 1997, to collect primary data from the members of the community. Techniques for data collection in Kawawachikamach included participant observation and conducting open-ended, in-depth interviews. Forty people in the community were interviewed, however many more made valuable contributions through their suggestions, introductions, transportation, volunteering to translate for me, and their overall kindness in welcoming me into their community.

## **1.6 Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is organized into chapters which address the specific objectives of the study. Chapter 2 provides background information about the research area, aboriginal people and aboriginal community relocations. Specifically, this chapter considers aboriginal community relocations in the context of aboriginal issues today, examines aboriginal community relocations generally across Canada, identifies the different types of relocations, and provides a description of the impacts caused by this process. Chapter 3 explores the research design and methodology. Chapter 4 profiles the Naskapi village of Kawawachikamach, the traditional territory and activities of the Naskapi people, the



community's previous relocations, the James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement, and the relocation from Matimekosk to Kawawachikamach. This chapter places emphasis on history leading up to the relocation and then considers the relocation process, so as to put into context the responses received from people in the community, as outlined and assessed in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 explains the organization and summation of the data responses, describes and analyzes relationships that emerge from the data, and identifies the implications of these relationships. The thesis concludes with a summary of the research, and a set of recommendations derived from the literature review and the analysis, and areas for further research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **BACKGROUND TO ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY RELOCATIONS**

This chapter provides the background and context for the study through a review of previous events, case studies, and relevant literature involving aboriginal communities which have experienced relocation. Specifically, the focus is on aboriginal community relocations within the context of aboriginal issues today, aboriginal community relocations across Canada, different types of relocations, and on a summary of the numerous impacts which can result from this process.<sup>1</sup>

#### **2.1 Aboriginal Issues**

Much literature on aboriginal people has focused on their negative experiences, this being reflective of the terrible injustices that aboriginal peoples have suffered since their first interactions with non-native societies. Their traditional lifestyles and vast knowledge were dismissed by non-native societies and their communities were subjected to many destructive policies formulated by governments to benefit non-native society and development. In many parts of the world aboriginal communities are now struggling to help their people begin a process of healing. Such is the case in Canada. The 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) provides an excellent examination of the experiences of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples, the content of which spans many generations and covers a variety of issues, and offers an approach to

---

<sup>1</sup>

For further information, a list of selected relocations with corresponding lists of sources is found in Appendix A.

rebuilding the relationship between native and non-native societies (Wolfe-Keddie, 1999, in press).

There is a significant amount of literature available on aboriginal community relocations. However, as illustrated in the following review, the majority of the information considers forced relocations and their resulting negative impacts. This is reflective of the nature of the majority of aboriginal community relocations. With an anticipated building of a new relationship between native and non-native societies, as outlined in the RCAP, and an increasing number of voluntary or community-initiated relocations, the lives of aboriginal people and therefore the focus of the literature will hopefully become positive in the near future.

## **2.2 History of Aboriginal Community Relocations**

Little more than a century ago, the majority of aboriginal people in Canada maintained their traditional lifestyles. For many aboriginal communities, hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering, in seasonal cycles, were practiced by relatively small groups of several families over extensive areas (Braul, 1992: 148). The extended family was the most important unit of social interaction. For generations, it was the family that “assigned rights and obligations to each of its members; it taught values, life skills, and social mores; and it directed the individual’s quest for self-knowledge, identity, and status” (Shkilnyk, 1985: 93). The bonds between extended families were very strong because of the important functions that each member provided to ensure the well-being and survival of the family. During the winter on the trap line, the families were separated from the greater community so they became a community unto themselves, each member

providing a specialized role in such things as child care, education, healthcare, provision of food and spiritual guidance (Shkilnyk, 1985: 79). However, the importance of the family did not mean that communities did not exist. The importance of community has always been central, but characteristics have varied.

On the Canadian West Coast, the Haida Indians had permanent settlements which they inhabited throughout the year, and had for generations (Dickason, 1992: 67-69). Another sedentary group was the Iroquois, including the Huron and the Five (later Six) Nations (Dickason, 1992: 70). However, for many aboriginal groups such as the Cree, the Naskapi, the Innu and the Ojibway, their communities did not exist as they do today in one specific location, such as a village (Skoog and Macmillan, 1990). An Ojibway community, for example, encompassed a large territory within which the members, as extended families or clans, would move with the seasons from winter trapping grounds to the summer residences, from which they would intermittently travel to encampments for berry picking and wild-rice gathering. When the community was together during the summer, their interaction was still mainly clan based. The summer dwellings were relatively far apart and members respected each others privacy. This constant movement gave the community life “its ever changing form and character, while other historic linkages and kinship ties gave it its meaning” (Shkilnyk, 1985: 93).

For these people, initial contact with Europeans consisted of trading furs for goods such as beads, guns and iron. This system, which had both positive and negative impacts, was maintained in some places into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Man Alive, 1995). At that time, the land was being increasingly settled by European colonists. Treaties were made between the British Crown and many of the aboriginal nations, so the Crown could

gain access to aboriginal lands for settlement. A treaty by definition is

An agreement, league, or contract between two or more nations or sovereigns formally signed by properly authorized commissioners and solemnly ratified by the sovereign or the supreme power of each state (Opekokew, 1980: 9).

The treaties meant that the territory covered by the treaty was surrendered to the Crown. In return, aboriginal people were given minimal financial compensation, access to the land for hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering and in some cases small parcels of land were set aside for them to live in. Dickason states that:

The Canadian federal government began to regard treaties as a tool for extinguishing Indian land rights; it regarded them as the final, once-and-for-all means of opening lands for settlement and development (Dickason, 1992: 275).

Many aboriginal people all across Canada were displaced from their land, encouraged to give up their nomadic lifestyle, and settled on reserves. A reserve, as defined by the Indian Act,

...is a tract of land set aside for the use and benefit in common of a band of Indians. Legal title to this land is vested in Her Majesty, and may not be sold until surrendered to the Crown by the band (cited in Opekokew, 1980: 50).

However, for many aboriginal communities, the signing of treaties did not mean a relocation at that time. The government neglected to provide reserves for many aboriginal groups, and those groups which were given reserves were not necessarily relocated (Smith, 1998). The most significant change to many aboriginal communities was the limitation of access to their traditionally vast territories. In the beginning, families often attempted to maintain their semi-nomadic lifestyle from a base on a reserve. Prior to major non-native settlement or agricultural development, aboriginal access to hunting and other traditional activities was not significantly impeded and the communities were left alone, except for occasional visits from the Indian agents, the RCMP and the missionaries

(Shkilnyk, 1985). Many communities thus were still able to provide for themselves and function as active, strong communities.

The link between communities and the land where they lived was still strong. The land provided the people with the resources to survive, it shaped their identity and gave their life meaning. As Relph (1981: 173) states:

Places merge imperceptibly with the communities who occupy and maintain them, and with the minds of the individual people in those communities. As human individuality involves both something separate and something shared, so part of what is shared is a place and a sense of place. The strivings, failures and achievements of a community are in part recorded in the setting it creates for itself.

Aboriginal communities clearly identified with the places in which they lived and worked. The trees, rivers, lakes, and earth had spiritual value which was reflected back to the community and gave it meaning, and shaped its values (Manuel, 1974). However, with the passage of time, aboriginal people were increasingly displaced from their traditional lands by non-aboriginal people. When the communities were removed from these places, much of the meaning of the communities was lost.

### **2.3 Types of Aboriginal Community Relocations**

Since the arrival of Europeans to North America, aboriginal people have been displaced from their land. This geographic displacement took many forms: loss of land to settlers, loss of land to British-French and British-American battles, and later a loss of land through the treaty-making process. The displacement of aboriginal people from their traditional lands to reserves by the Canadian government in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century was part of a process that would continue for the next century.

More recently, the displacement of aboriginal people has often taken the form of deliberate initiatives by governments to move particular aboriginal communities for the benefit of government, industry, settlement, and even for strategic reasons (as with the movement of the Inuit to certain high Arctic locations). This process is referred to as aboriginal community relocation. The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) identifies two main categories of relocation: developmental relocation and administrative relocation (RCAP, 1996: 414). A third category can be termed “voluntary or community-initiated relocation.” This type of relocation is not well defined in the literature and will therefore be defined by the researcher.

### **2. 3. 1 Developmental Relocation**

Developmental relocations have a long history in Canada. They are “the consequence of national development policies whose stated purpose is primarily to ‘benefit’ the relocatees or get them out of the way of proposed industrial projects” (RCAP, 1996: 415). Development relocations have taken place in Canada to make room for agricultural expansion, urban development, mining and numerous hydroelectric projects. Another type of relocation associated with development, is displacement due to environmental contamination.

There are numerous examples of developmental relocations around the world. In Canada, these include but are not limited to:

- Chemawawin Cree relocation to Easterville
- Grassy Narrows relocation to New Grass Narrows
- The Cheslatta T’en relocation

■ Various relocations of the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation

These types of relocation are continuing to impact communities which are located in areas sought after by central government or industry for development purposes. The consequences of such development are not always desirable. The communities forced to relocate usually receive minimal support from the governments. However, with the increasing use of environment and social impact assessments (EIA and SIA), the negative impacts associated with developmental relocations will hopefully be lessened in part because aboriginal people are increasingly being involved in such assessments.

An example of a developmental relocation is the relocation of the Cedar Lake community. In 1964 the community of Cedar Lake Manitoba was relocated to Easterville, Manitoba because Manitoba Hydro was planning to dam the Grand Rapids and flood the area. Cedar Lake was a relatively isolated community but it had access to abundant resources important to the Cree. It was a place where the community had lived and worked for generations and held special meaning to the people. The new reserve was in a location where the land had no meaning to the people, but they were forced to move anyway. An Easterville elder explained the loss:

I don't like the rocks here. I don't feel it is my home here. My home is at Chemuhowin, but we can't go back there now. It's gone (RCAP, 1996: 492).

There was new housing at the reserve but the traditional lifestyles could not be maintained and there was no employment to replace them. The environment was not suitable for gardening, an important source of food for the community, or commercial fisheries, occupations in which they had previous experience. Widespread unemployment and the close proximity to the town of Easterville led to an increase in



alcohol consumption. The drinking in the community in turn led to family violence, child neglect and delinquency (Dickman, 1973: 161-162). Elsie Fiddler, a resident of Easterville described life on the reserve:

Children were being neglected and subjected to all kinds of 'sights and sounds' they shouldn't have been subjected to. When I first saw a man hitting and kicking his wife, I couldn't believe it. When women and children sought protection at my grandparents' home, I grieved and suffered with them (Fiddler, 1992: 164).

She further explained that:

When we gave up our land, it seems like we also signed away our birthrights and the future of our children ... the \$104 dollars each of us received from Manitoba Hydro will never come close to alleviating this feeling of betrayal and pain I feel in my heart and soul to this day" (Fiddler, 1992: 164).

Grassy Narrows reserve is a small Ojibway village in northwestern Ontario which is a dramatic example of development relocation as a result of environmental contamination. In the mid sixties the community was relocated as a result of mercury poisoning of the adjacent English - Wabigoon River from the pulp and paper factory upriver. The waterway had been the life of the community. The community was carefully organized to ensure all families had equal access to the water. Essentially all the men were employed in commercial fishing. With the contamination of the river and the relocation further south meaningful employment ended and the proud band of hunters, trappers and fishermen had begun to slide into dependency and humiliation (Shkilnyk, 1985; Usher, et al., 1979). The community began to break down on the new reserve. There was road access to Kenora and the families, now unemployed, would wait for their welfare cheques and then binge drink, for days on end. Violence related to alcohol consumption increased dramatically and the family and community structure began to fall apart. The people lost their sense of purpose in the community as the government took

over everything from education, family services, policing, to health care. A member of the Grassy Narrows community explains the changes after the relocation:

I was born on the trapline, and I grew up in the bush. Trapping was our culture. Trapping kept the family together because everyone in the family had something to do . . . On the new reserve we can't trap as a family anymore. The man has to go out on the trapline by himself. But he gets lonely there and doesn't like to do all the work by himself. So he comes back to the reserve and tries to find a job or he goes on welfare . . . The old people don't teach the kids how to behave . . . kids are sniffing gas while their parents are drinking. This is happening because people don't work together anymore . . . If you divide a family in work, you tear it apart in other ways as well (cited in Shkilnyk, 1985: 82-83).

His comments about the family, translate onto the community as well. Although the breakdown of the community can not be attributed completely to the relocation, the move did not in any way assist the community in the transition from their traditional community to the larger communities within which they would eventually have function (Loney, 1995).

### **2.3.2 Administrative Relocation**

Administrative relocations are “moves carried out to facilitate the operation of government or address the perceived needs of the aboriginal people”(RCAP, 1996:414). Following the Second World War and the rise of the welfare state, many aboriginal communities were relocated to make it easier for the government administrators to provide a growing number of services, such as education and health care. Aboriginal communities were originally nomadic, moving with the seasons to find food. This lifestyle conflicted with the ideas of “civilized” society, and made it difficult for the government to provide services in their “civilizing mission”. Other administrative relocations were justified on the basis of the relocated communities perceived insufficient

access to food or employment.

Unfortunately these relocations, intended to be in the best interest of the communities, were not well planned; nor were the affected communities involved in the decision making process. Communities in Canada impacted by administrative relocations include but are not limited to:

- Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia relocation to two centralized reserves
- Sayisi Dene relocation to Camp 10
- Various High Arctic Relocations of the Inuit
- Naskapi relocation to Schefferville
- Mushuau Innu relocation to Davis Inlet

In the 1940's the government decided that the Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia who lived in a number of small scattered communities should be relocated to two large reserves, where the government believed it would be more cost effective to provide them with services. In reality, however, people were being forced to move from their communities where they were often close to medical services, stores and employment in urban areas to places where there was nothing for them except promises of what was to come. Coercion was used to force people who did not want to move (RCAP, 1996: 418). When they were finally moved there were not enough housing or services. A member of the community recalls the first winter:

Some people moved into just tents and lived through the winter. But my parents moved in with my mother's cousin, which at least gave far more protection than a tent. My mother had three children, her cousin had five (RCAP, 1996: 419).

There were also not sufficient hunting, fishing or agricultural resources or other sources of employment. The members of the communities were almost completely unemployed

and almost totally dependent on welfare. Government institutions began taking over discipline, health care, schooling, and government, making the community totally dependent, with no self-determination. As the community members no longer depended on each other for survival, the community lost its cohesion and any sense of purpose. It became just a group of people living together in a place without meaning. Alex Christmas, a Mi'kmaq who was relocated, stated that "As in other areas of Canada, this approach did not succeed but it did serve to disorient and demoralize three generations of our people" (RCAP, 1996:418).

The Sayisi Dene First Nation is another tragic example of an administrative relocation. In the 1950's the federal government decided that the Dene were killing too many Caribou and without consulting the community, they relocated the people from their traditional territory in northern Manitoba to North River, a community just north of Churchill. North River became only a temporary stopover, as the government decided to relocate the people yet again. The community was moved to a rocky piece of land on the edge of Churchill known as Camp 10 where they would be forced to live for almost 20 years (Smith, 1998:37 and Treeline Productions, 1992). The site had no running water and the sub-standard housing heated by coal stoves was a deadly fire hazard. The Dene who could speak very little English were unable to continue their traditional livelihoods and had extreme difficulty finding and maintaining wage labour. The community faced severe poverty, and was subject to discrimination from the residents of Churchill. Alcoholism, drug addiction, violence, crime, and chronic unemployment, became constant problems for the Sayisi Dene following their relocation (Skoog and Macmillan, 1990: 54-68). In the 1970's the community initiated a relocation to Tadoule Lake in an

attempt to help the community overcome their problems. Unfortunately, the relocation did not solve all of the community's problems. The negative impacts of the relocation to Camp 10 are still felt by the Sayisi Dene. In their new community steps are now being taken to help the people and the band is engaged in a long-term community healing process (Smith, 1998: 39 and Treeline Productions, 1992).

### **2.3.3 Voluntary or Community-Initiated Relocations**

Voluntary or community-initiated relocations are a more recent and promising phenomenon. This type of relocation has not been defined in the literature but the planning and positive community impacts associated with these relocations have been described as the recommended criteria for future aboriginal community relocations (Dickman, 1969; RCAP, 1996; Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989). They can be defined as relocations in which the aboriginal community has a significant degree of choice in deciding whether or not to move and where to move. Furthermore, the community has the opportunity to be involved in the planning and implementation process. The most important aspect of this type of relocation is that the community benefits in many different aspects from the relocation. The communities may choose to relocate for a number of different reasons. These could include a move from an unsuitable location where they were placed in the past, to make room for a growing community, to improve their socio-economic conditions, or to gain greater self-determination.

Recently there have been a number of voluntary or community-initiated relocations. Across Canada, these include but are not limited to:

- Cree Band of Fort George relocation to Chisasibi

- The Cree Nation of Nemaska relocation to Champion Lake
- The Chibougamau Cree relocation to Ouje-Bougoumou
- The Mushuau Innu relocation from Davis Inlet to Little Sango Pond (in progress)
- The Naskapi relocation from Matimekossh to Kawawachikamach

These examples offer hope to other aboriginal communities after a history of negative relocations. However, as many of these relocations have been recent and the long-term impacts have not yet been thoroughly documented, more research must be done to ascertain the full impacts on the communities.

The Chibougamau Cree's relocation to Ouje-Bougoumou illustrates both the positive and negative impacts which can result from a relocation (Man Alive, 1995). Since the 1920's the community has suffered through eight developmental relocations. At the will of mining and forestry companies, and with the support of both the Government of Quebec and the Canadian Federal Government, the community was forced to move from their traditional territory to progressively worse locations which lacked safe housing, clean water or access to sufficient income. In 1986, *The Globe and Mail* reported on a family which had been living in a crude shack for five years and was suffering from severe gastro-intestinal infections related to drinking polluted water from a nearby stream. The same year, a report commissioned by the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec described the Chibougamau "living conditions as the worst in the developed world" (Goddard, 1994:43). At the instigation of Chief Abel Bosum, the community came together. They renamed their group the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation and began to fight for government support for a permanent village and territory of their own (Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, 1994). Eventually the community was granted the

land and resources to build their village. The relocation has been a success for the community. Their village was recognized internationally for its innovative architecture (Cardinal, 1991) and central community heating system (Ouje-Bougoumou Community Report, 1993). Social problems (such as alcohol abuse) have decreased dramatically and the community is becoming more economically self-sufficient. The community has even developed its own housing program in an attempt to make “home ownership available to as large a segment of the Ouje-Bougoumou population as possible”(Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation - Housing Program, 1993) Chief Abel Bosum proudly stated that:

Now we are no longer the ‘forgotten Crees’. We are no longer the passive victims of industrial forces, no longer the pathetic oppressed people seeking the sympathy of others. Instead, we have become daring innovators and self-confident planners. Instead of winning people’s sympathy, we are now gaining people’s respect (Cited in Goddard, 1994:47).

## **2.4 The Impacts of Community Relocation**

These case studies illustrate both the devastating and encouraging impacts which can result from aboriginal community relocations. Unfortunately, there are many more examples of aboriginal community breakdowns as a result of relocations than there are successes. The effects are not unique to the Canadian situation. Hansen and Oliver-Smith document the problems and responses of dislocated people through case studies from around the world (Hansen and Oliver-Smith, 1982). International research shows that many of the consequences of relocation are predictable. These include,

- severing Aboriginal people’s relationship to the land and environment and weakening cultural bonds;
- a loss of economic self-sufficiency, including in some cases increased dependence on government transfer payments;

- a decline in standards of health; and
- changes in social and political relations in the relocated population  
(RCAP, 1996: 415).

The results of more than twenty-five studies around the world indicate, without exception, that the relocation, without consent, of low-income rural populations with strong ties to their land and homes is a traumatic experience. The emotions associated with forced relocation have been compared to the bereavement caused by the death of a loved one (RCAP, 1996: 415 and Scudder, 1982: 10). Bill Bloor, a former general store owner at Finlay Forks, described the effects of the forced relocation of the Ingenika community, due to the flooding by B.C. Hydro.

One evening as the waters were coming up, I went over to where the natives were. They had campfires lit, all in a row. They were seated around the camp fires. It was as though I had come to a funeral. Like a vigil, they were watching what was happening. The older people were weeping. They were saying, “No more good land.” They knew it was no longer safe. It was a very, very sorrowful sight (cited in Braul, 1992: 153).

The impacts of aboriginal community relocation are initially experienced by the members of the community which are moved. However, the effects of the relocation persist in the communities many years later and often lead to greater problems (Smith, 1998: 39).

#### **2.4.1 The Relationship to the Land, Environment and Culture**

A number of problems stem from the severing of the relationship between the aboriginal people and their land. The bond between aboriginal communities and the land has historically been very strong. “For the hunting-life bred person, the whole habitat is significant, and intimate familiarity with it is vital, reassuring, and metaphysically



validated” (RCAP, 1996: 491). Relocation isolates people from their habitat, breaking a culturally significant bond and destroying their spiritual relationship, which leads to a number of cultural, social, economic and health problems. It has been documented in an infinite number of cases that “failure to appreciate the importance of the relationship of man to his environment has led to tragic consequences” (Dickman, 1973: 147).

Unfamiliar with their new landscape, relocated aboriginal communities have difficulty continuing their traditional lifestyles. This has especially been the case for those aboriginal communities which were moved to urban centers without any preparation or skills to cope with the new environment and alien culture. A number of case studies reveal that the relocated communities were expected to cope in non-native society without any previous experience with wage labour, a cash economy, or even the English language (Smith, 1998; Bussidor and Reinart, 1998; Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989). Decision makers are “blindly expecting a successful adaptation to a totally new way of life on the part of people whose cultural background has not equipped them with the proper tools” (Dickman, 1973: 148).

When people are unable to continue in their old ways and unable to make the transformation to the new ways, the structure of their community falls apart. This has been termed “culture stress” and is often apparent in societies that have undergone massive, imposed or uncontrollable change (RCAP, 1996, 1: 494). In communities under stress, normal patterns of behaviour fall apart, as people lose confidence in what they know and may feel abandoned and unsure about whether their lives have meaning or purpose.

A survivor from the relocation to the High Arctic stated, in an interview, that after

her community arrived at its new location, she wondered “if the government had left us there to die”(NFB, 1995). Such feelings of shock and personal disruption, combined with loss of land, loss of control over living conditions and restricted economic opportunity, reportedly have been associated with suicide, self-injury and self-destructive behavior (Shkilnyk, 1985).

Community-initiated or voluntary relocations are often a result of a previous relocation to an inappropriate environment. In the 1970's the Sayisi Dene relocated to from Camp 10 to Tadoule Lake in a back-to-the-land movement (Smith, 1998; Treeline Productions, 1992). The community wanted to live in a more traditional environment, and to try to reclaim some of its lost culture. Reflective of this, planners are becoming more aware of the importance of the environment, and the preservation of each community's cultures. The choice of an appropriate site to relocate to is vital for aboriginal communities if they are to avoid the negative impacts which can result from the disruption of the relationship between the communities, the land, and culture.

#### **2.4.2 Economic Effects**

Relocation has had dramatic economic impacts on aboriginal communities. As stated earlier, in the past aboriginal communities often possessed a relatively large land base and diverse resources. After relocation, the communities generally had a relatively small land base and limited resources. RCAP (1996: 494) states that as a result of relocation, the economic base of a community is reduced in three ways:

1. through loss of access to land and resources when people are relocated to new, more restricted environments;

2. through loss of land and resources because of environmental damage, such as flooding as a result of hydroelectric development, and
3. through loss of employment opportunities when relocation moves people away from settled areas.

In numerous case studies it is shown that relocated communities are all too often unable to continue their traditional activities and that the people lack the skills or resources to function successfully in a non-native work environment. Many communities have limited experience with wage labour, the cash economy, and have generally low educational levels. This, coupled with racism from the non-native receiving communities, often makes it very difficult for aboriginal communities to make a successful transition (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989; Smith, 1998). The majority of case studies indicate that, after relocation, welfare becomes the relocated people's primary source of income. Scudder states that:

Partly because they have lost, at least temporarily, their self-respect and initiative, and because they did not request removal in the first place, many relocatees tend to become dependent on the agency or agencies responsible for their removal (1982: 10).

This dependence has a negative impact on the community which can no longer function to meet the needs of the members.

Unemployment is a widespread problem in aboriginal communities across Canada. For the communities engaged in voluntary or community-initiated relocations, economic planning is a foremost concern. Planners want to ensure that there are sufficient opportunities for employment and sufficient resources available to offer training and education for community members to find and maintain employment. In communities such as Ouje-Bougoumou and Kawawachikamach, which have achieved

greater self-government following their relocation, community members have had the opportunity to fill more positions within the community (Goddard, 1994; Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989; and Personal Interviews, 1997). “Joint Venture” companies have been organized in Davis Inlet to ensure that the Innu have the chance to learn and participate in the planning, and construction of their new villages (Personal Interview, 1997). After the relocation these companies have the skills and experience to continue operating and seeking new contracts (Wilkinson, 1997; Mushuau Innu Relocation Agreement, 1996). In contrast to the devastating economic impacts caused by forced relocations, community-initiated or voluntary relocations seek to improve the economic situations in the relocated communities.

### **2.4.3 Health Effects**

The stress of relocation, in combination with the usually poor conditions at the new sites, often has a negative effect on people’s health. In most relocation sites, conditions are overcrowded, there is not sufficient housing, and services are not yet developed. In the High Arctic relocations tuberculosis became rampant, as did impetigo, pneumonia, and other respiratory illnesses (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994: 358). At Easterville one of the examples given earlier, illness and death increased dramatically due to the unhealthy environment. Citing a study commissioned by the affected bands in 1978,

ten of the eleven who claim that no one in their house was sick before the flooding cited illnesses afterward, ranging from frequent fever and flu to high blood pressure and other serious illness (RCAP, 1996: 479).

These health problems were attributed to stress, lack of sanitation, well water

contamination and mercury contaminated fish.

Mental health also suffers greatly as a result of community relocation and the ensuing dramatic changes to community life. Traditional family roles are transformed rapidly leading to frustration, loss of self-esteem, and depression therefore causing rising rates of domestic violence, alcoholism, drug abuse and suicide. In Grassy Narrows, the statistics are devastating. In one year more than thirty members of the community attempted suicide (Table 2.1). The incidence of violent death, including suicide, increased more than 70 percent in nineteen years (Figure 2.1). These figures may not be attributed solely to relocation. However, they do represent the negative impacts of the breakdown of community which is, in part, a result of relocation.

In Davis Inlet, the community has suffered terribly with numerous serious health problems. As a result of broken promises from the government, the community endured illness stemming from sub-standard housing, contaminated water and generally third world living conditions. There was also widespread drug and alcohol abuse, gasoline sniffing, suicide, child abuse, violence and deadly fires related to poor housing, neglect and alcohol (Gathering Voices, 1992; Witness, 1996; Press 1995).

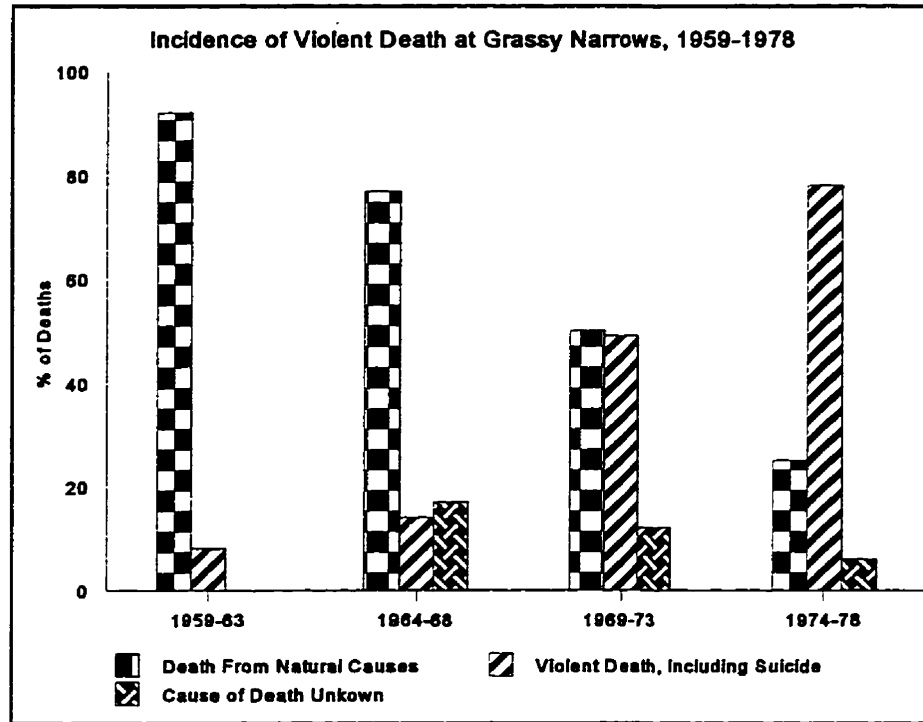
These serious health and social concerns prompted the community's decision to relocate. The relocation has been carefully planned with maximum community involvement. The community and the planners are hoping that the relocation will be a new and positive start for the Mushuau Innu. Although they recognize the move will not provide immediate solutions, they hope that it will be a healthier environment to work on solving the problems that plague their community (DIAND, 1997: 8; Witness, 1996).

**Table 2.1 Attempted Suicide at Grassy Narrows Reserve, 1977-1978**

Date	Time	Age	Gender
June 7 , 1977	4:48 p.m.	15	female
June 21, 1977	4:10 a.m.	14	female
Sept 2, 1977	5:35 a.m.	14	female
Sept 2, 1977	5:35 a.m.	16	female
Sept 21, 1977	5:35 p.m.	12	male
Oct 5 , 1977	10:34 a.m.	17	female
Oct 6 , 1977	9:45 p.m.	14	female
Oct 15 , 1977	5:45 a.m.	17	female
Oct 18 , 1977	5:15 p.m.	49	female
Oct 24, 1977	8:28 a.m.	11	male
Oct 31, 1977	7:45 p.m.	11	female
Nov 17, 1977	7:00 p.m.	14	female
Nov 17, 1977	7:00 p.m.	11	male
Nov 26, 1977	4:50 a.m.	49	female
Jan 4, 1978	2:50 p.m.	20	male
Jan 13, 1978	1:30 p.m.	32	female
Jan 26, 1978	11:55 p.m.	14	female
Feb 1, 1978	10:45 p.m.	13	female
Feb 1, 1978	10:45 p.m.	14	female
Feb 5, 1978	3:30 p.m.	13	female
Feb 5, 1978	3:20 p.m.	17	female
Feb 7, 1978	10:30 p.m.	18	female
Feb 12, 1978	7:00 p.m.	19	female
Mar 10, 1978	11:00 a.m.	22	female
Mar 13, 1978	7:30 p.m.	16	female
Mar 24, 1978	7:20 a.m.	12	male
Apr 1, 1978	12:05 p.m.	16	female
May 7, 1978	11:00 p.m.	16	female

Source: Date are from the records of the Grassy Narrows detachment of the Ontario Provincial Police for the period of June 1977 to May 1978 (Cited in Shkilnyk, 1985:16).

**Figure 2.1 Incidence of Violent Death at Grassy Narrows Reserve, 1959-1978**



Source: Shkilnyk, 1985: 13

#### **2.4.4 Social and Political Effects**

The social and political effects of relocation are complex. Familiar social structures and activities are weakened or break down completely. Scudder describes how:

...trauma of relocation disrupts the family unit and the lives of each of its members. It undermines the influence of the household head since he or she is shown to be incapable of preserving the family's lifestyle (Scudder, 1982: 11).

A first grade teacher and a day-care supervisor on the Grassy Narrows reserve said "I, would say that most of the children on this reserve are very poorly taken care of, and over half are really neglected from the point of view of their physical well-being" (cited in Shkilnyk, 1985: 33).

Evidence indicates that community well-being can be measured by indicators such as school drop-out rates, teenage pregnancies, crime data, family break-up, references to child care agencies, drug and alcohol abuse, welfare dependency and health data (Loney, 1995: 240). Numerous case studies on forced relocations illustrate the existence of and increase in these negative indicators following relocation (Usher, et al., 1979; Cooke, 1979; Treeline Productions, 1992; Gathering Voices, 1992).

Relocations can have sad consequences. For instance, soon after a group of Inuit people from Port Harrison were moved to the High Arctic, their leader died of a heart attack, which was attributed to his broken heart and spirit at not being able to take care of his people (NFB, 1995).

Relocations often lead to changes in community leadership, as leaders are often blamed and discredited when the community is relocated. Traditional leaders are often replaced with younger leaders who speak English and have the knowledge and experience



dealing with non-native society. Unfortunately they often lack the community wisdom and are alienated from their traditional ways after being away at school. The new leaders also lack the same respect and authority, due to their inability to deal with the increased social problems in the community (Shkilnyk, 1985: 103).

The RCMP, as the dominant police presence in many aboriginal communities, increasingly has to deal with community conflicts, when in the past they were dealt with by the elders in the community. The RCAP states that:

When traditional authority is undermined, the potential for community cooperation and reciprocity is broken, sometimes irreparably. This leads to further deterioration of mores and traditions, codes of behaviour, ethics and value systems (RCAP, 1996: 502).

Forced aboriginal community relocation appears to be the start of a downward spiral in which the impacts of the initial move lead to the further breakdown of the community. Honingmann describes this process as social disintegration, "a breakdown in the operation of social relationships from one point to another" (Honingmann, 1966: 200).

Community-initiated or voluntary relocations have and continue to focus on solving with the community's social problems and assisting the community to achieve greater political power.

Healing is a term used often by aboriginal people to signify the restoration of physical, social, emotional and spiritual vitality in individuals and social system. It implies "the revitalization of their confidence in themselves, their communities and cultures, confidence that must be grounded in their daily lives" (RCAP, 1996: 512). Healing is a tool used by many communities to help people deal with the social problems that plague their communities. Communities need the resources to help their people with

the healing process. The Sayisi Dene First Nation, the Naskapi of Northeastern Quebec and the Mushuau Innu are all examples of communities which incorporated healing into their community relocations (Smith, 1998; Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989; and Witness, 1996).

Greater self-government and self-determination are also beginning to be associated with community-initiated relocation. Communities which have suffered through forced relocations in the past have experienced a significant loss of self-determination (RCAP, 1996: 494). A community-initiated or voluntary relocation is often an attempt to regain control and self-determination within the community. A number of communities have experienced a devolution of powers from the provincial and federal governments in a process leading toward greater self-government. This occurred in Kawawachikamach through the Northeastern Quebec Agreement and the Cree-Naskapi Act (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989) and also in Ouje-Bougoumou (Man Alive, 1995). The communities have significant control over education, policing, and increasing control over health care. The Innu people have entered into negotiations through their relocation agreement for the devolution of certain programs and services (Mushuau Innu Relocation Agreement, 1996: 10).

## **2.5 The Future for Aboriginal Community Relocations**

While aboriginal community relocations have been occurring since the arrival of Europeans to North America and the impacts of many of these relocations have been devastating, the scars of such moves are still to be found on the people and the communities. This does not mean that the fabric of the communities has been totally

destroyed, for the strong roots of the communities often remain, even in times of great hardship. Human agency can uncover these roots and utilize their strength to help the community begin a healing process and try to recover from the impacts of community break down. This has been illustrated by the Naskapi, the Sayisi Dene, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation and the Mushuau Innu, all of whom have attempted to recover from the consequences of past negative relocations through community-initiated relocations.

One of the tragedies of past aboriginal community relocations is that many of the negative impacts probably could have been avoided. The decisions about those aboriginal community relocations were made by non-aboriginal people, removed from the community. The communities to be relocated were only minimally consulted, if at all. This is sharply contrasted with Chartier's description of the process of individual relocation for employment, and the extensive standards set for these moves, including assistance in locating housing, moving expenses and financial benefits (Chartier, 1982: 11). Steps are being made to ensure that a strict set of standards is set for future aboriginal community relocations.

The goal of the RCAP, which covers the issue of aboriginal community relocation in detail, is "to shed light on the relocation practices, their efforts and their implications for aboriginal communities today, providing a foundation for recommendations to resolve outstanding community claims involving relocation"(RCAP, 1996: 413). They recommend the following *minimum* standards of behaviour that should apply to all cases of relocation. The RCAP is concerned with the relocation of aboriginal communities, but they state that "these standards (with the exception of the last one) should apply to any

community relocation in Canada based on the basic human rights of all persons” (RCAP, 1996: 512). The minimum standards as recommended by the RCAP (1996: 512) are as follows,

1. Governments must obtain and follow appropriate authority before proceeding with relocation.
2. The people who are to be moved must give their free and informed consent to the move and should be participants in decision making concerning the relocation.
3. The relocation must be well planned and implemented and should include consultation and planning with the host community.
4. Promises made concerning the relocation should be kept and supported by adequate resources. In this regard, compensation should be adequate and persons relocated should have ample opportunity to maintain or improve their standard of living in the new location.
5. The relocation must be carried out in a humane manner, respecting the rights of persons in keeping with Canada’s international commitments and obligations. In this regard, persons who are to be relocated should have the opportunity to settle as a group in one receiving community.
6. Government actions must conform with the government’s fiduciary obligations to Aboriginal peoples.

One hopes that any future aboriginal community relocations will meet the given standards, avoid the potential negative impacts, and in fact lead to positive and beneficial changes for the relocated community. Following from this, the negative publicity about aboriginal community relocations may encourage the Canadian government to apologize for the mistakes of the past, compensate those communities that have suffered so greatly, and avoid similar tragedies in the future.

Summarizing from the literature, the following framework (Table 2.2) was developed to illustrate factors which can lead to both positive and negative impacts in

aboriginal community relocations.

**Table 2.2 Relocation Framework Derived from a Review of the Literature**

Relocation Factors	Potential Impacts
Decision Making (Particularly Informed Consent)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ choice whether or not to relocate</li> <li>■ negotiate relocation agreement</li> <li>■ ensure participation in planning</li> </ul>
Participation in Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ site selection</li> <li>■ community layout</li> <li>■ housing</li> <li>■ economic development</li> <li>■ traditional considerations</li> <li>■ cultural preservation</li> </ul>
Formal Authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ self-determination</li> <li>■ self-government</li> <li>■ formal and cultural education</li> <li>■ health care</li> <li>■ social services</li> <li>■ relationship to land, environment and culture</li> </ul>
Financial Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ standard of living</li> <li>■ economic development</li> <li>■ housing, infrastructure and services</li> <li>■ health and social services</li> <li>■ recreation</li> <li>■ education</li> </ul>

Source: Compiled by the researcher through a review of the literature, 1998.

The framework highlights some of the factors in the relocation process which, depending on their absence, or degree of presence, can have significant positive or negative impacts on the effects experienced by the relocated community. For example, the absence of sufficient financial resources may lead to negative impacts in the four areas identified in the RCAP,

- relationship to the land, environment and culture;
- economic effects;
- health effects and;
- social and political effects.

Although the factors which can impact the relocation are divided into distinct categories for organizational and comparative purposes, it is recognized that interrelationships exist amongst the relocation factors and the potential impacts. It is also recognized that each relocation has unique circumstances and therefore some factors not highlighted in this framework may have significant impacts, both positive and negative, on a relocation.

Decision-making by the relocating community is a factor which has been absent or at least very minimal in the majority of forced relocations. Many relocated communities had virtually no choice in deciding whether or not to move, or where they were to be moved. The absence of decision-making power has led to many negative impacts, from the loss of community faith in their own leadership, as in the case of Grassy Narrows (Shkilnyk, 1985), to widespread unemployment, as in the Mi'kmaq relocations in Nova Scotia (RCAP, 1996). Voluntary or community-initiated relocations should ensure that the relocating community has decision-making powers, as illustrated in the Mushuau Innu's current relocation from Davis Inlet, where they were given their informed consent to the relocation, after participating in negotiations for a relocation agreement (Personal Interviews, 1997; Mushuau Innu Relocation Agreement, 1996).

Following from this, decision making through participation in planning is another important factor in an aboriginal community relocation. The degree of participation in the planning process of a relocation appears to have a significant impact on the success of

an aboriginal community relocation. Without community involvement in the planning process, inappropriate sites may be selected, such as with the Sayisi Dene relocation to an area where they could no longer hunt (Smith, 1998). This may in turn have number of negative repercussions on, for example, employment, health, and culture. A community's participation in planning, as illustrated in the case of Ouje-Bougoumou led to positive impacts for the community in their selection of appropriate housing, cultural preservation, and economic development (Goddard, 1994).

Formal authority negotiated through the relocation process may give the community the opportunity to gain, among other things, greater self-government. This can assist the community in gaining power over such things as education, health care, social services, and policing in their new location. The positive impacts which can result from formal authority are illustrated in the Cree community of Ouje-Bougoumou (Man Alive, 1994). The absence of formal authority, both during and after the relocation, can leave the relocated community with little power over its daily affairs and its future. This may in turn have negative impacts on the community's relationship to the land, environment and culture, poor health, and social problems as illustrated in the relocation of the Chemawawin Cree to Easterville (Fidler, 1992).

Financial resources are an important factor in any community, especially a community in the process of relocation. The lack of financial resources can lead to sub-standard housing and services, poor economic opportunities and generally a poor standard of living, all of which were experienced by the Mushuau Innu in Davis Inlet (Gathering Voices, 1992). The presence of adequate financial resources during and following a relocation can assist the community in the construction and maintenance of adequate

housing and infrastructure, provide for the proper health and social services, and help ensure that the community has the opportunity to maintain or improve its standard of living (Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, 1995).

With the above observations as background, we now turn to examining the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach. Interviews with members of the community reveal their views on the success of their relocation and the changes, both positive and negative, that have occurred as a result of the relocation. The results of the study will then be compared with other case studies, and recommendations will be offered for relocations in the future.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

To ascertain Naskapi community views regarding the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, several data collection and analytical tools, based on two main research approaches, were employed. This chapter outlines the research design process utilized to retrieve and analyze information obtained from members of the Naskapi Band.

#### **3.1 Study Approaches**

Two main study approaches were utilized in the process of collecting and analyzing information on aboriginal community relocations and the experience of the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach. The first approach is based on a qualitative method of collecting and analyzing data, termed “research from the margins.” This technique is described by Kirby and McKenna (1989) to imply researching by, for, and with people who may suffer from injustices, inequalities and exploitable circumstances. Canada’s aboriginal people, like aboriginal people around the world, have and continue to suffer social, economic and in many cases geographical marginalization. As described in Chapter Two, aboriginal people in Canada have endured abuse, discrimination, and alienation since their first contacts with European explorers and settlers. Control over their lives and their land was essentially taken over by a paternalistic bureaucracy, and their traditional knowledge and decision-making abilities were dismissed by Western scientific knowledge. These realities must be acknowledged and dealt with by a non-native researcher before research takes place.

Researching from the margins is a method which is utilized in an attempt to accept the knowledge received from the aboriginal community as the 'truth', and not to dismiss community views as insignificant compared to the views of modern society.

The method of researching from the margins is based on the following principles:

2. knowledge is socially constructed;
3. social interactions form the basis of social knowledge;
4. different people experience the world differently;
5. because they have different experiences, people have different knowledge;
6. knowledge changes over time;
7. differences in power have resulted in the commodification of knowledge and a monopoly on knowledge production (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 26).

Accepting the views of the community gives the researcher the opportunity to incorporate their thoughts and wishes into the purpose, framework and the results of the research, which allows the community to share control over the study, rather than having it imposed upon them.

The approach utilized in this study drew from the ideas of "researching from the margins," especially in the researcher's attempt to involve the community in the research process as much as possible. Community involvement began when contact was first made with the community through a letter to the Director General of the Band, in which I described my interest in the long-term impacts of voluntary or community-initiated relocations. Shortly after sending the letter I received a telephone call to discuss the research. The Band expressed interest in the study as they wanted to know how community members viewed the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach.

Through further consultation with the Band, the purpose of the research was adapted to incorporate the interests of the Band. Through an open letter to the entire community all members present in Kawawachikamach had the opportunity to contribute their own observations on the relocation through the interviews. A number of the respondents made suggestions for, and introductions with, people in the community they felt should also be interviewed. The interview style was modified to suit the respondents and questions were left open to allow them to discuss the issues they felt were important. My address and phone number were left with the community so that the community members had the opportunity share any further thoughts or suggestions, or discuss with me, the results of the study as they were developing.

The second approach is loosely based on the ideas of “grounded theory” as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Grounded theory can be defined as a “qualitative research method that uses a systemic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon” (Corbin, 1990: 24). This theory has become an approach widely used in qualitative research where the researcher is interested in a methodology which attempts to avoid the imposition of the researcher’s preconceived notions on the data collection and analysis. This issue is particularly important in the case of cross-cultural research where the researcher’s thought process and value system may be quite different from the subjects of the research.

As this particular study was done with aboriginal people by a non-native researcher, grounded theory was considered to be an appropriate approach. The utilization of the approach enabled the subjects to reveal issues and information that they felt were relevant and important, without the interference of previously constructed

questions or themes. When analyzing the community responses, the modified use of grounded theory allowed the data to speak to the researcher and therefore, themes emerged from the data rather than being imposed on the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

### **3.2 Techniques for Data Collection**

A number of techniques were utilized in the research to collect data on aboriginal community relocations and the Naskapi community's views on their relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach. These techniques included: literature reviews, interviewing and participant observation. As noted above, underlying these techniques were the modified approaches drawn from "researching from the margins" and "grounded theory."

#### **3.2.1 Literature Review**

An in-depth review of the accumulated knowledge on aboriginal issues and relocation was an essential first step in this research project. Four goals for a good literature review are:

1. To demonstrate familiarity with a body of knowledge and establish credibility.
2. To show the path of prior research and how a current project is linked to it.
3. To summarize what is known in an area.
4. To learn from others and stimulate new ideas (Neuman, 1994: 80).

The vast amount information collected for this study proved invaluable throughout the research process in satisfying the above goals and the research objectives.

Documents and published literature form a major source of information in any type of research project (Rothe, 1994). The secondary sources reviewed included: general literature on aboriginal issues, literature on the impacts of community relocations, case studies of aboriginal community relocations, government documents on relocation, literature and documents on the Naskapi of Northeastern Quebec, documents relating specifically to the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach. A review of the above documents allowed the researcher:

1. To gain a better understanding of aboriginal issues.
2. To develop a framework of possible impacts from aboriginal community relocations.
3. To learn more about the history of the Naskapi and their relocation to Kawawachikamach.
4. To assist in the formulation of the recommendations for future aboriginal community relocations.

Although the literature review indeed provided a valuable source of secondary information, researching from the margins gives priority to experiential data collected from those actually living the experience (Kirby and McKenna, 1989). Experiential data was collected using the following techniques.

### **3.2.2 Interviewing**

Interviews were an essential part of the research process. During the three-week visit to Kawawachikamach, a number of in-depth, open-ended, unstructured interviews were held with selected Naskapi community members. The approach taken to interviewing was loosely based on the ideas behind “researching from the margins” and

“grounded theory”, with an interviewing style amended during the study period so as to be best suited to the needs of the respondents.

There were two distinct interviewing techniques utilized during the study period. For the first, the researcher attempted to keep the interviews casual, more akin to a conversation between two people than to a structured interrogation of the interviewee. Through this method control over the interview was given to the interviewee and the researcher accepted whatever information was given as that persons’ truth. Following from the ideas behind grounded theory, the interviews did not have a specific set of questions or themes based on the researchers preconceived notions. The topic of relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach was given and the interviewee then led the interview in the direction he or she chose, disclosing what information he or she felt comfortable sharing and/or thought was important. The process was open-ended, which permitted the interviewee to end the interview when he or she wanted to yet left open the opportunity to continue the interview at another time if the interviewee so desired.

Community members were shy and uncomfortable with the idea of a formal interview and did not want to be recorded. However, they were open to conversations, which lasted from five minutes to several hours. Some of the interviews were continued at other times.

A second technique was used for interviews with two secondary level classes, consisting of nine and ten students. The interviews were held in the school during the student’s English class. They were introduced to me by their teacher and told the purpose of the study. Although the students did not remember much about their life in

Matimekosh, they did have strong ideas about the community today and what they would like to see changed. The classes began by 'brainstorming' words which they thought described their community and their life as part of that community. They then organized the words and phrases into three columns: positive, negative, and mixed. After they completed their table, an open discussion was initiated by me, during which time the students spoke about what they had written and what they would like to change. A 'free write' concluded the class, in which the students wrote a page about their life in Kawawachikamach and made suggestions to their Council. The students were shy but they were quite open about their feelings and were very interested in having their ideas heard.

An open community discussion group meeting was initiated without success. A number of announcements were made on the radio explaining the purpose of the research and asking community members to drop by the band office for refreshments and discussion with the researcher. This was intended to include people at home during the day who might not otherwise feel they had the chance to meet and discuss the study, or those people who would feel more comfortable meeting in a group. Unfortunately nobody in the community dropped by, so this method was dismissed for the remainder of the visit.

Prior to my departure, I posted my name, address, and phone number on a community bulletin board so that the community members could contact me about the study after I left. I did not receive any correspondence from community members following the field study period.

### **Establishing Community Contacts**

Establishing a contact with the community was an essential first step for this study. Initial contact was made with Paul Wilkinson (of Paul Wilkinson and Associates in Montreal), who is currently working with the Innu of Davis Inlet on their relocation. Paul Wilkinson and his colleagues have also worked with the Naskapi band since before their relocation to Kawawachikamach. Mr. Wilkinson suggested I speak to Mr. John Mameamskum, the Director General of the Naskapi Band, so I telephoned him and told him about my interest in the community views on their relocation. He too was interested in the research topic and asked the Chief and Council about a possible visit by me to the community. The council agreed to the trip and arrangements were made to visit the community for the last three weeks of November.

Upon my arrival I sent out a letter to the entire community explaining who I was and the purpose of my visit (see the letter in Appendix B). I then met with John Mameamskum to discuss a list of possible interview subjects. Several people contacted me after receiving the letter and expressed their willingness to be interviewed. The rest of the interviewees were searched out as I walked around the community and dropped by places such as: Jimmy Sands Memorial School, the Naskapi Development Corporation, the Police Station, the Day Care, the Dispensary, the store, the radio station and the restaurant. Everyone in the community was welcome to participate and people generously volunteered to translate when it was necessary. The interviews with the adolescents in the community were made possible with the help of Ms. Gabrielle Stanton, an English teacher in the school, and the cooperation of the students.



### **Sample Size and Characteristics**

In the three weeks in Kawawachikamach I was able to interview 40 community members. Anonymity was assured; the names of the people interviewed thus were not recorded. The ages of the subjects were not asked for or recorded so a clear profile of age is not possible. However, a wide range of age groups was covered with the exclusion of young children. Just less than half of the interviews were held with adolescents from two secondary levels classes. The majority of the remaining interviews were held with working adults, with only a few interviews with community elders. This was so because of the absence of the majority of the elders during the last week of my visit, for they had gone to their camp in Labrador for ice fishing. The gender of the participants was divided equally, with 20 males and 20 females. This information may be important in illustrating equality in voice, however, in the data analysis gender was not a factor which was considered. It is recognized that the responses of the forty community members interviewed in this study do not represent the views of the entire community. They are only representative of the views of those particular people at the time of the interviews. However, the responses of the forty members do highlight real issues and concerns in the community and when compared to documents and other sources, do help to establish some of the impacts of the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach on the community.

### **Recording Response Information**

The decision on how to record response information was something that was made upon arrival in Kawawachikamach. Originally, the plan was to tape record the

discussions and then transcribe the interviews after the trip. However, after meeting some community members, it was apparent that participants would be uncomfortable with such an approach and therefore it was deemed to be inappropriate. The less formal the process was, the better the interviews became. Even writing brief notes with a pen and paper made all concerned feel awkward and seemed to inhibit the interviewees. After two interviews were completed, I decided that the best approach was to listen carefully to the participants' responses and then immediately after each interview write everything down. Obviously with this method some things will have been missed. However, if I had used the other methods there would no doubt have been less information shared and probably fewer interviews accomplished. I reviewed my interview notes every evening and added to them whenever new things were remembered. Although this technique was also used to a limited degree to record the responses from the student interviews, other techniques such as brainstorming, group discussions and a free write, proved more valuable with the students.

### **3.2.3 Participant Observation**

Participant observation is a method originally practiced by the discipline of anthropology wherein the researcher shares in the life and activities of the subject group, thereby gaining an 'insider's' perspective on the lifestyle and cultural views of its members (Chokor, 1987). Other disciplines such as sociology and geography have borrowed and embraced this methodology. This is a valuable addition to the methodologies of other disciplines as, "participant observation constitutes a humanistic methodology, a necessary adaptation of science to the distinctive subject matter of human

studies” (Jorgenson, 1989: 7). Participant observation may range from:

...the performance of nominal and marginal roles to the performance of native, insider and membership roles. The researcher’s involvement may be overt (with the knowledge of insiders), covert (without the knowledge of insiders), or - most likely - insiders selectively will be provided with knowledge of the researcher’s interests and purposes (Jorgenson, 1989:21).

This methodology is especially important in a cross-cultural study as it allows the researcher to gather data from the day to day experiences he or she encounters in a different culture (Rothe, 1994). Much information of cultural significance can be observed through activities such as: conversations, parties, church services, and cultural events.

Participant observation was limited in this study by a field study period of only three weeks and also by the location of my accommodation, which was outside of the community. This restricted my time in the community, most days, to approximately 8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.. However, given the limitations, participant observation was employed whenever possible to make the most of the researchers cultural experience. The opportunities for cultural involvement included: a birthday party, lunch at the Chief’s home, working in the band office and the school, a ski-doo ride to and from the camp the at Iron Arm Lake in Labrador, and the day spent at different tents and cottages at the camp. These activities contributed to the enjoyment of the visit and also provided the researcher with a glimpse of life of the Naskapi in Kawawachikamach.

The data collected through participant observation were recorded daily in a journal of field notes. These experiences also contributed to the preliminary analysis done in the field which involved the identification, in my journal, of themes that appeared to be emerging from the data.

### **3.3 Data Analysis**

Upon returning from the study site, data obtained from the interviews were entered into a computer database where the content of the interviews and the gender of the interviewees were recorded. The interviews were then assigned a number as opposed to a name. At this point, following from Kirby and McKenna's analysis strategy, from researching from the margins, and Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory, the researcher 'lived with the data' over a period of time to explore, uncover, and analyze the different aspects of knowledge grounded in the information. This required the researcher to consistently review and reflect on the material gathered in the field, as well as the various ideas, themes, and explanations that were emerging from the data, in an effort to describe and explain the information (Kirby and McKenna, 1989; Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

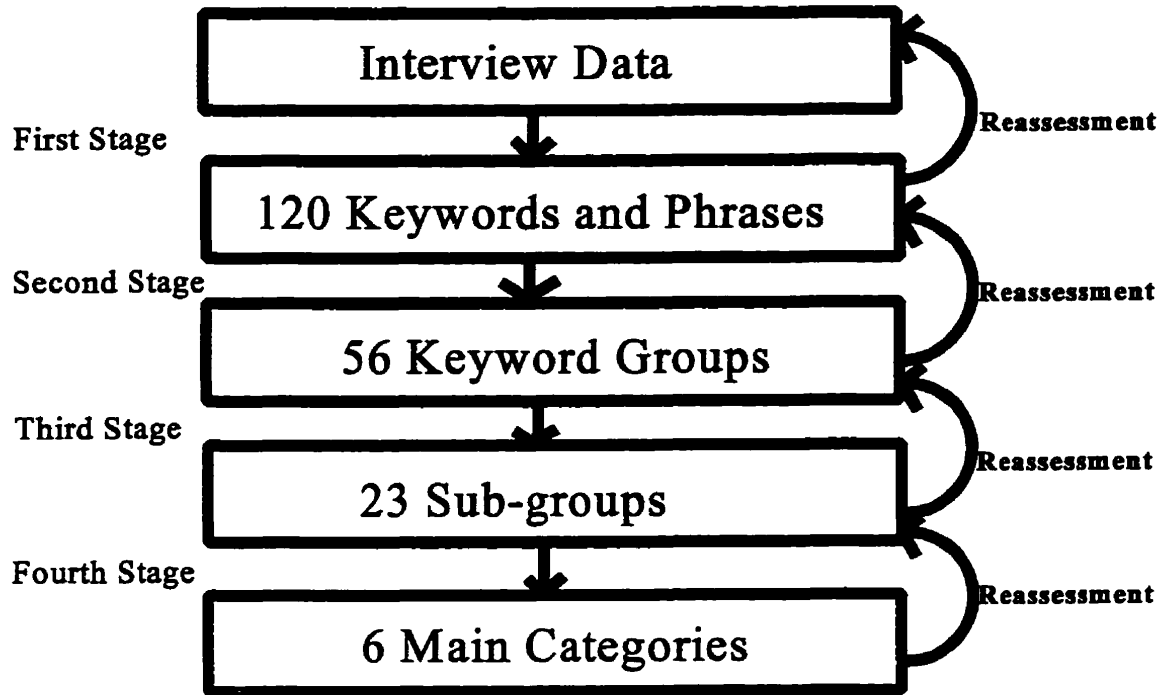
After stepping back from the data for a period of time and reflecting on the meanings and possible implications, the researcher began to further organize the data. The interviews were carefully reviewed and keywords and phrases were drawn from each interview (Figure 3.1). A list of 120 keywords and phrases was then compiled from all the interviews. This stage was repeated again, and a final list of 56 was completed. The keywords and phrases were then further analyzed and divided into 23 sub-groups. These groups appeared to reflect common characteristics and have strong interconnections. These groups were finally organized into six main categories that emerged from the data through the process of reflection, review and final reworking, that is:

- Education;
- Political issues;
- Health and Social issues;
- Housing and services;
- Economic issues and;

- Environment and culture.

Although the data were eventually organized into six categories groups from which they were analyzed, the broader connections between and outside of these categories were recognized. A more detailed description of the data analysis is provided in Chapter Five. However, before proceeding to this discussion, it is important to have a better understanding of the Naskapi people, their history and their community today, which is presented in Chapter Four.

**Figure 3.1: Process for Organizing and Assessing Interview Data**



## CHAPTER 4

### PROFILE OF THE NASKAPI VILLAGE OF KAWAWACHIKAMACH AND THEIR COMMUNITY RELOCATIONS

The Naskapi people have endured a number of community relocations which have had a significant impact on their lives and their community. The most recent relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach is one of ten since the early 1800's. This chapter provides a short history of the Naskapi people, outlines the impact of the Northeastern Quebec Agreement on the Naskapi people, offers a brief summary of the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach and, finally, describes the community today.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.1 Nomadic Caribou Hunters

Probably they were never a large tribe, perhaps 1500 at the most. Their remote territory did not attract Europeans at first, and the Naskapi kept their ancient way of life much longer than most Indian tribes in Canada (Crowe, 1974).

The first reference to the Naskapi was in 1643 by a Jesuit, Andre Richard, who was told of a small band of natives that inhabited the interior of the Kingdom of Saguenay. The Naskapi are an Algonkian-speaking people who were once part of a fairly homogenous group including the Montagnais and the Cree (Cooke, 1976: 8). However, contact with the French and British explorers heightened differences among the three groups.

---

<sup>2</sup>

A detailed history of the Naskapi up to their relocation to Kawawachikamach is presented in *A History of the Naskapis of Schefferville*, Cooke, 1976. *A Parcel of Fools*, by Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989, provides a more recent in-depth description of the Naskapi people and their community.

The Naskapi were a small nomadic group of about 1500 people who lived mainly along the lakes and rivers that drain into Ungava Bay (Figure 4.1). Their geographic location and nomadic way of life left them relatively isolated from European explorers and settlers until much later than most aboriginal groups. The Naskapi's unchanged way of life due to their isolation from European influence led neighbouring natives to refer to the Naskapi as being "uncivilized" or "heathenish". Indeed, the term Naskapi was utilized by native groups to describe other native groups whom they considered less civilized than themselves on the basis of contact with European society (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 29).

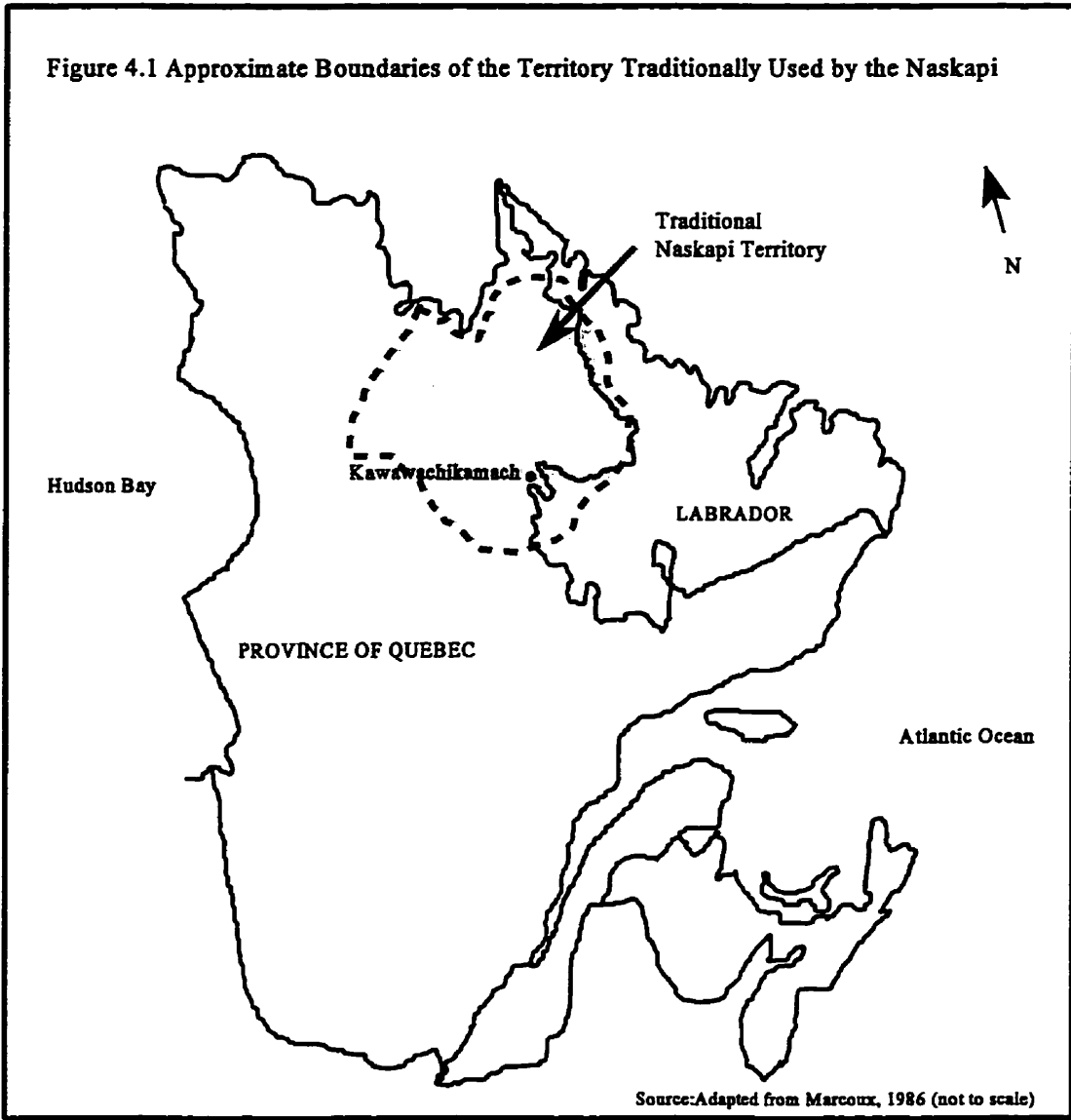
The Naskapis' lifestyle was based on the Caribou, which they followed as the herds migrated. Hunting required the families to split up during the winter when game was scarce and to regroup in the spring to hunt the herds of caribou returning from the south (DIAND, 1994:118). The Naskapi used the caribou for food, their pelts for clothing, bags, tents and strips for snowshoes and drums and their bones for utensils. Fish was another important supplement to their diet, providing essential vitamins.

#### **4.2 The Fur Trade**

The first regular encounter with European traders began in 1831 when Nicol Finlayson and Erland Erlandson with a large party established Fort Chimo about 30 miles upstream from the mouth of the Koksoak River. The Inuit in the area were pleased to begin trading with the Hudson's Bay Company, but the Naskapi showed no such pleasure (Cooke, 1976: 11).



Figure 4.1 Approximate Boundaries of the Territory Traditionally Used by the Naskapi



Source: Adapted from Marcoux, 1986 (not to scale)

The latter's relationship with the trading post was not a good one, for the Naskapi had no desire to go into the interior to hunt for furs and they were not happy with the price paid for caribou skins. In turn, the traders at the posts kept very unfavourable reports on the Naskapi because they felt they were lazy and disagreeable. Eralandson, having spent the winter of 1832-1833 at Fort Chimo, wrote: "As to their character, I shall simply say they are the most deceitful, lying, thievish race of Indians I ever dealt with, proud, independent"(Davies and Johnson, 1963: 23).

It was with eurocentricism and discrimination against them that the Naskapi were forced to deal with the European traders. Although they resisted, eventually the Naskapi began to become more dependent on the trading posts as they were strongly encouraged to abandon the caribou hunt to trap small animals whose pelts fetched a good price. At the will of the traders, instead of following the caribou herds the Naskapi began a cycle of following the traders from post to post. These moves entailed group pressures and intimidation orchestrated by Trading Post managers on a people who had no particular desire to be regular and diligent trappers (DIAND, 1994).

As the trading posts began to close, the Naskapi who had, in many respects, given up their traditional means of existence, faced increasing poverty and in some cases famine. In 1949, the federal government, concerned by the fate of the Naskapi in Fort Chimo sent food rations and provided health care, in an attempt to help the Naskapi resume something like their previous life. However, these attempts proved to be very expensive and difficult to organize (DIAND, 1994 and Cooke, 1976: 77).

The following table (Table 4.1) and map (Figure 4.2) illustrates the relocations which the Naskapi people have endured from 1831 to 1983.

**Table 4.1 List of Naskapi Relocations**

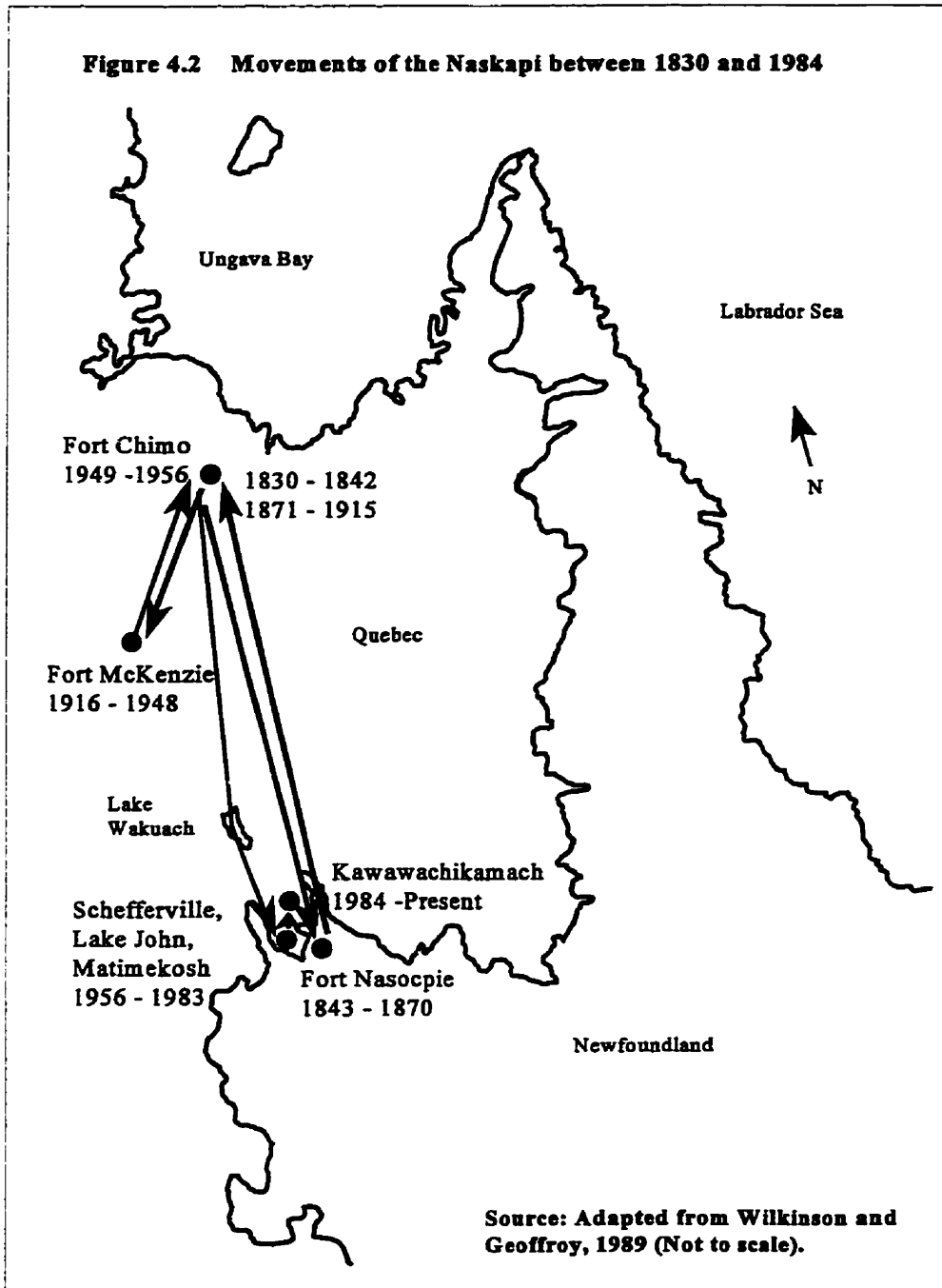
<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Location</b>
1695	Interior		Fort Nascopie
1831	Fort Nascopie		Fort Chimo
1842	Fort Chimo		Fort Nascopie
1870	Fort Nascopie		Fort Chimo
1915	Fort Chimo		Fort Mackenzie
1948	Fort Mackenzie		Fort Chimo
1953	Fort Chimo		Fort Mackenzie
1956	Both Forts		Schefferville
1960	Schefferville		John Lake
1972	John Lake		Matimekosh
1984	Matimekosh		Kawawachikamach

(Source: Cole, 1992: 30)

### **4.3 Relocation to Schefferville**

In 1956, the federal government decided to move the Naskapi community to Schefferville. The Iron Ore Company of Canada had built a mining town (then called Knob Lake), and constructed the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway to connect Knob Lake to Sept-Iles. The government realized that it would be less expensive to supply the Naskapi by rail to Schefferville and the Naskapi would still have access to their traditional hunting territory (Cooke, 1976:77). There is some debate as to the nature of the move. Some accounts say that the Naskapi were drawn by promises of jobs, social security, and modern conveniences, while others say that the Naskapi had no choice, and were ordered to move by the Indian and Northern Affairs (Cooke, 1976; DIAND, 1994; Personal Interviews, 1997).

**Figure 4.2 Movements of the Naskapi between 1830 and 1984**



Most of the Naskapi went to Schefferville by canoe where they thought things would be arranged for them. They arrived after a long and strenuous journey, tired, hungry and ill. Their arrival was a surprise to the town's people, and nothing was arranged for them. The rest of the Naskapi community was eventually flown to Schefferville (Interview #8, 1997 and Cooke, 1976: 78-80). In 1960 the Naskapi community was moved again, this time from Schefferville to John Lake which is just north of the town. The housing at John Lake lacked electricity and indoor plumbing so in 1972 they were moved to the Matimekosh reserve, located on the edge of Schefferville which they shared with the Montagnais. The Montagnais Band had lived in Matimekosh for many years and the movement of the Naskapi people into the reserve sparked some discontent on both sides. Although the community lived in Schefferville, John Lake and Matimekosh, Schefferville is commonly used to refer to that entire time period.

Promises of a better life for the Naskapi in Schefferville did not materialize. Rev. Gavin White, sent to Schefferville to work with the Naskapi, was dismayed at the state of the band and the broken promises made to them by the department. It was noted that:

They assert that they were definitely promised that they would have a school, housing, and a nursing station with a nurse like the one in Chimo. On that promise, they moved (Cooke, 1976: 80-85).

The Naskapi spent almost twenty years in the Schefferville area, resulting in devastating impacts to the community. Unemployment, alcoholism, family difficulties and juvenile delinquency are problems that plagued the community. Hunting and other traditional activities were limited due to lack of resources (Cooke, 1976: 85). The Naskapi people needed changes to help save their community. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, followed by the Northeastern Quebec Agreement, gave the Naskapi people

that opportunity.

#### **4.4 The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement**

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed on November 11, 1975 by the Cree and Inuit peoples of Quebec, the governments of Canada and Quebec, the James Bay Development Corporation, the James Bay Energy Corporation and Hydro Quebec. The Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NEQA) was signed three years later on January 31, 1978 by the Naskapi of Schefferville. The JBNQA and NEQA represented the settlement of native claims in the James Bay area of Northern Quebec and formed the first modern land claims agreement under the new found Canadian federal policy of addressing outstanding native land rights (Peters, 1989: 173).

These agreements had their basis in the historic extension of Quebec's boundaries. In 1898, the boundaries of Quebec were first extended north to the 52<sup>nd</sup> parallel. In 1912, Quebec's boundaries were further extended, to Hudson Strait in the north and to Labrador in the east (DIAND, 1995: 6). Scattered throughout this territory were Cree, Inuit and Naskapi peoples, who had inhabited the land since time immemorial (DIAND, 1976: xiv).

The 1912 Quebec Boundaries Extension Act, which established the province's present borders, carried specific obligations. Under this federal statute, the Quebec government was to reach an agreement with the Native communities on land-related issues. More specifically, the province of Quebec was to obtain surrender of native

interests in the area before development could take place (Peters, 1989: 174). However, the government of Quebec failed to meet its obligation until sixty-two years later when on May 5, 1972 the Cree and the Inuit of Quebec filed a motion to halt the James Bay hydro-electric development work begun in Northern Quebec by the province. After two years of exhaustive legal battles, an agreement in principle was signed on 15 November 1974, providing for the signing of a final agreement one year later.

The Naskapi attempted to become signatories of the JBNQA, with the Cree and the Inuit of Northern Quebec. However, after eight months of effort, the agreement was signed without the Naskapi. The signatories of the JBNQA were aware that the Agreement provided for the extinguishment of the Naskapis' aboriginal rights without granting any compensatory rights or benefits (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 37). After acknowledging the legitimacy of the Naskapis' claims, separate negotiations began with the Naskapi in 1976. The NEQA was eventually agreed upon and signed on January 31, 1978.

#### **4.5 A Turning Point**

The signing of the NEQA marked a new turning point in the life of the Naskapi. The benefits granted to the Naskapi in the Agreement are generally comparable to the benefits granted to the Cree and the Inuit in the JBNQA. The Agreement granted the community nine million dollars in compensation for their aboriginal rights and provided for the creation of the non-profit, Naskapi Development Corporation to receive and administer that compensation. In addition, they were given 41.1 square kilometers of (1A-N) land that the federal government transferred to them for their exclusive use. They also have full ownership of 284.9 square kilometers of (1B-N) land and exclusive hunting

and fishing rights on 4, 144 square kilometers (DIAND, 1994: 115).<sup>3</sup> The devolution of the powers of local government to the community was implemented under the Cree-Naskapi Act. This Act supersedes the Indian Act (except for matters pertaining to Indian Status). It institutes a form of self-government and establishes land management system for Category 1A-N lands (DIAND, 1995). Most importantly for the purpose of this study, section 20 of the NEQA provided for the relocation of the Naskapi community from the Matimekosh reserve they shared with the Montagnais on the outskirts of Schefferville, to one of two sites further away from Schefferville.

#### **4.6 The Relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach**

With the settlement of the NEQA in 1978 the Naskapi had the opportunity to build a village of their own and the resources to attempt to deal with their social problems and recover and maintain their culture. The NEQA granted the Naskapi the possibility of relocating their community to one of two sites near Schefferville, their former place of residence at John Lake, or a new site, then known as Block Matemace, situated 15 kilometers north-east of the centre of Schefferville (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 41).

Contrary to many of the forced relocations described in Chapter Two, this relocation was intended to benefit the community in its entirety and was therefore planned carefully in an attempt to avoid negative impacts on the Naskapi people. The preconditions to the relocation included two studies, an agreement with the two

---

<sup>3</sup>

1A-N and 1B-N are land designation categories in the NEQA, which are based land categorization in the JBNQA. See Appendix C for the land rights in each category.



levels of government (federal and provincial) respecting the cost of financing and operating the new village, and a vote by the Naskapi population (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 41).

The two studies were carried out in 1978 and 1979, the first dealing with the costs and technical difficulties of building and operating a new village at each of the sites (Arbour, 1979), and the second with the socio-economic benefits and disadvantages of each of the sites (Peat Marwick & Associates, 1979). Both studies suggested that the Block Matemace would make a better home for the Naskapi than either an enlarged version of the Matimekosh Reserve or the John Lake Reserve (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989).

A vote was held on January 1980 to decide whether the community should relocate. Naskapi band members voted almost unanimously to relocate from the Matimekosh Reserve to Block Matemace. The community held a competition and decided to name their new village, Kawawachikamach, or “long winding lake” (J. Mameamskum, Interview, 1997).

The planning and construction of the Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach were under the control of the Naskapi Relocation Corporation. It was organized in such a way as to maximize training and employment for Naskapi (Wilkinson, 1985). The training programs were deemed by the consultants involved in the relocation as “in general very successful, and some 75 per cent of the manpower used to build the 71 houses at Kawawachikamach was Naskapi” (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 42). Between the summer of 1980 and Christmas of 1982 a road was constructed between Schefferville and Kawawachikamach, a system of water mains and sewers put into place, roads prepared

and lit, fire-hydrants installed, 32 single family homes and a municipal garage built. The construction has continued to the present, with more houses being built every year. However, the main infrastructure and public buildings in the community were substantially complete by the end of 1984 (Kozina, unpublished).

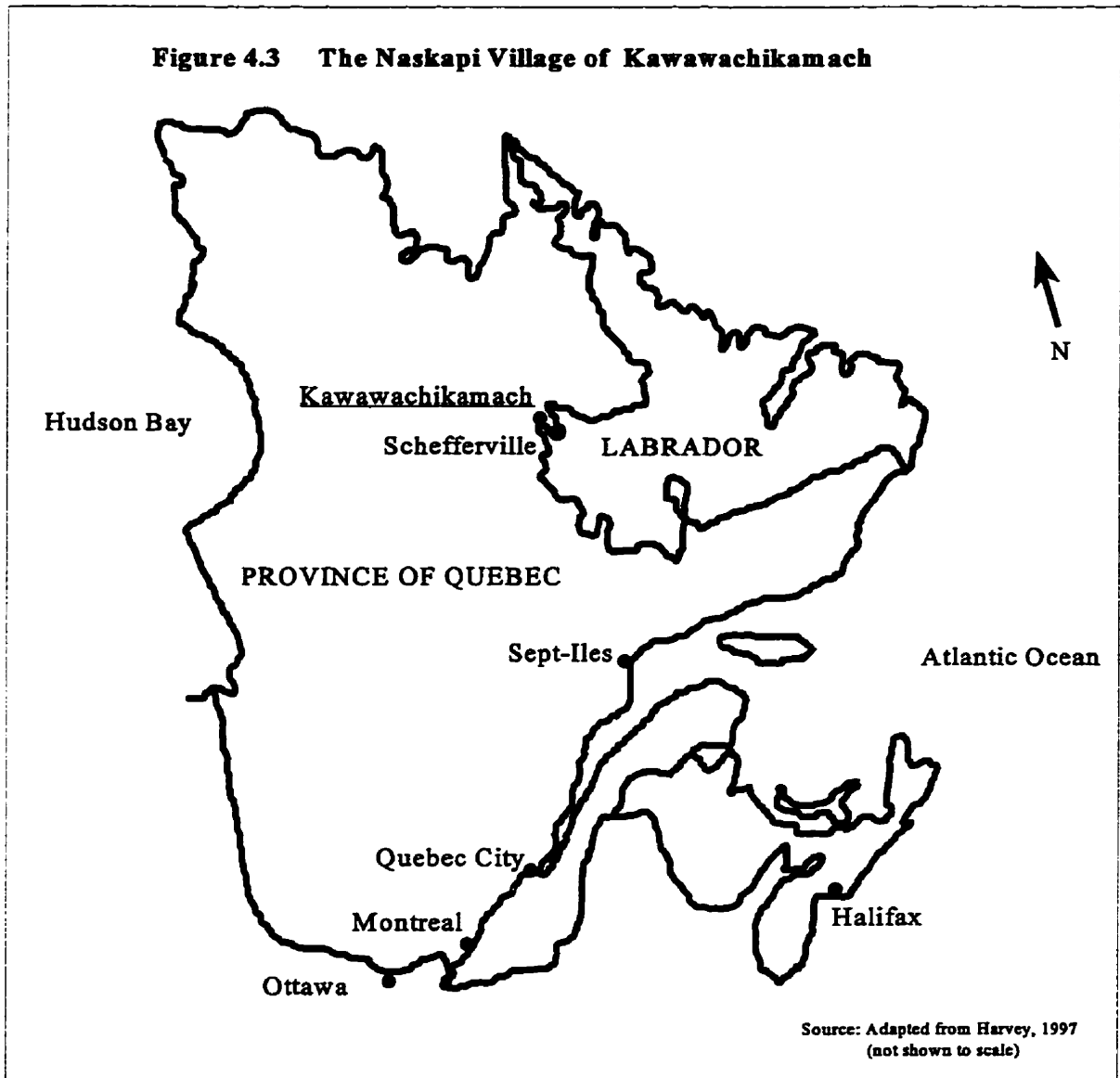
The community officially relocated from the Matimekosh Reserve to the Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach in 1983.

#### **4.7 The Environment**

Today, the Naskapi people live in Kawawachikamach, a village located approximately 15 kilometers north-east of Schefferville. Schefferville is located approximately 1000 kilometers north of Montreal (Figure 4.3). Kawawachikamach was built between 1981 and 1984, and covers approximately 40 acres of Category 1A-N lands.

The present Naskapi territory contains segments of five of the main physical regions of Northern Quebec: the Ungava Plateau; the Whale River; and the Central Lake Plateau; and the George Plateau. The Naskapi territory falls into two principal ecological zones, the Mid-Arctic and the Sub-Arctic. Despite its northerly latitude, most of the Naskapi territory is located in the Sub-Arctic. Due to their high elevation, Kawawachikamach and Schefferville, although in the southern part of the Naskapi territory, lie inside a large band of Mid-Arctic vegetation where trees are small and rare, and where lichen heaths and alpine tundra are the predominant forms of ground cover (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1993: 2115).

**Figure 4.3 The Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach**



The Naskapi have always depended on hunting for survival. Today, hunting continues to be an important part of life for the majority of the population. There are a number of different birds, mammals and fish which are utilized by the Naskapi of Kawawachikamach. Figure 4.4 illustrates some of the wildlife found in Naskapi territory:

**Table 4.2 Wildlife Found in Naskapi Territory**

Large Species	Small Species	Birds	Fish
Caribou	Arctic Fox	Rock-ptarmigan	Lake Trout
Black Bear	Red Fox	Bush-ptarmigan	Brown Trout
Wolves	Silver Fox	Spruce Grouse	Burbot
Moose	Beaver	Canada Goose	White Sucker
Lynx	Otter	Brant Goose	Whitefish
	Mink	Black Duck	Salmon
	Weasel		Arctic Char
	Hares		Pickereel
	Muskrat		
	Ermine		
	Marten		

(Source: Cole, 1992: 88 and Quebec, 1984: 63)

The climate in Naskapi territory is varied due to the large geographic area and the great distance between the northern and southern boundaries. The following climatic data is for the Schefferville area of northern Quebec which is in the southern part of Naskapi territory where Kawawachikamach is located (Figure 4.5). The northern portion of the Naskapi territory has less than 40 frost-free days and the southern portion has more than 80 frost-free days (Le Nord du Quebec: profil regional, OPDQ, 1981 and Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989).

**Table 4.3 Climate for Naskapi Territory**

**TEMPERATURE**

Mean Annual	4.7 degrees Celsius
Mean Monthly	
July	12.9 degrees Celsius
January	-21.7 degrees Celsius

**PRECIPITATION**

Mean Annual	
Rain	400 mm
Snow	345 mm
Total	745 mm

**WINDS**

Average Speed	
NNW	17.8 km / hour

(Source: McBryde, 1976)

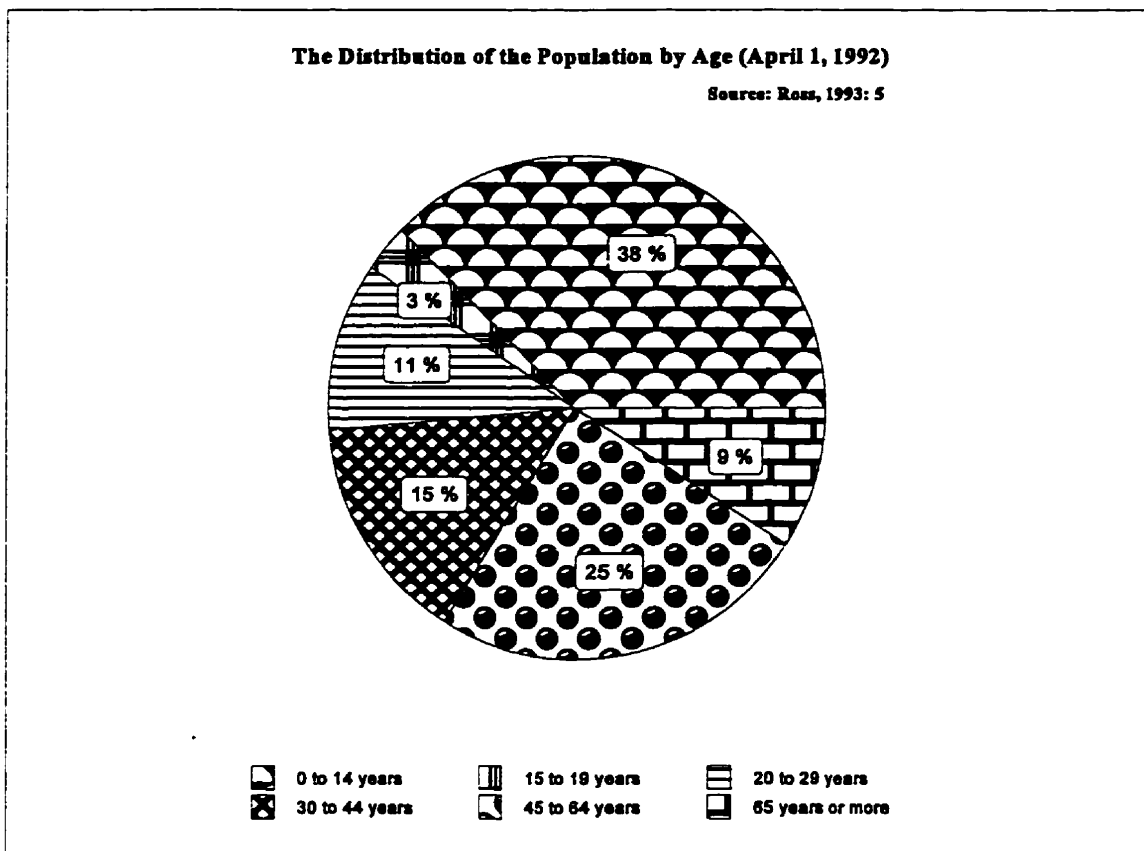
## **4.8 The Community**

To place the analysis in context, this section presents a brief overview of the Naskapi community, highlighting some characteristics of the population and the village.

### **4.8.1 The Population**

As of 1997, the Naskapi community was made up of approximately 600 individuals (Harvey, 1997: 38). Figures from 1992 indicate that the population was evenly distributed with respect to sex, with 268 males (51% of the total) and 256 females (49% of the total). The population is very young with almost 50% of the population less than 20 years of age (Ross, 1993:2) ( Figure 4.6). Based on estimated growth rates of

**Figure 4.4 The Naskapi Population Distribution by Age**



Source: Adapted from Ross, 1993: 5.

2.3% to 3.9%, the population was expected to total between 644 and 813 by the year 2001 (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 74). The population increases will have significant impacts on housing, education and employment in the community.

#### **4.8.2 Language**

The Naskapi language is now spoken by virtually by all of the Naskapi. However, in 1989 very few people younger than 38 could read or write Naskapi, and those who could, could not read or write it fluently (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 95). The change is due to the curriculum changes in the school, since children are now taught almost exclusively in Naskapi until Grade Four. The other language widely used in the community is English. Most Naskapi younger than 50 years speak, read, and write English more or less fluently. Many of the people over 50 can speak English relatively well, but can not read or write it. French is not well-known or used in the community, with few members who can speak, read and write fluently (Personal Interviews, 1997). French is taught in the school so the young people in the community are improving their skills in the French language. A decade ago the lack of fluency in English and French among the Naskapi was regarded as a

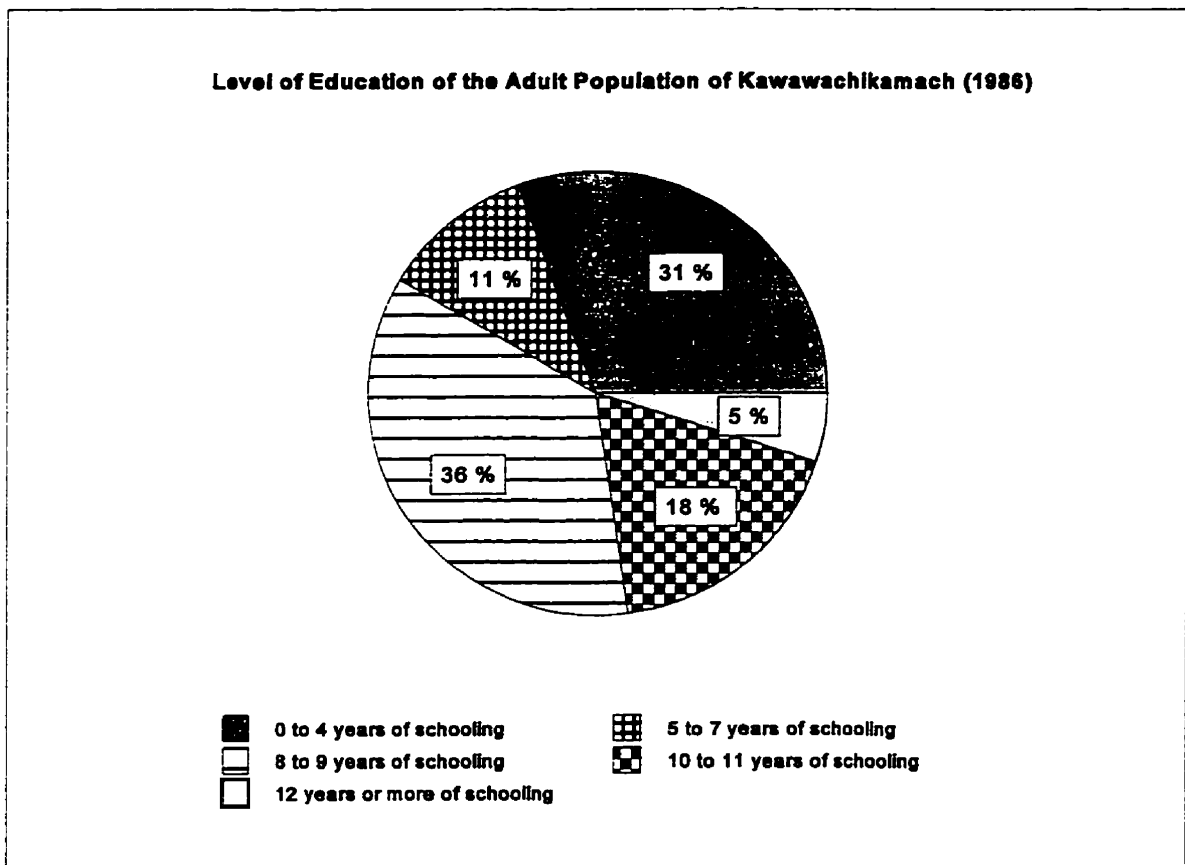
handicap to many possible strategies of economic development, particularly those that involve their integration into the regional and provincial economy or others, such as tourism in its many forms, that require frequent and intensive contacts with Anglophones and Francophobe (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 100).

However, with improved education, the English and French languages are becoming less of an obstacle for the community.

### 4.8.3 Education

Prior to the relocation to Kawawachikamach, formal education levels among the Naskapi were very low (Personal Interviews, 1997). In 1986, two years after the relocation, more than sixty percent of the adult population had less than ten years of formal education (Figure 4.7).

**Figure 4.5 Level of Education of the Adult Population of Kawawachikamach, 1986**



Source: Ross, 1993: 10



However, in the years since the relocation, formal education has improved in the community considerably. This has been attributed, by community members, in large part to Jimmy Sands Memorial School which was built at Kawawachikamach and came into service on July 1, 1985. Through the achievement of limited self-government with the relocation, the community has gained significant control over the school and the curriculum, and the majority of the staff at the school are Naskapi. The number of students achieving their secondary school diplomas is slowly increasing and a growing number are going on to post-secondary institutions (Chapman, 1991 and Personal Interviews, 1997). In the 1993-1994 school year, 15 students were attending post-secondary institutions (DIAND, 1994: 119). Despite improvements in education, drop-out levels in the community remain high and formal education levels are low (Ross, 1993: 10-11). This is a major concern to the community, as greater self-determination through economic development and self-government is dependent in large part on a high level of education (Personal Interviews, 1997). The community expressed confidence in the abilities of the young people in the community to succeed in school and go on to attend post-secondary institutions.

#### **4.8.4 Employment**

Employment has been an on-going problem for the Naskapi since their initial relocation to Schefferville. It was in Schefferville that the Naskapi first began to participate in wage labour. From the 1950's until the 1970's, the primary employer of the Naskapi was the Iron Ore Company of Canada. However, the vast majority of available jobs for which the Naskapi were qualified were seasonal and short-lived, with little or no

opportunity for learning and advancement and no job-security (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 102). The James Bay Project provided another significant source of employment for the Naskapi. Unfortunately for the band, between 1982 and 1984, the Iron Ore Company closed down their operations in Schefferville and construction on the James Bay Project was halted. These events had obvious devastating repercussions on employment for the Naskapi.

The relocation, negotiated through the NEQA, presented hope of much-needed employment to the Naskapi. The construction of the Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach gave many members of the band the opportunity to receive training and employment. Between 1979 and 1984 the Naskapi Construction Corporation employed, on average, 18 Naskapi for three months each summer (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 106). In addition, the Naskapi Relocation Corporation employed 131 Naskapi between 1982 and 1984, for a total of 10,100 person-days of employment (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 107). In 1982, one-fifth of its employees were women and in 1983 and 1984 this increased to one-third.

The Cree-Naskapi Act devolved upon the Naskapi most powers of local government formerly exercised by various levels of government. This gave the Band the opportunity to hire a great number of employees for municipal jobs such as garbage disposal and road work. Between 1975 and 1987 the Band grew to be the principal employer of Naskapi (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 107). A number of other jobs were created in: the Naskapi Development Corporation which was created to manage the financial compensation paid to the Naskapi under the NEQA; the local police force; the School; the Radio; the store; and the restaurant (Personal Interviews, 1997).

The percentage of the Naskapi population receiving welfare payments has decreased substantially since the community relocation from Matimekosk to Kawawachikamach. In 1978, 44 per cent of the population was receiving welfare but by 1990 the number had dropped to 29.6 per cent (Chapman, 1991: 14). An increasing number of Naskapi women are attaining employment. In 1975 employed Naskapi men outnumbered employed Naskapi women by 5:1, whilst in 1987 slightly more Naskapi women were employed than Naskapi men (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989: 109). A number of employment opportunities within the community, requiring moderate to high level of skill, are held by non-native people. Each of these existing positions represents an opportunity for Naskapi willing and able to obtain the required education or training (Ross, 1993: 13). Wilkinson and Geoffroy (1989) concluded that to have a fully employed work force, approximately 150 jobs had to be created in the immediate future, and an additional 150 jobs had to be created within a fifteen-year time period (cited in Ross, 1993: 22). A number of organizations, such as the Naskapi Development Corporation and The Working Group on Job Creation in Kawawachikamach, are attempting to create employment opportunities for the Naskapi in Kawawachikamach (Ross, 1993) This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

#### **4.8.5 Housing**

By 1993, the community had completed 68 single-family houses, three five-unit row houses, and one two-unit duplex, for a total of 85 housing units. The houses all have basements which are insulated and at least partly finished. This provides space for more bedrooms if the basements are finished. Every summer more houses are built but there is

still a chronic housing shortage. The most immediate inadequacy with respect to housing in Kawawachikamach concerns the virtual absence of accommodation for young persons, both married couples and single-parent families (Chapman, 1992: 2). A number of Naskapi Band members live in Schefferville, while they wait for a house to be built for them in Kawawachikamach.

#### **4.8. 6 Infrastructure and Services**

Kawawachikamach has its own water and sewage systems, which are independent of those of Schefferville. Electricity is supplied to Kawawachikamach by the Schefferville Power Company. The Naskapi Band purchases the power at the prevailing rate for industrial customers, which means that their electricity is substantially less expensive than in virtually any other part of Quebec (Chapman, 1992). The Naskapi use the Schefferville municipal dump for their garbage, which is gathered and transported by Band employees. The community has its town fire protection equipment and fifteen Naskapi community members have received basic training as firefighters. There are no banking facilities in Kawawachikamach or Schefferville. Community members use a cheque-exchange facility at the Manikin Centre in Kawawachikamach and banking institutions in Sept-Iles and Quebec City. Following the relocation, the community began to police itself. The Naskapi police officers are supported by a liaison officer from the Surete du Quebec (Ross, 1993: 35-38).

The following is a list of the Public Buildings in Kawawachikamach, as of January 28, 1993.

1. The St. John's Anglican Church, 5 376 sq. ft.

2. Band Office, 2 700 sq. ft.
3. Jimmy Sands Memorial School, 20 115 sq. ft.
4. Naskapi Dispensary, 2, 927 sq. ft.
5. Old Dispensary, 2, 458 sq. ft.
6. Nurses' Residence, 1 097 sq. ft.
7. Police Station, 645 sq. ft.
8. Youth Centre, 1 417 sq. ft.
9. NDC Workshop and Craft Centre, 3 708 sq. ft.
10. Municipal Garage and Workshop, 6 908 sq. ft.
11. Pump House, 500 sq. ft.
12. The Manikin Centre and Restaurant, 5 579 sq. ft.
13. Convenience Store, 753.75 sq. ft.
14. Gas Bar, 231 sq. ft. (Ross, 1993: 39)

As of my visit to the community in November of 1997, an addition to the church was being built, the dispensary was being renovated, a new daycare centre had been constructed and was waiting to open, and I was told new housing was being built every summer. People were most anxiously awaiting the construction of a recreation centre which they hoped would begin the summer of 1998 (Personal Interviews, 1997).

#### **4.8.7 Conclusion**

Since the relocation fifteen years ago, there have been many improvements in the community with respect to housing, education, employment and self-determination. However, the Naskapi people still face a number of problems. The following chapter reveals some of the community members' observations on the success of the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach. Through 40 in-depth interviews, community members discussed the changes they anticipated would result from the relocation and what they believe today has actually resulted.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY RESPONSES**

The information gathered from the fieldwork was extensive and diverse.

Although the focus of the interviews was the community relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, related issues ranged from the quality of the housing to hunting and fishing. Following the research approaches, 'researching from the margins' and 'grounded theory', the analysis of these community responses was completed in four phases:

1. Organizing and summarizing the data responses;
2. Identifying relationships emergent from the data;
3. Analyzing and evaluating the emergent relationships;
4. Assessing the implications of the responses and their relationships; and

These four steps were completed after 'living' with the data for a period of time upon returning from the field. This time for reflection gave the researcher the opportunity to think about the material and consider the various ideas and themes which were emerging from the data before beginning the process of organization and analysis.

#### **5.1 Organizing and Summarizing the Data Responses**

The first stage of data analysis consisted of organizing the interview data. The interviews (which were recorded on paper) were entered, as they were written, into a computer database. Each interview was assigned a number and the gender of the participant was noted. Through this process the researcher reviewed the content of the

interviews and began to summarize the data, noting keywords and phrases that appeared significant to that particular participant. After the interviews were entered, the interviews were reviewed again and significant keywords and phrases were added to the initial list. Upon completion, a list of 120 keywords and phrases were produced, a few examples of which are listed in Figure 5.1.

■	alcohol
■	employment
■	hunting
■	school
■	the Naskapi language
■	“things are better but there are still problems”
■	“nobody cares about us”

## **5.2 Identifying Relationships Emergent from the Data**

The next step involved organizing the list into groups of common meaning. Through the continuing process of reflection, review and reworking, additional relationships identified from the data led to a further collapsing of the list of keywords. For example, keywords such as alcohol, drinking, substance abuse, drugs, drunks, were put together under the heading Drugs and Alcohol. As another example, keywords such as doctors, dentists, asthma, hospital, were grouped together under Health Care. This process reduced the list from 120 to 56 and avoided the confusion of separate categories

for words and statements which referred to the same issue. This list was then analyzed for connections between the words and statements. In time, a list of 23 categories or sub-groups emerged from the data. These sub-groups were:

- Hunting and Fishing
- Traditional Knowledge
- Cultural Activities
- Relationship to the Land
- Language
- Self-government
- Self-determination
- Community Politics
- The NEQA and the Cree-Naskapi Act
- Housing
- Infrastructure
- Community Services
- Employment
- Business
- Health Care
- Social Services
- Alcohol and Drugs
- Family
- Community
- Recreation
- School and teachers
- Post-Secondary Education
- Cultural Education

The 23 sub-groups reduced the list of keywords and statements to a more organized and manageable number for analysis. However, the groups did not address the strong interconnections between a number of the topics. A further study of the material led to the grouping of the interview topics into six major categories relating to the impacts of the relocation, that is:

- Environment and Culture
- Political Issues
- Housing and Services
- Economic Issues



- Health and Social Issues
- Education

The results of the data analysis process, of organization, summarization, and identification of relationships emergent from the data, are illustrated in Figure 5.2. This diagram illustrates the 23 sub-groups which were identified through the analysis process, and the six categories which address the interconnections between the topics. The broken lines are reflective of the further interconnections which exist between both the sub-groups and the six main categories.

The following section is an analysis of the relationships and responses in the data set, organized into the six categories and explained according to the twenty-three sub-groups.

### **5.3 Analyzing Relationships and Responses in the data set**

The data gathered in the field specifically relating to the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, included interviews, participant observation, documents, and secondary data. These were analyzed in the twenty-three sub-groups. However, although the data are organized into sub-groups, the interconnections within and between the categories are acknowledged and will be further discussed following this section.



### 5.3.1 ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE

The environment and culture are an interconnected, integral part of Naskapi life, past and present. In recent history, the Naskapi community has been isolated from its traditional environment and traditional culture has suffered. However, it appears that the Naskapi are attempting to reclaim their relationship with the land and preserve their culture through continued hunting and fishing, practicing and teaching cultural activities, passing on traditional knowledge, and preserving the Naskapi language. This has been attributed in part, to the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach.

#### Hunting and Fishing

The Naskapi were traditionally nomadic people who followed the Caribou herds. They utilized the caribou for food, clothing, material for tents, and supplies. They also supplemented their diet with a variety of fish. Although the Naskapi are now settled in a village, hunting and fishing is still a very important part of life for most of the community. When the Naskapi were relocated to Schefferville in the 1956 their opportunities to hunt and fish were limited. They lived in town, removed from the bush, and did not have the money to buy supplies for hunting and fishing (Cooke, 1976: 85). The community began to experience problems with alcohol for many families preferred to stay in town and drink rather than go out in the bush. *“In town [Schefferville] we just drank and hung around the bars”* (Interview #9). Children raised in Schefferville often missed out on the opportunity to learn how to hunt and fish.

The NEQA recognized the importance of hunting and fishing to the Naskapi people and designated 4,144 square kilometers for their exclusive use. The Naskapi also

won the right to hunt in Labrador, which is part of their traditional territory. The government of Newfoundland recognized the Naskapi's right to unlimited hunting for their own use, asking only that they take care of the land and the animals. This decision was also a victory for Innu residing in Labrador who had previously had their hunting and fishing rights limited by the provincial government (Interview #29). With the signing of the NEQA, the Hunter Support Program was created to assist the Naskapi with funds for hunting supplies, such as gas for their ski-doods and trucks, nets, and bullets. Respondents felt very positively about the impacts which have resulted from the Hunter Support Program. One man said, "*it was originally created to assist widows and the elderly but it has been a benefit to everybody*" (Interview #9).

Since the relocation to Kawawachikamach, some community members felt that people are participating in hunting and fishing more than they did in Schefferville. Many of the members commented on how nice it is to have the forest and the bush right in their backyard. "*It is pretty with the trees and the bush right behind us. We can go hunting whenever we want*" (Interview #1). As stated in this interview, accessibility was an important factor in the increase in these activities.

Both adults and adolescents felt that the young people are interested in hunting and fishing and want to continue this tradition. The children have holidays from school for caribou hunting, the goose hunt and there is talk of having time off also for ice fishing. One young man explained "*What works in this community are things like hunting, fishing and camping*" (Interview #36). Another young man stated that he felt, "*The hunting is great because most youths are now taking part and learning in the field, more than like four or five years ago*" (Interview #37). These events are a common bond

between the people and important community activities. During the study period a significant portion of the community, from elders to children, was ice fishing at Iron Arm Lake in Labrador. Many community members have cottages there and other members set up tents during the hunting and fishing seasons.

The good hunters in the community are a source of pride amongst the members. Several respondents spoke to me with pride as they mentioned that a young man in the community was “*a great hunter*”. Almost everyday somebody would excitedly comment to somebody else on what he had shot the day before. In Iron Arm most of the elders only wished to speak to me about the fish that had been caught and the ptarmigan that had been shot.

The spiritual aspect of hunting was not discussed much with me, though one man explained that,

*“We [the Naskapi] have respect for the animals because they are from the Creator too. When we kill them, we say a prayer for them and thank the Creator for providing for us”* (Interview #3).

This topic did not have specific relevance to the relocation so therefore it was not the focus of the discussions.<sup>4</sup>

### Traditional Knowledge

Traditional indigenous knowledge can be defined in many different ways (Duerden and Kuhn, 1998; Johnson, 1992; Gadgil, et al., 1993). A broad definition used in a seminar at the Inuit Circumpolar Convention described it as:

---

<sup>4</sup>For a detailed discussion of all aspects of hunting and the Naskapi community’s relationship to the land see Cole, D. 1992.

The participants emphasized that traditional indigenous knowledge is a way of life, based on the experience of the individual and of the community, as well as knowledge passed down from one's elders and incorporated in indigenous languages. This knowledge is constantly being adapted to the changing environment of each community and will remain current as long as people still use the land and sea and their resources (www.inusiaat.com).

This definition appears to best fit the meaning of traditional knowledge as it was utilized by the Naskapi people during the study period.

Since the relocation to Kawawachikamach there is a desire by the community to pass on the traditional knowledge of the elders before it is lost. Many of the people interviewed, who grew up in Schefferville, felt they were deprived of their traditional knowledge. Separation from the land and family problems relating to alcohol inhibited cultural education. Some of the women in the community stated with regret that they did not know how to do many of the traditional activities. One woman stated, "*I don't even know how to make bannock*" (Interview #15). Another woman stated that she would love to know how to make traditional caribou mittens but nobody had ever taught her how (Interview #13). One of the men said, "*The elders have so much valuable information. I have great respect for the elders. The young people can learn so much from them*" (Interview #24).

Traditional Knowledge is a subject that was brought up by most of the young people who were interviewed. They appear to value the knowledge the elders have about the land, animals, spirituality and their history, and are eager to learn about it. They felt that their generation needed to learn the traditional knowledge from the elders before the information was lost. One young man expressed his distress stating:

*We are losing the knowledge of the elders and don't have much time to spare. We are losing the interest of the youth because you [the community] have not listened*

*to them for so long and they just don't care anymore. If these problems are not taken care of immediately, the Naskapi people will cease to know their heritage (with the dying off of the elders) and the youth will grow up knowing incredibly few morals (at the fault of their parents not caring) (Interview #31).*

People in the community are proud of their cultural traditions and proud of their own traditional knowledge. One man, when asked how he did not get lost out in the bush, laughed and then spoke with pride of his knowledge of the land and his ability to survive on it (Interview #26). With greater access to the land, interest in learning about their culture, and cultural education in the school involving the community's elders, hopefully the important traditional knowledge of the elders will be passed on to the community before it is too late.

### Cultural Activities

The Naskapi have a rich culture, which had been preserved over time due to a nomadic lifestyle and relative isolation from non-native society until just over a century ago. After the community was moved to Schefferville in the 1950's, their culture began to deteriorate. People said that they did not participate in many cultural activities while living in Matimekosh. One man explained that

*In town [Schefferville] it was bad. The kids were staying up late drinking, then they were doing poorly in school. We almost lost our culture there. When we moved, here it got better (Interview #6).*

Since the relocation to Kawawachikamach it appears that there is a desire to reestablish traditional cultural activities. People are proud of their traditions and are happy that community members continue to participate in cultural activities. One man stated that:

*In the summer the elder women clean and tan the caribou hides outside in front of their homes. They didn't use to do that in Matimekosk. If the hydro goes out in the summer all the people cook outside. It is great the smell of wood burning. I am really happy that we relocated (Interview # 9).*

However, one of the problems in the community is the lack of recreational facilities or meeting places. One woman explained that the elders were isolated in their homes. She expressed a wish that there was somewhere for the elders to meet and do their activities together. She hoped that when the recreation centre was built there would be a place for them to do and maybe teach their activities. *"The elder women sometimes sew together at peoples houses but the younger women don't know how to sew. I would like to learn"* (Interview #13). A man also echoed her wishes: *"We need something for the elders. They just stay at home alone. There is no where for them to go and do something"* (Interview #6).

Many of the children expressed a desire to learn and participate in cultural activities. One young man stated that, *"We need to work on keeping our culture alive and not losing it"*(Interview #36). This is being accomplished in part through cultural education programs in the schools and activities planned in the community.

### Relationship to the Land

Historically the Naskapi were completely dependent on the land and its resources for their survival. The land provided the people with food, water, clothing, and shelter. As the community became dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company (described in Chapter Four) the community's relationship to the land began to change. They came to use the land for monetary income as opposed to subsistence and depended on the Hudson's Bay



company for the essential supplies they needed to survive. When the community was moved south, they were further isolated from the land which they knew so intimately.

However, since the signing of the NEQA and the subsequent relocation, the community's relationship to the land has begun to change again. The NEQA guaranteed a greater access to the land and gave people the resources to make use of the land. As previously mentioned, hunting and fishing continues to be of great importance to the community. People appreciate their community being surrounded by uninhabited land. One man stated,

*There are programs now where children and their parents go into the bush together for hunting. There was nothing like that when I was young. This place is so much closer to nature. It is beautiful. People are happier here. There is much more pride amongst the people (Interview #9).*

People value the land for the resources it provides them with and also its beauty. Numerous people commented on the beauty of the location the Village was built in, as illustrated in the comment above. Other comments included: "*The location is nice with the trees and the lake*" (Interview #22). "*The good things about the relocation are the trees, the lake, the mountains and hunting territory right in our backyard*" (Interview #23). "*Here we are surrounded by nature*" (Interview #24). One of the young women stated that she thought:

*One positive thing about here [Kawawachikamach] is the beautiful scenery. You can enjoy the fresh air just by walking to school. I really like this place because there is no pollution and it's not noisy (Interview #38).*

People also value the sense of control the land offers them. Issues of territoriality were expressed by a number of different people. In Matimekosh the community owned nothing. They shared the reserve with the Montagnais who were already established in

that area. Schefferville was owned by the mine and the non-natives who lived and worked there. Since relocation, the community is now residing in its own village and is surrounded by its own land. The community also has room to grow and relatively open access to the lands' resources, as identified in the NEQA. People are very happy that Kawawachikamach and the surrounding territory belong to them. As one person noted: *"In Matimekosh we shared everything with the Montagnais. We didn't have anything of our own. We wanted a place of our own. Now we have it"* (Interview #10).

For many people the relocation to Kawawachikamach was perceived as part of the healing process needed to help the community recover from the negative consequences as a result of the previous relocations. In this regard, the location of the village is considered by the community members to be very good for the people. *"The nature around the community is healthy. People can go for walks in the nature or sit by the lake"* (Interview #9). After living in so many unhealthy environments, where community members felt removed from the land, the move to Kawawachikamach is finally providing a healthy place to live and is giving community members a feeling of being once again a part of the surrounding natural environment.

## Language

The Naskapi language is very much alive in the community. Everyone in the community can speak Naskapi and it appears to be the first language for most of the people. However, for most of the adults who grew up in Schefferville, English is the only language in which they can competently read and write. In Schefferville, the children were taught in English and French at school by English and French teachers. The

Naskapi was learned at home (Interview #26). A number of people later moved “south” as young adults and so were separated from the Naskapi language.

Since the relocation and the building of Jimmy Sands Memorial School in Kawawachikamach, a number of people from the community have completed their teaching certificates and are now teaching in the school. Children take all of their classes in Naskapi until Grade Four. One of the adults in the community explained that:

*I can speak Naskapi but I can't read or write it. Now the children in grade 1 are learning to read and write it. The little children speak like the elders. It warms my heart to hear them. They are the future and through them the language and culture will not die (Interview #10).*

The Naskapi language is broadcast throughout the village on the community radio station. The radio station is played in most of the offices, in peoples homes and in their trucks. The announcers speak in Naskapi as they relay community information, and native music is often played (Interview #25). One man stated that the radio “*is something produced by the community, for the community. It is something that helps tie us together*” (Interview #28).

The NEQA and the subsequent relocation clearly have helped the community to preserve their Naskapi language and culture. Former Chief Joe Guanish who negotiated and the signed the agreement, stated that:

*The agreement ensures that the language and the culture given to us by the Creator stays intact. Ensuring that the culture stays alive in the future means that the kids will be using the difficult Naskapi words again. The past is being brought back to the present generation through the young people (Interview #29).*

As long as the Naskapi language continues to be spoken by the members of the community it will help to unify the people, preserve their culture, and give them a greater sense of being distinct.

### 5.3.2 POLITICAL ISSUES

As a result of years of relocations at the will of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Federal government the community lost its sense of self-determination. Life was dictated to the community from outsiders, with very little opportunity to make decisions for themselves. With the signing of the NEQA and the passing of Cree-Naskapi Act, the community was given the opportunity to relocate and to achieve limited self-government<sup>5</sup>. The politics of the community have taken a new direction, with greater power, greater responsibilities and greater self-determination. However, problems of a political nature still exist in the community which will need to be addressed by the relevant political bodies.

#### Self-government

There is no a clear definition of self-government in the literature. The most appropriate definition of self-government for the purpose of this study has been described by Cassidy and Bish, 1989. They state that self-government is used "in most cases, to refer to specific instances where Indian governments are working to regain powers that have been taken from them" (Cassidy and Bish, 1989: xix). In the case of the Naskapi

---

5

Some community members recognized that the NEQA and, to a lesser extent, the Cree-Naskapi Act are factors which have impacted the relocation from Matimekosk to Kawawachikamach, however few references were made to them specifically when discussing the relocation. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, while recognizing the NEQA and the Cree-Naskapi Act as unique and integral components of the relocation, impacts associated with the relocation are not always attributed specifically to either the agreement or the act but more often to the entire relocation process of which they are parts.

community, the people are indeed trying to regain decision-making powers over their community and their future. With the relocation, the Naskapi were able to achieve limited self-government. The challenge for the community now is to exercise their powers of self-government to their fullest. With time, experience, and education, the community hopes they will meet these challenges.

As noted above, the community previously had very little opportunity to make decisions for themselves. One woman stated that, "*In the past we were always managed. Now we manage ourselves. We don't have self-government yet. Not really. But we are getting there* (Interview #15 ). Other people interviewed expressed similar sentiments. One man explained how he saw self-government in the community:

*We are working towards self-government. We are getting there but we aren't self-sufficient yet. Education is so much better. We are almost there, once we have the resource people we will have control over education. We are working towards health and social services* (Interview #6).

As stated above, the present challenge to the community is to take full advantage of the powers of self-government. The community presently has considerable control over community politics, policing, community public works, education, and increasingly health care and social services.

Control over education, through increasing self-government, is vitally important to the community in their efforts to preserve the Naskapi language, pass on traditional knowledge, promote pride in Naskapi culture, and encourage higher learning. In turn, with better education the community will have the opportunity to exercise even more self-government and self-determination.

## Self-Determination

Self-determination can be defined as “the right of a group with a distinctive politico-territorial identity to determine its own destiny” (Knight cited in Johnston, Knight and Koffman, 1988:2). According to the United Nations (1960), self-determination is the right of a people “to freely determine their political status, and to pursue their economic, social, and cultural development” (cited in Knight, 1988: 119). It is a term which is not as widely used in the community as self-government. However, a number of people did comment on the right to determine their future and manage themselves. The focus of the community appears to be on firmly securing their right to determine their own destiny. As stated above, for many years the community has been deprived of the right to self-determination. However, since the relocation this situation has begun to change for the better.

Many people in the community feel that with self-government the band will be better able to determine their future. They attributed this opportunity to the NEQA, the Cree-Naskapi Act, and the relocation to Kawawachikamach (Interview #'s 6, 9, and 15). One woman explained that “*here in Kawawachikamach there is more self-determination, not really self-government yet but more than we have ever had before. We make more decisions for ourselves*”(Interview #2).

There are a number of institutions which either operate within the community and/or employ Naskapi members, and assist the community in achieving greater self-determination. The Economic Development Corporation manages the funds designated to the band through the NEQA (Interview #15). The Band Office is increasingly exercising their authority over issues that affect the community, still subject in many cases to the

approval of the federal and in some cases the provincial government (Interview #10). The Cree-Naskapi Commission, created through the Cree-Naskapi Act, investigates appeals concerning the Act's application. It also produces biannual reports on the application of the Act following hearings (DIAND, 1995; Interview #6). Consequently, the band feels that they are determining their own future and are no longer at the mercy of a distant bureaucracy, which all too often made important decisions without consulting the community.

### Community Politics

The Naskapi community has an elected Chief and five council members. All decisions made within the community are subject to approval by the Council. A number of concerns regarding local politics were relayed through the interviews. Many people who have not benefitted from the relocation to the extent they anticipated, blame the Council and the Band Office.

Fighting in the community was a concern for a number of the participants. One man explained that:

*Before when there were council meetings the Chief would speak and everyone would listen, then he would ask if anyone else wanted to speak, then they would speak and everyone would listen. We still have those skills but we just don't practice them. People debate all the time, they don't listen. You can learn a lot from silence (Interview #3).*

It appears that any people feel that their voices are not being heard by the people who make the decisions for the community.

Many people also feel though that the Council does not represent the community equally. They feel that the Council looks after their own families and clans before the rest

of the community. These complaints range from issues of housing to employment. One man said, "*the community is run by politics and favoritism!*"(Interview #23). Another man stated that:

*When they signed the agreement it was supposed to benefit the whole community, but it hasn't. Some people have everything: a house and a job. Some people have nothing. I wish that I could have been part of it. We didn't have a say. The Council should take care of all of us, not just their own families* (Interview #24).

Children even echo their parent's complaints about favoritism in community politics. "*I think that the Chief isn't doing his job, it's just from 9 to 5. People are always complaining that he only looks after his own family*" (Interview #38). The young people also feel that the Council and the band office neglect the needs and wishes of the young people in the community and do not care what happens to them. One young woman explained that the "*Youth are the main people in our community. They are very important to listen to what they want to say*" (Interview #39), but another young person stated that, "*The Band Office isn't looking after the youth*"(Interview #38).

The most frequently mentioned cause of upset is the lack of recreation facilities. Adults and children alike blame the Band Office and Council for the long delays in building a recreation centre, and many doubt if one will ever be built. One young woman said that "*Kids are tired of waiting for the youth centre. People say that it's coming soon but they always lie. They always say this summer but it is never there*" (Interview #32). A man in the community was also skeptical, "*There is talk about the Rec Centre but who knows if it is getting built anytime soon*" (Interview #7). One woman did state that the youth committee which was organized to involve the students in the planning of the recreations centre was a success. She said, "*The kids are really looking forward to the*



*recreation centre. They were involved in planning it. There was a youth committee. They liked being involved*" (Interview #22). This is a positive step toward involving the community in local issues.

In general, areas of disappointment with regards to things people anticipated would happen during and after the relocation but which did not occur, are blamed on the Band Office and the Council. The lack of confidence in the administration to follow through on its promises is not surprising, based on the community's experiences in the past. This is a conflict which needs to be addressed by the Council and Band Office, and reconciled with the community, before the relocation can be considered a success by a number of community members.

#### The NEQA and The Cree-Naskapi Act

As described in Chapter Four, the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NEQA) was the first step to the Naskapi relocation from Matimekossh to Kawawachikamach. During the negotiations the community had a vote to see if people wanted to relocate. "*It was approximately 80 to 90% in support*" (Interview #6). Some people in the community acknowledged the NEQA, and, to a lesser extent, the Cree-Naskapi Act, in combination with the relocation, as the reasons for many of the changes in their community. The Cree-Naskapi Act (also described in Chapter Four), which instituted a form of self-government and established the land management system for Category 1A-N lands, was discussed very little by community members. The NEQA, was more familiar to the community and was recognized for, among other things, improvements to community self-determination, the means for cultural protection, improved access to and resources

for hunting, and the opportunity for continued improvements for the future (Interview #29). However, some people had questions about the agreement, and the changes or lack of changes that have resulted from it.

Many of the adults who were not old enough to participate in the negotiations and signing of the agreement, now feel left out and upset. They are experiencing the impacts of the agreement and relocation today but they had no voice in negotiating the agreement. As one man said *“I wish I could have been part of the negotiations. I would have liked to have been able to make the choices”* (Interview #21). As a result, some people feel that the agreement should now be renegotiated with their participation and insights.

A number of people have expressed disappointment with the agreement, believing that it has not resulted in as many changes as they had anticipated. However, Chief Joe Guanish feels that part of the problem may be that people do not really understand the agreement either because they have not read it or they had misinterpreted it. He believes that the agreement has considerably changed the community in many positive ways, such as improved education, and although things are not perfect, that they are getting better everyday (Interview #29). Another man involved in the negotiation of the agreement and one of the signatories of the NEQA stated that, *“We have the infrastructure that we wanted or expected by this time. But there still needs work on the social aspects”* (Interview #6 ).

There may need to be changes to the agreement in the future as the needs of the community change with each generation. Former Chief Joe Guanish explained that:

*People [in the community] have to know what their rights are in the agreement. The agreement will change in the future at a certain time and then it will be the younger people who will negotiate it to suit their needs. For instance, Section 11*

*regarding education. Before people didn't go to post-secondary school. But now they do and there needs to be a redefinition (Interview #29).*

Although the NEQA, the Cree-Naskapi Act and the relocation may not have met all the needs of the community, responses indicate that they have provided a number of positive results for the community.

### **5.3.3 HOUSING AND SERVICES**

Access to services and the quality and quantity of housing on reserves are very important issues in native communities across Canada. The Naskapi people have suffered in the past with insufficient access to services, a drastic shortage of housing and very poor quality housing. Due to the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, the Naskapi community has improved access to services, more developed infrastructure, and better quality housing. However, in spite of the numerous improvements in this area, some problems remain, especially in regard to the quantity of housing available in the community.

#### **Housing**

In John Lake, the community where the Naskapi first lived after being relocated south to Schefferville, the few houses that the community had, did not have electricity or running water (Interview #5). Eventually the community was moved to Matimekosh, where the houses had indoor plumbing and electricity, but there were not enough houses for all the families and many people were crowded into small homes. The houses were also very poor quality and expensive to heat. One man stated that the "*houses in*

*Matimekosh were really small and were in bad shape. The sewers were always backing up and overflowing. It was disgusting*” (Interview #16). A number of people also expressed their dislike of the row houses in Matimekosh. A lady explained that *“the houses were all in a row. I didn’t like it. It was dangerous if there was a fire. Here [Kawawachikamach] all of the houses are separate. It is much better and safer”* (Interview #8). Community members were unhappy with both the quantity and quality of the housing in Matimekosh.

The opportunity for improved housing was an important factor in the decision to relocate to Kawawachikamach. People were anxious to have new homes for everyone in the community. At present in the community, there are single family homes which are all occupied and two apartment buildings for people who are on a waiting list for housing. People were generally very positive about the size and quality of their houses. A typical response was, *“The houses here are really nice”* (Interview # 2). Another person explained the difference in housing to her, *“The houses here are better, they are bigger than in Matimekosh. In Matimekosh we had really big families in small houses”* (Interview #1). Another woman agreed, stating, *“The houses are much better here than in Matimekosh. The houses here are separate and there are more of them. In Matimekosh big families sometimes ten people lived in two or three rooms”* (Interview #19). I was told that an added benefit of the homes in Kawawachikamach was the fire places, which people use to cook and stay warm when their hydro goes out (Interview #21).

In the group discussion with a number of the young people, complaints were made about the houses in the community being *“too small”* and that *“they all look alike”*.

One student said that he thought that the houses looked like “*poor people’s houses*”.

These comments are remarkably different from the comments made by the adults in the community. This may be explained by the fact that most of the students have few, if any, memories of the housing conditions that their community had to endure in the previous locations. Therefore, some of the young people seem not able to appreciate the improvements in the quality of housing from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach.

The main problem associated with housing which was identified through the interviews was the lack of housing units and the long waiting list for numerous families. There were accusations made that the housing was unfairly allocated based on family connections. One man stated that he had been waiting for years for a house but because his parents had died before the relocation he and his brothers and sisters were ignored by the council. He expressed his disappointment with the relocation:

*I should have a house by now but I am stuck in this small apartment. It could be years before I get a house. It just isn't fair. They [Council] made a commitment to all of us. They haven't lived up to their commitments. There is no respect. Our family has been completely left out. This information is very important. People need to have their voices heard. Council needs to listen to everyone (Interview #24).*

Other people expressed similar sentiments. A woman still living in Schefferville said, “*I don't have a house yet. My family lives here but not me. I am waiting for one*” (Interview #4). Another woman said,

*I wish that there were more houses. There just aren't enough for all the young people. They live in apartments or with their families. It is too expensive for rent and heat throughout the year in town in the old houses (Interview #15).*

More houses are being constructed every summer, but like native communities across Canada, there remains a serious housing shortage. Although, the quality of the

housing has been vastly improved through the relocation, the housing shortage clearly needs to be addressed for with the growing young population the issue will become more severe.

### Infrastructure

Infrastructure can be defined as “the subordinate parts and installations etc. that form the basis of an enterprise” (Hawkins, 1989). For the purpose of this study, infrastructure refers to buildings (ie. structures other than for housing), the community’s roads, and sidewalks. Based on the interviews and participant observation it appears that the community had great expectations with regard to the infrastructure which would exist in Kawawachikamach following the relocation. Generally people are very proud of the buildings which have been constructed in their community. However, a number of people expressed disappointment that the infrastructure has not developed to the point that they had anticipated it would prior to the relocation. For example, one woman described what she believed would result from the relocation:

*I was thirteen when they told us about the relocation. From what they said we thought that we were going to have everything: an arena, a mall like in Chisasibi, and a restaurant. When we moved here it was a real disappointment for the young people. We had a Youth Centre for a while which was good, but it didn't last very long (Interview #22).*

While there is some disappointment with regards to the infrastructure some people expressed positive comments. One woman stated that, “*Matimekosh wasn't good. We shared it with the Montagnais. We couldn't have our own store or a garage or a school. Now we do*” (Interview #8). One of the signatories of the NEQA explained that in fact, “*We [the community] have the infrastructure that we wanted or expected by this time but*

*we still need to work on the social aspects” (Interview #6). People are visibly proud of their community and the buildings such as the school, the store, the restaurant, and the garage. They recognize the improvements in infrastructure that have occurred since the relocation. However, there were a number of suggestions of things people would still like to have built in the community.*

There currently are dirt roads running through the community and to Schefferville. A number of people interviewed wish that the roads could be paved. They stated that in the summer there is dust everywhere, which makes everything dirty. As one young man said that, *“There should be cement on the roads here. There is too much dust here and the trees get dirty. Also, many people are buying new trucks and they don't want them to get really dirty” (Interview #33). Another concern regarding the dust was the increase in asthma in the community. A woman told me, “There is too much dust. It causes a lot of asthma. Before we moved here there wasn't much asthma” (Interview #19).*

A number of people would also like to see sidewalks and grass in the community. One woman said that she wished there was *“cement and pavement and sidewalks here. I also wish there was grass. The dust and the mosquitoes are really bad in the summer” (Interview #18). One of the men agreed, although he was in general more optimistic.*

*I thought when we moved here there was going to be grass and sidewalks but there wasn't and there still isn't. There wasn't much in the beginning. I am happy here though. It is a great place and I see it getting better all the time. There is a bigger store, the restaurant, now the rec centre is coming. It will be great. I am excited because it will have bowling (Interview #21).*

The recreation centre was in fact the subject that was mentioned by almost everybody in the community. There is a strong desire by everyone interviewed for a

community recreation centre. People feel that it is a necessity in the community and feel frustrated that one has not been built after all the years they have been in Kawawachikamach. One woman said, *“I wish that the youth centre was built so the kids would stay out of trouble and drinking. I hope that it will get better once we have the recreation centre”* (Interview #19).

A number of young people also expressed a desire for a recreation centre and an indoor arena. One young man said,

*You [Council] should put an arena here because children are cold when they play in the rink at -50 degrees. There should also be a youth centre, because I have seen many kids start drinking* (Interview #33).

Another young man said that he thought that, *“The stuff or things that are needed are the rec centre, an arena, and also sea-doo rentals for the summer”* (Interview #36). A young woman said simply, *“The thing that I would like to see is the Rec Centre”* (Interview #30).

With completion of a recreation centre in Kawawachikamach, community members would no doubt feel more positive about their community - and their wishes would have been met.

### Community Services

Community services could be used to refer to all of the services available in the community, such as education and health care. However, as a number of these services are dealt with as separate issues, this section addresses services mentioned only briefly in the interviews and of less significance to the respondents. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, community services refer to things such as garbage collection, water, hydro,



and policing.

Garbage collection appears to be a problem in the community due to irregular service. Some of the respondents stated that in the summer especially, garbage is left outside to rot for weeks. One of the young men interviewed stated that, "*One of the things that needs to change is the litter and garbage in the community*" (Interview #36). With regular collection and proper holding bins, these problems could be ameliorated.

Water is another service that only a few people mentioned, perhaps because most people felt positive about the quality of water provided in the community. The only problem appears to be untreated water drawn from the lake. Although, many stated that the water in their area is *so clean you can safely drink it right out of the lake*, one woman said that *sometimes in the winter when the hydro goes out, water is drawn straight out of the lake. After that there is usually an outbreak of diarrhoea and vomiting in the children* (Interview #5).

Kawawachikamach obtains its electricity from the Schefferville Power Company (as described in Chapter Four). To the benefit of the Band, the cost of hydro is substantially lower in Schefferville and Kawawachikamach than any other part of Quebec. There was very little said about hydro service during the interviews, other than comments which pertained to dealing with the problems which stemmed from occasional power outages in the community, such as cooking, heating and water.

The community police are an important service provided by community members for the community (as described in Chapter Four). With the relocation and the achievement of limited self-government the community now polices itself. A number of the adults were very happy with the police and proud of the fact that the community

policies itself. The young people in the community were the only members interviewed who had any negative comments to make about the police. They felt that the police did not really care about the young people. A surprising number of students expressed a desire for a police enforced curfew to help make students go home at night. One young woman suggested,

*To improve these problems [young people drinking], I think the police should be made to patrol Kawawa more. Kids should have curfews to make sure they do get home. Because I have a curfew, and it helps me a lot. Like, I don't really want to drink, because my parents are at home waiting for me (Interview #38).*

Another young woman stated that she would like to see, “*curfews every night and also curfews in Schefferville*” (Interview #30). Some of the adults said that there had been a curfew but that it was dropped because the children simply ran away into the forest when the police tried to get them home.

These problems are not necessarily directly related to the relocation yet they were subjects that were brought up by the participants during the interviews. Perhaps the interviews provided the opportunity for people, notably the youth, to have their thoughts or suggestions heard and possibly passed on to the appropriate people who could make the changes.

#### **5.3.4 ECONOMIC ISSUES**

As described in Chapter Two, aboriginal community relocations in the past have consistently led to unemployment, welfare dependency and poverty in the relocated communities. The Naskapi people experienced these negative impacts following their relocation to Schefferville in the 1950's. Following the closing of the Iron Ore Company

in Schefferville, the community's economic situation became even worse. The NEQA and the subsequent relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach offered the hope of employment, business opportunities, and economic prosperity to the Naskapi people. The community's views on the economic impacts of the relocation to Kawawachikamach are mixed. People recognize the significant economic improvements in their community yet some people feel that the improvements have not been enough.

### **Employment**

Employment is a concern across Canada, especially in aboriginal communities where unemployment rates are disproportionately higher than in non-aboriginal communities. As described in Chapter Four, prior to relocation the Naskapi people suffered from high rates of unemployment following the closure of the Iron Ore Company of Canada. It was hoped that the NEQA and the relocation would lead to the creation of many new jobs for the Naskapi People and improve economic conditions in the community.

The unemployment rate in Kawawachikamach has indeed fallen since the relocation and the percent of the total population collecting welfare is also lower than was the case before (Chapman, 1990: 4-7). However, many people believed that after the relocation there would be jobs for everyone who wanted to work. One man explained:

*Expectations were really high when we were planning to move. There was nothing in Matimekosh. There was going to be everything in Kawawa. A school, a garage, a store, jobs for carpenters, plumbers, welders. We all thought we would get jobs. When we moved here we felt frustration and disappointment. There wasn't enough jobs or houses (Interview #23).*

The latter comment about the lack of jobs, was expressed by a number of people.

Before the community was moved, members were trained in a variety of different trades, from electricians to plumbing, but some of the people thus trained never had the opportunity to use their newly acquired skills. One man stated that,

*When we were told that we were going to relocate, we all took courses in preparation for the relocation. I learned how to be a welder. But there was not one days work for me as a welder. There were some jobs but not as many as we were promised(*Interview #24).

Respondents identified that employment is higher in the summer when there is construction. As one woman stated, “*There aren't really enough jobs in the winter, but in the summer there are lots of jobs because that is when the houses are built*” (Interview #1).

Some community members blame outsiders for their economic problems. One man interviewed said that the band was still giving jobs to outsiders even though the jobs could be done by people within the community. “*There was supposed to be self-government but it hasn't really happened. They still give the contracts and the jobs to outsiders*” (Interview #23). Former Chief Joe Guanish addressed this concern stating:

*The Naskapi should have the jobs the non-Natives have. So through education, in the future they will. In 80 years from now there will be so many who have the education and the jobs. They need confidence. If one can do it then in the future there will be more. It is up to the younger generations to ensure this happens* (Interview #29).

Things are changing, for as one woman stated, “*People are becoming more educated. If you get a good education then you can get a good job. My family all has good jobs*” (Interview #17).

Of note, the relocation has provided more employment opportunities for the Naskapi women. One woman stated,

*There are better opportunities for the women. Women hold positions in all the places of employment. There are women who run the store and the restaurant. There are women teachers, in the daycare, in the dispensary, in the band office, in the development corporation and the secretary in the office in Quebec (Interview #15).*

This is a promising result which has improved the quality of life for many women in the community. With low-cost daycare available in the community, the opportunities for women to find employment have been improved even further.

Young people generally have not benefitted from employment since the relocation. A number of young people expressed a desire to find part-time employment. As one young woman said, *“It would be better if students got part-time jobs, so they could help out or have money to buy their clothes or other stuff their parents can’t afford”* (Interview #30).

There are ongoing attempts to create jobs. For example, The Working Group on Job Creation in Kawawachikamach was created in September 1990 to fulfill paragraph 8.1 of the NEQA, which states that:

Canada and the Naskapi Band shall establish a Working Group which shall meet as required and shall discuss and study ways and means to increase employment for Naskapis in the village of Kawawachikamach, Northern Quebec and, where appropriate, elsewhere (Cited in Ross, 1993).

The Naskapi Development Corporation (NDC) is another organization which is working toward economic improvements in the community. The corporation allocates funds it received from the NEQA for the benefit of the entire community. The NDC was involved in financing the restaurant and store, and the new daycare which will be opening soon (Personal Interviews, 1997).

In summary, employment is a concern which is shared by the entire community.

The majority of respondents expressed their desire to have their children receive a good education so they will be able to find employment in the future.

### **Business**

With the relocation and the establishment of their own village, most of the respondents anticipated a number of opportunities for small businesses. There is a multi-purpose store called the Manikin Centre and a restaurant which are owned and operated by the Naskapi Development Corporation. There are also a privately owned video store and a pool hall. The majority of customers are residents of Kawawachikamach. However, some Schefferville residents travel to Kawawachikamach to go to the restaurant and to a lesser extent, the store. There is a craft shop in Schefferville, across from the airport which sells mostly to visitors and tourists. The crafts are produced by Naskapi community members. The store is owned by the band but is run by a non-native living in Schefferville.

Unfortunately, most businesses have not done well in the community and a number have failed. The community has an outfitting business which caters to tourists interested in hunting and fishing but it has suffered with yearly losses and may soon be closed completely. A study on economic development and the Naskapi attributed the failures in part to a lack of funds, poor planning, and little personal initiative (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1992).

The opportunities for new business do not appear to be good. A number of people interviewed had ideas for businesses which they thought could do well, but they lacked the finances, education and incentive to establish them. One man expressed frustration

stating “*there are so many business opportunities but there are no businesses*” (Interview #23). The marketplace for a business is not great, for the community only has 600 people in it and Schefferville only has about 300. In such a remote location, products are very expensive to bring in and ship out. As the community continues to grow and education levels rise, the potential for limited small businesses may develop in the future. A number of respondents feel that with more tourism, there will be a number of opportunities for small businesses, such as ski-doo rentals and repairs, and bed and breakfasts.

### **5.3.5 HEALTH AND SOCIAL ISSUES**

The Naskapi people endured many hardships following their relocation from Fort Chimo to the Schefferville area. There were many negative social and health impacts on the people and on the community as a whole. In the History of the Naskapi of Schefferville, Cooke describes the Matimekosh reserve:

Unemployment is high, alcohol is a continuous problem, family difficulties and juvenile delinquency are common . . . No one who has visited Matimekosh Reserve can come away thinking that it is a happy, self-sufficient, healthy community (Cooke, 1976:85).

The NEQA and the subsequent relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach offered new hope to the community and a means to attempt to overcome their problems. More than twenty years since Cooke published his findings, the community has come a long way.

As with other issues noted above, the relocation has not solved all of the community’s social and health problems. One man said at the beginning of the fieldwork:

*I am sure that you will hear some negative things about our community especially from the young people. There isn't enough for them here and they aren't happy. Some of them drink too much. I think it is getting worse (Interview #10).*

There are indeed problems in the community with alcohol and drugs, domestic problems, health, and community disputes. However, one man summed up the feelings expressed by so many people, “*This community still has problems, but this is a far better place to try to solve them*” (Interview #20).

### Health Care

Since the relocation to Kawawachikamach, health care needs are progressively being served to the Naskapi people from within the community. The dispensary in Kawawachikamach is developing to offer more services and the community hopes that it will continue so as to develop to eventually serve all their health care needs. At present, the staff consists of nurses, a social worker, mental and alcohol and drug counselors. A dentist makes a monthly visit to the community and there is a doctor in Schefferville. In emergencies, the Naskapi people are flown to hospitals in Sept-Iles or Quebec city. Women are flown to Sept-Iles to have their babies, or they are assisted by the nurse if the baby is born in the village. Only the drug and alcohol counselors are Naskapi. The health care professionals in the community and in Schefferville are generally French-speaking, even though the community speaks Naskapi and English.

Although health care has been improving since the relocation, a number of people still expressed their frustration with the quality of health care. One woman said that she:

*Didn't like the health system. The nurses they send here are French and this is an English community. I feel like our bodies are Guinea Pigs. Sometimes they give us the wrong medicine (Interview #2).*



Another problem is the infrequency of opportunities to see the doctor and dentist. One woman said that she had been waiting for almost a year to have her son's cavity filled.

*I wish that there was a doctor in the community and a dentist. My little boy has had to wait a year for his cavity to be filled. It is terrible how long we have to wait to see medical people (Interview #19).*

With better education and an increased ability to exercise self-government, community members hope that they will be able have greater control over the community's health care needs and have the education and training to take over the health care positions in the community. One of the men in the community stated that, "*We should be the ones running health care*" (Interview #23). Perhaps reflective of this sentiment, a Band Office employee stated that the community is working toward increasing control, and the betterment, of health and social services (Interview #6).

### Social Services

Effective social and mental health services are very important for an aboriginal community attempting to overcome the problems stemming from past negative relocations. In Kawawachikamach, these services are provided to the community by a social worker and drug and alcohol counselors in the dispensary, the mental health officer in the band office, and a school psychologist. They are involved in providing counseling and also running community groups such as the men's group to help deal with the problems affecting the people in the community.

There were concerns expressed by some respondents that social services were not effective in meeting the needs of community. The fact that some of the people involved in social and health services are not Naskapi and do not speak the language, may make it

difficult for people to express their problems to them, and difficult for social and health service workers to relate to the problems and help find culturally appropriate solutions. A teacher in the community said, *"I don't know if social services are doing enough to help the children"* (Interview #14).

The young people interviewed said that they did not think that social services cared about their problems. They did not feel that they did much to help and were not easily available to them. Many of the young people stated that young people in their community suffer from problems with alcohol, drugs, depression, abuse and neglect; but there is nobody to help them (Interview #'s 39, 38, 35). One young man said, *"We need help. When we ask for it, it's rarely been done, of any consequences"* (Interview #40).

Concern for the well-being of the young people in the community was expressed during the interviews by numerous people including those involved in social services. Two people from social services were in fact visiting classes throughout the school, talking to students about the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse, during the time of the fieldwork.

Plans were also being discussed for the conversion of a camp out in the bush into a lodge for the treatment of people suffering from alcohol and drug use. Chief Joe Guanish stated that, *"There is going to be a committee to find a good use for the camps now that the outfitting business is closed. It may be used for the alcohol workers to take people there, from the school too"* (Interview #29).

With greater education and self-government, the provision of social services, like health care, may be increasingly provided by the Naskapi in the future.

## Alcohol and Drugs

Alcohol and, to a lesser extent, drugs have been a problem for the Naskapi since their relocation south to Schefferville. All age groups were affected by alcohol and many families were damaged by the drinking. While in Matimekosh, many of the Naskapi frequented the bars in town drinking and staying out late (Interview #'s 3, 8, 24). Many children copied this behavior which had obvious negative impacts on their lives and their success in school. One woman explained her life after moving to Matimekosh.

*I was twelve when we moved from John Lake into Matimekosh. I got into drinking and hanging around the bars. I am glad that we moved because there is less drinking and drugs here. In Matimekosh there was too much drinking. The girls were getting pregnant. There were too many single mothers (Interview #2).*

When the community was first planning the relocation, alcohol was a serious problem. Many people hoped that by moving away from the town, people would stop hanging around the bars and drinking so much. One man stated that, "*People wanted to get out of town and away from the drinking*" (Interview #6).

Kawawachikamach was, initially, a dry community but this did not last for very long (Interview #14). Although drinking does occur in the community, most people feel that the relocation did help deter people from drinking as much they had previously. "*The drinking is better than in Matimekosh, but it is still a problem*" (Interview # 15). A number of people spoke with much deserved pride, about overcoming their addiction to alcohol and putting their lives back together in Kawawachikamach. One man who has been "*dry*" for many years now explained his situation:

*In town we just drank and hung around the bars. That's what my buddies and I did. Now I have a house, a truck, two kids, a girlfriend and a big stereo. I was driving into town for a coffee the other day and my buddy started to laugh. I asked why and he said here we were driving into town in a brand-new truck for*

*coffee. Before we used to be walking on the same road for alcohol. We sure have come a long way (Interview #9).*

Unfortunately, just recently people have begun to notice that the young people in the community are beginning to drink more. One of the teachers in the school expressed her concern stating:

*I am concerned about the increase in drinking among grades six, seven, and eight. For the past five years it hasn't appeared to be a problem. You never really heard about it other than by the secondary four and five students. Now you hear about the kids doing it all the time. I warned the police about the kids drinking but it still happens (Interview #14).*

This problem has been attributed, by many community members, to the lack of recreation activities for the young people. One woman stated:

*Here there is nothing for the kids to do but drink. I hope that it will be better when the rec centre is built. It is the worst for the teenagers, they are the group who are always in trouble (Interview #1).*

Many community members expressed the hope that once the recreation centre is built that the young people will stop drinking.

The young people interviewed also expressed concern about adolescent alcohol consumption. One young woman said, "*Kids have started drinking and doing drugs, just because there's nothing to do*" (Interview #32). A young man stated, "*There should be a youth centre here, because I have seen many kids start drinking*" (Interview #33).

However, they also were upset by the adults in the community who drink and then abuse and neglect their children. A young woman explained,

*Kids are being exposed to alcohol and drugs very easily. Kids see violence everywhere, especially at home. So, this gives kids a lot of emotional problems, which gets their marks go down in school (Interview #38).*

A teacher at the school echoed the children's concerns. She said, "*Many of the parents*

*party too much and they don't know what the kids are doing" (Interview #14).*

As previously stated, social services are trying to help people stop drinking and help the families of those who do drink. These programs will hopefully help deter young people from drinking and help those who are already drinking overcome their dependence on alcohol. With greater opportunities for education, employment and recreation community members hope that alcohol consumption in Kawawachikamach will diminish.

### Family

Before the first relocation to Schefferville, Naskapi families were dependent on each other for survival. A number of people interviewed said that things changed in their families after the relocation to Schefferville. One person stated that

People began to drink more often and children were sometimes neglected. Many of the young people then began to drink too. Many women had babies at very young ages (Interview #2).

The traditional family was no longer functioning in this new environment. Family problems often spanned a number of generations. One man explained how he understood the situation:

*There is a line between white people and Natives. When I was young, my Dad crossed over and began drinking. Our family was very dysfunctional. Then I realized that I too was on the wrong path. I wasn't on the Native trail. We need to learn to respect ourselves and our culture. We do that through healing (Interview #3).*

Many families are trying to recover from the past and healing is something many families find helpful. Healing, it appears, is seen as something that people do to deal with their problems. One woman explained, "*Healing and spirituality are very important to me. People are interested in learning more about it. Healing is important. I try to get my*

*children to do it. It is very relaxing*”(Interview #17). Many people said that they are trying to avoid the same problems with their families.

Greater support is available to families since the relocation to Kawawachikamach. There are better homes to raise children in and more employment opportunities (Interview #15). A number of people stated that teenagers are still getting pregnant. However, one woman said that although there were many teen mothers, the majority were going back to school (Interview #1). Daycare by trained Naskapi childcare workers is provided at a minimal fee for members of the community. This allows women to work and also encourages young mothers to complete their secondary school education.

Some people in the community felt that the changes in the families since the relocation have not been entirely positive. One woman said that she thought the kids were better behaved in Matimekosh, “*We listened to our parents and came home at night. Here the kids have no respect, they drink and stay out really late. Young girls are getting pregnant here too*” (Interview #1). Another woman also expressed concern at the changing family values:

*We had so much more to do as children, so many more responsibilities, but the kids now want so much more. They already have more than we ever had and they still want more. When they have dances now, the kids stay out way too late and don't come home right after like we did* (Interview #4).

Although some families continue to struggle with a number of problems, the relocation appears to have offered the people a better environment to overcome these challenges.

## Community

The Naskapi community has endured many hardships over the past century. The community was semi-nomadic until the mid twentieth-century. It often split up in the winter when food was scarce but the people would then come together in the spring. Many people said that in the past their community was very close and all of the members helped each other. Historical records recount the sharing of food amongst the group (Cooke, 1976). Many people interviewed said that their people would always share their food and supplies if anybody needed help. One man interviewed told a story about the way things used to be in their community:

*There was a very poor man and his rifle broke. He went to the others and said "my rifle is broken what am I going do?" One of the elders said, "go into my tent. There are two rifles. You take the best one." This is the way it was. That is the way it should be. Now people don't want to share anymore (Interview #24).*

The sense of community began to break down after the relocation to Matimekosh. Many people said that the families did not help each other anymore. One man said that when the people were drinking they did not care about their families or the community (Interview #3). A number of people remembered John Lake fondly. One woman said "I was the happiest at John Lake. There everybody helped each other" (Interview #2).

Since the relocation to Kawawachikamach, there are mixed feelings about the sense of community. Many people say that the relocation has brought the community back together, strengthening the ties between the people and instilling a sense of community pride.

*This place is so much closer to nature. It is beautiful. People are happier here. There is much pride amongst the people. This is a peaceful place. We all know each other. It is safe. People smile when they see each other (Interview #9).*

These feelings were echoed by a number of people. A woman stated proudly,

*This place is very quiet. Not like in Schefferville. It is peaceful here. We are not a big community but we are growing. It is better here. Sure there are problems but overall this is a good place to live. I am glad that we moved here (Interview #12).*

One of the men explained how he saw the difference in the community since the relocation:

*The community is so much more supportive. Now people help each other. They didn't before. I think this community will be a role model for other communities. I am really happy here (Interview #9).*

This was illustrated during the field study period, with the death of a community elder.

On the day of the funeral, the school, the Band Office, and the Development Corporation were closed so the people could attend the funeral. Almost the entire community went to mass together and then to the burial. The radio station played only religious music the day of the funeral. One woman said, *"Spirituality is very important to the community. The community really comes together in a crisis"* (Interview #25).

Other people spoke with pride about the accomplishments of their community since the relocation. People are very proud of the infrastructure which has been built, that is as noted above: the community's garage, the new daycare, the school, the beautiful location of the village, and the restaurant and store (Interview #8).

However, there are also negative sentiments with regard to the community. Some people feel that the relocation has not brought the community together, but instead has helped to divide it. A number of people are upset about fighting within the community. For instance, *"There is a lot of fighting in the community. We didn't use to fight with each other, now people argue over everything"* (Interview #1), and *"There is too much fighting and debating in the community. People need to be patient and polite with each*



other” (Interview #3). One man who was very disappointed with the outcomes of the relocation felt that healing was a necessity for the community. He believes that:

*There was corruption associated with the relocation. But we must forgive and begin healing. If there was a sweat lodge then people's minds would straighten out and they would have to admit the truth (Interview #24).*

In summary, the problems identified by the community members need to be addressed by the community. Conflict avoidance and conflict resolution techniques may help the community resolve their differences. However, when a comparison is made between the observations of the Naskapi community in Matimekosh and the community today, in spite of the problems, it appears that the sense of community, based on belonging, and caring, is much stronger than it was prior to the relocation. As one woman stated, “*There are some problems here but there are problems everywhere. I am glad we moved here*” (Interview #12). Another woman added, “*It is a happier community*” (Interview #13).

### Recreation

Recreation is an important issue for all communities, especially small isolated communities. It is important for all age groups to have activities to do, be involved in social interaction and avoid boredom, depression and often drugs and alcohol. Unfortunately, as already identified, recreational activities and facilities are lacking in Kawawachikamach.

In Matimekosh, before the mine closed there were a number of different activities available to the Naskapi (Interview #2). There was a bowling alley, an arena, and a movie theater in Schefferville (Interview #7). Many people thought that when they relocated to

Kawawachikamach that an arena and a youth center would be built (Interview #22).

Much to the disappointment of most of the community members, there still is no recreation center or an arena.

At present, recreation activities are limited to bingo, activities held in the school gym, and a pool hall (in a trailer) which has a pool table and a pinball machine. The adolescents in the community use the pool hall but they still feel very bored. One young woman said:

*There is nothing to do in Kawawa, there's no kids hang-out except Louis's. Louis has a pool hall, well it's not a pool hall, it is a store and he has a pool table there and a pinball machine. Some people have nothing to do here (Interview #35).*

One young woman suggested that, "*There should be a lot of activities going on each month so the kids and teenagers won't be bored*" (Interview #30). All of the young respondents expressed their upset at the lack of recreational facilities and activities available to them (Interview #32). They all wished the community would build a recreation center and an indoor arena for them to use (Interview #33).

Most of the adults also expressed their upset and frustration at the lack of recreational facilities. Many attributed the rise in adolescent drinking to boredom and felt that it would cease if there was a recreation centre to occupy their time (Interview #1).

One woman said, "*They should keep up the rink and in the summer have it for basketball or volleyball. There are activities in the gym but not enough. The kids get bored*" (Interview #15).

Many adults also wished that there were activities for people their age as well as the children. "*I wish there were more activities for people my age too. In Schefferville before the city closed down, there were lots to do at the recreation centre, swimming and*

*things like that*” (Interview #13). People also expressed a desire for a place for the elders in the community to meet and practice their traditional handiwork together (Interview #6).

As stated earlier, a recreation centre is being planned and the young people in the community have been involved in planning process by being part of the recreation committee. When the recreation centre is completed, it may fulfil the various recreation needs of the community. It may also offer employment and the opportunity to teach and learn a variety of different activities. Community members hope that it will alleviate some of the boredom of the in the community, especially for the young people, and maybe lead to a decrease in alcohol consumption.

### **5.3.6 EDUCATION**

Aboriginal communities across Canada generally have very low levels of formal education and high drop out rates amongst the young people. The Naskapi community, until recently, has shared these characteristics. In Schefferville, very few Naskapi graduated from secondary school and even fewer went on to post-secondary education (Personal Interviews, 1997). However, with the relocation the community has gained considerable control over education, built their own school in the village, and a number of community members have completed their teacher’s certificate and have become teachers. Many community members are very proud of their school and feel strongly about the value of formal education. Drop out rates are still high, but every year more and more students graduate and an increasing number of students are going on to post-

secondary education. The community is counting on the young people to become better educated in hopes of exercising greater self-government, increasing employment and generally making their community a better place to live. In a speech given during a school staff meeting Joseph Guanish, a respected elder and former Chief, described the importance of education to the community and the vital role played by the teachers and the school.<sup>6</sup> He said, in part:

*Because of the agreement [the NEQA], the Naskapis have the power to decide how the young people will be educated. I tell the young people that they have their whole lives ahead of them, and that they have to be strong, because they are the future of this community. That future depends on the ability of the students to learn to survive and grow in the modern world. JSMS [Jimmy Sands Memorial School] is the place that can prepare the Naskapi students to survive in the modern world. So the survival of the Naskapi people depends on the success of the young people in school (Speech, October 22, 1997).*

These words illustrate the value of formal education to the future of the Naskapi community.

### School and Teachers

The school in Kawawachikamach, called Jimmy Sands Memorial School, is the largest building in the community. It is a source of pride in the community, as an institution in which many Naskapi are employed and also a place which is educating the children for the future. This is the first time that the Naskapi people have had their own school with their own people teaching in it. The majority of respondents commented on issues relating to education and the improvements which have been accomplished since the relocation.

---

<sup>6</sup>The complete speech is found in Appendix D.

One woman spoke with pride about the positive results that have been accomplished in the school:

*The school is better than before. There are more Naskapi teachers, the curriculum is new but it is good. Naskapi will eventually be taught until grade four. Secondary school must be English to prepare them for college and university. We have outstanding students now. They get time on some afternoons to watch a movie or go to the restaurant . . . There are fewer dropouts now but it is still a problem. Last year there were three graduates, this year there will be seven, so it is getting better (Interview #2).*

Another woman stated that the school and the teachers were responsible for the increasing number of secondary school graduates:

*The school is better here. In town nobody graduated but here kids graduate every year. It is better with Naskapi teachers and there are more of them all the time (Interview #12).*

Another woman shared her opinion of the school and the teachers. She said, *“I like the new school so much better than the one in Schefferville. The teachers are much better”* (Interview #13).

Although all comments with regard to the school were very positive, some people expressed some concern about the ability of the children to excel in school due to family and community problems. One man was concerned about the lack of ambition due to the poor employment opportunities in the community.

*Having our own school was really important to us but it hasn't been as encouraging as it should be. The kids need to become educated as doctors, lawyers, businessmen and women, nurses, and teachers but they are frustrated. They don't think there will be jobs for them (Interview #23).*

One of the women felt that the quality of education in the community was very good but she had concerns for some of the students.

*It is a very good school. The teachers and the principle are great. Some of the children often have problems though. Many parents let their kids stay up all night*

*and then they sleep through their classes (Interview #5).*

Indeed, the social problems previously discussed do have negative impacts on the community's academic achievements. However, as the community attempts to deal with its problems, many young people in the community continue to benefit from rising academic standards in the school and an increasing number are going on to post-secondary institutions.

### Post-Secondary Education

Prior to the relocation to Kawawachikamach, very few Naskapi people finished secondary school and post-secondary education was not an option. Since the relocation, a number of people in the community have earned their teacher's certificate and now teach in the community school. An increasing number of students now go on to post-secondary institutions every year to become teachers and also pursue other career goals.

People in the community are extremely proud of the people who have gone on to post-secondary school. One woman stated happily:

*The children have more ambition now. They can see goals and futures. My son is going to college and my daughter wants to be a doctor. I want the children to go to school, college and university (Interview #2).*

Another woman also proudly said, "*Children these days are better educated. They go off to college, more graduate from high school*" (Interview #13).

People are hopeful that the higher education attained by the young people in the community will result in more employment opportunities and the ability to take over positions held by non-natives in the community and greater self-government (Interview #23 and #29).

## Cultural Education

While living in Schefferville, many of the children were not exposed to their traditional culture. The Naskapi children went to a school taught in French and English, and grew up with Montagnais, French and English children. Many adults, who grew up in Schefferville, felt that they were not really exposed to their culture as children. One man stated that in Matimekosh, “*we almost our culture. But now here it is stronger. The school does a lot for the kids to preserve it*” (Interview #9).

The relocation to Kawawachikamach has been a positive cultural experience for the community. Children now grow up speaking Naskapi in school until grade four and participating in cultural activities which reinforce their sense of identity. Both Naskapi and non-native teachers attempt to incorporate the Naskapi culture into their classes. Students are encouraged to take pride in their culture and learn traditional activities.

Joseph Guanish expressed the importance of culture to the teachers. He stated:

*You have to find ways to bring the language and culture into your classroom, because they are an important part of the student's pride and self worth. Valuing the language and culture shows that you value the students* (Speech, October 22, 1997).

The students at the school enjoy learning about their culture and participating in cultural activities. One young woman said,

*What I like about Kawawa is we are getting to know our culture. The nature is beautiful. We have school to learn. We have teachers to help us. Youth should learn more culture* (Interview #39).

Some of the teachers at the school described some of the activities their classes were doing. One teacher explained that,

*We have culture days at school. I am going to teach the students how to make traditional mittens from caribou. The Naskapi language is getting stronger.*

*Hunting is still very important, my son is one of the best hunters, he will miss it when he goes to college (Interview #2).*

Another teacher was bringing in an elder from the community to show the students how to make traditional snowshoes. He said,

*I think that it is important for the children to learn about their culture. It is important to have the skills passed on before it is too late. Joe Guanish, one of the elders is going to come into the school to teach the students how to make snowshoes. We will go out and he will show us which wood to use, how to bend it for the frames, and then how to make the laces. It will be a long process but I think the children will enjoy it. Then when we are done, will learn how to snowshoe (Interview #11).*

While I was in the community, a group of students was preparing to participate in a school ski-doo trip to Kuujuaq ( Fort Chimo) to visit the area where their people had come from. This trip surely was an invaluable opportunity for the young people and their teachers to go out on the land and learn about their own history and culture.

Also during the field study period, the Moral and Religious Education class at the secondary school was in the process of interviewing the community elders and compiling the elders' stories and legends into a book. The teachers explained that the class is focused on community action and taking initiative is the goal:

*Often people in the community have little initiative, they don 't think they can make a difference, or succeed. This class attempts to help them realize that they can make a difference in their community (Interview #27).*

The opportunity to incorporate cultural education into the school curriculum illustrates the value of the community control over education. It seems apparent that the agreement, the act, and the relocation have resulted in a significant improvement in the quality of education available to the Naskapi people. This gives the community greater opportunities to continue to improve their quality of life.



#### **5.4 Assessing the Implications of Community Responses**

Through review and reflection on the implications of the results of the analysis of the twenty-three sub-groups it became apparent that the topics were often indivisible from one or more of the other sub-groups. This discovery reinforced the importance of organizing the sub-groups into the six main categories to illustrate the interconnections between the topics. The organization of the data into the six main categories led me to be able to comment more broadly on the impacts the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach has had on the community.

As with the many sub-groups, strong interconnections also existed among the six main categories (Refer back to Figure 5.2). For example, following the relocation, the community has begun to focus on the achievement of greater formal and cultural education by the young people, which may eventually help the community to exercise their powers of self-government to the fullest extent, create and take over more employment in the community, and decrease the community's social problems through an improved quality of life. The recognition of the interconnections between the categories must be acknowledged in any attempt to address the continuing problems.

A significant interconnection is found between Environment and Culture and the other categories. Since the relocation, a stronger relationship to the land has re-emerged which is re-connecting the Naskapi people, land and culture. This in turn, has had positive repercussions in many different areas. Their territory - a beautiful, natural area over which they have a significant degree of control - is a source of pride for the community. The opportunity to hunt and fish has tied the people to their past and given them the chance to pass their culture onto the future generations. These activities bring

the different generations together and help bridge the gap between the elders and the young people. Programs in the bush are also being considered to help people suffering from problems with alcohol, which, if successful, will contribute to the community's well-being. The hunter support program is economically beneficial to the community, helping many people find the resources to be able to go out on the land. Cultural education in the school provides the children with important traditional knowledge and pride in their people. This sense of pride in the community may help to encourage people to be involved in political issues and work toward further improvements in their community.

Another relationship can be found between Political Issues and some of the other categories. A significant accomplishment for the community through the relocation has been the achievement of legislated formal authority, through the NEQA and the Cree-Naskapi Act. This achievement means greater decision-making powers for the community and thus a better opportunity to determine their own future. However, the achievement of formal authority does not necessarily mean that the community has the capacity to exercise that authority. Some respondents felt that the local leaders, the Chief and Council in particular, were responsible for the problems not solved by the relocation. Community members have blamed the Chief and Council for problems with housing, employment, the local economy and the lack of recreational facilities. People also expressed feelings of alienation from the decision-making, which has negative impacts on the community. While on-going problems in the community can not be attributed solely to the community leaders, increased formal education and experience may assist the Naskapi in better exercising their authority which may reconcile some of the continuing

problems and thus improve the quality of life in the community.

Health and Social issues were related to education, environment and culture, housing, economic and political issues. Many people felt that the health and social problems in the community stem from the negative relocations which they have had to endure in the past. Respondents expressed satisfaction with the positive impacts the relocation to Kawawachikamach has had on helping the community to solve these problems. People were particularly happy with the “healing” location, the improved housing and services, and greater opportunities available for education and employment. These factors were considered by the respondents as contributing to a stronger and healthier community. However, as expressed earlier, health and social problems have not been completely solved by the relocation. The lack of recreational facilities was widely blamed for adolescent boredom and alcohol consumption. People also expressed some disappointment with the care provided by the dispensary. Young people in particular felt their problems were being ignored by the community and that they were not receiving the help they need. Respondents expressed their hope that with time and education, their own people would fill the positions in the health and social services, providing the assistance the community needs to deal with the ongoing problems. Respondents also feel that as the quality of life in the community continues to improve, with more employment, housing and a recreation centre, many of the present health and social problems will be solved.

Improved economic conditions were a major incentive for the relocation to Kawawachikamach. Many people hoped that the relocation would provide much needed employment and economic prosperity. The relocation has improved economic conditions

and employment rates in the community, enhancing the quality of life for the members. Initial construction of the community provided many jobs, and now every summer there are jobs available building houses. Increased self-government has also created a number of jobs running and servicing the community. The school now has a number of Naskapi teachers and an increasing number of students graduating and going on to post-secondary school. This formal education will help the young people to eventually take over the more skilled positions, thereby further improving economic conditions in the community and providing a further measure of self-determination. Despite these improvements, some people still expressed disappointment with the economic conditions in the community. As stated earlier, the local government has received much of the blame for the lack of employment opportunities available in the community. This may be remedied as the community reconciles the differences in the legislated formal authority and their ability to exercise these powers to their continued advantage.

Finally, as stated above, housing, infrastructure and services, can be connected to many of the other issues related to relocation. Housing was considered by the majority of the respondents as a very important issue in the community. The improved housing and services were a significant reason for the relocation to Kawawachikamach. People are happy with the housing in the community, which is considered to be much healthier and safer compared to the housing in Matimekosk. The main concern among respondents is the inadequate quantity of houses, for there are not enough houses available for all of the community members. Some people felt that there has been an unfair allocation of the existing housing. This too is blamed on the local government. There were allegations of favoritism for the families of the people in leadership positions. With regard to the

infrastructure, as expressed earlier, people are also frustrated that a recreation centre has not yet been constructed. These issues highlight, yet again, the desire by the community for the improved quality of life and greater decision-making powers.

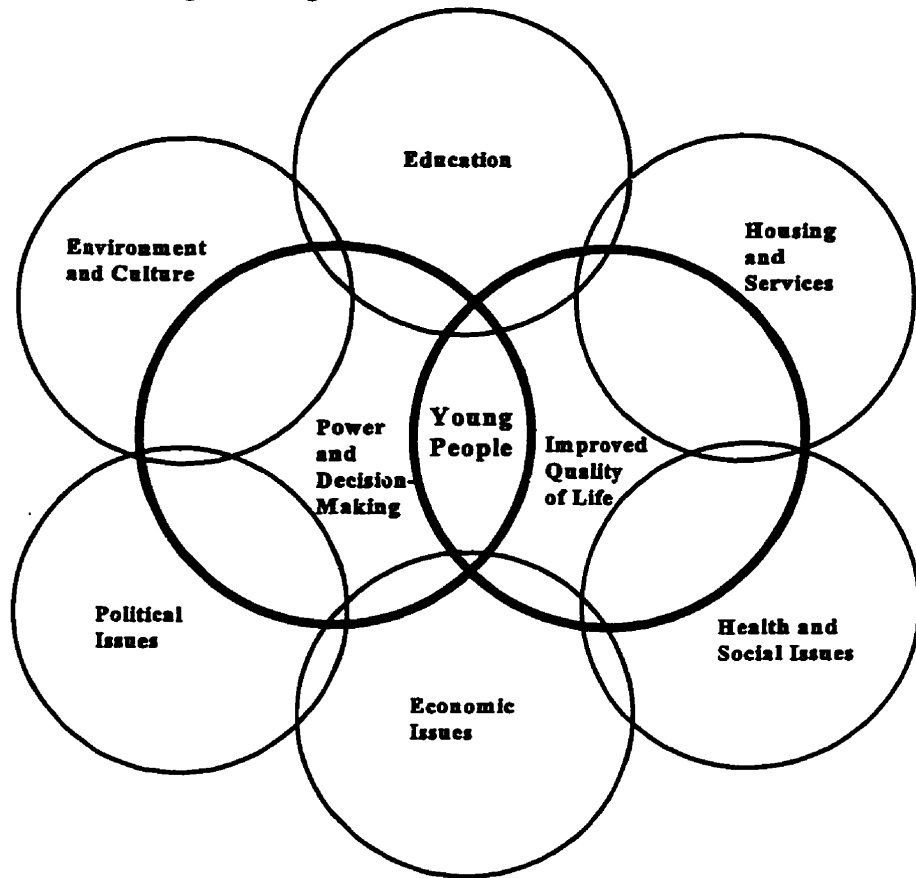
Following from this examination of the interconnections among the six main categories, is the recognition of the underlying linkages (Figure 5.4). Two themes, which were identified throughout the community member's responses to the issues related to the relocation, were power and decision-making, and quality of life. Through the relocation the community wanted to gain greater power and decision-making and improve their quality of life. The relocation and the subsequent changes which have resulted from it appear to have been focused on the accomplishment of these two goals. The community did achieve greater power and decision-making through the NEQA and the Cree-Naskapi Act. The goal is now to exercise these powers to their fullest extent. Quality of life has improved dramatically since the relocation as illustrated in the analysis (Chapter 5). The community still continues to work to make even further improvements, especially with regards to housing, employment, and healing. Perhaps the incentive for these goals lies in another common link underlying the categories associated with the relocation. That is, a shared concern by the respondents for the young people in the community. The relocation was a process which was focused on the future. The respondents of all ages expressed their personal hopes and concerns regarding the relocation and the impacts which have resulted from it. However, respondents also expressed their hopes and concerns for the future of the community, the young people. Therefore, linking all the findings, is the community's hope that the impacts from the relocation to Kawawachikamach will provide the Naskapi with a better quality of life for themselves

and their children, and the power for the community to make decisions for itself.

The recognition of the interconnections and inter-linkages between and within these six categories is extremely important. The relationships between the issues help to identify the aspects of the relocation which have been successful and those aspects which still need to be addressed by the community. It is also important for communities and planners to recognize that the impacts from one area can have significant positive or negative impacts on many other areas.

Recognizing the interconnections among the six main categories is important. However, the purpose for originally grouping the data into the categories must not be forgotten. As previously stated, grouping the data into the six main categories allowed for the recognition of the interconnections among the twenty-three sub-groups, while presenting the data in an organized and readable manner. The categories also facilitate the comparison of the impacts of the relocation with data from other relocations. These comparisons may help to determine criteria for further aboriginal relocations, identifying the potential impacts, both positive and negative, of community relocations. This is addressed in the conclusion which offers recommendations based on the findings from the literature review and the relocation experiences of the Naskapi people. Possible opportunities for further research relating to this study are also offered in the concluding chapter.

**Figure 5.2 Inter-Linkages Among Results**



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

The concluding chapter of this thesis is organized into three parts. The first section reviews the research objectives and results. This is followed by a description of the recommendations, which were derived from a comparative assessment of the findings from a review of the literature and the findings from the analysis, and their implications for future aboriginal community relocations. The final section identifies some opportunities for future research.

#### **6.1 Summary of Research**

The purpose of the research was to obtain Naskapi community members' own observations about the impact of their community-initiated relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach and, drawing also from pertinent literature, to make recommendations which could be incorporated into the policy of future aboriginal relocations. This was fulfilled through three main objectives. The first objective, which was to identify the potential impacts of aboriginal community relocations, was carried out in Chapter Two. This objective was accomplished through a review of the literature on selected aboriginal community relocations from across Canada. In this chapter, the history and types of aboriginal community relocations were described. The impacts resulting from these relocations, with examples from various native communities, were organized in the four categories identified in the 1996 RCAP:

- The relationship to land, environment, and culture.



- Economic effects.
- Social and political effects.
- Health effects.

The chapter then provided description of the direction recent relocations have begun to take and the recommended criteria identified in the RCAP for aboriginal community relocations in the future. The findings from this chapter illustrated the negative impacts forced relocations can have on all aspects of life in aboriginal communities. It also drew attention to the potential positive impacts resulting from voluntary or community-initiated relocations. The chapter concluded with a framework which was developed to illustrate factors which could, based on their presence or absence result in either positive or negative impacts. These findings led to the pursuit of the second objective.

The second objective of the research was to determine the possible long-term impacts of a community initiated relocation through a study of the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach. This was accomplished through a study of relevant literature and documents, and in-depth interviews with community members. This objective was presented in Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Four offered the readers background knowledge of the Naskapi by providing a brief history of the Naskapi people, highlighting their various relocations and concluding with a description of the community today. Through this description a number of important findings came to light. The brief history of the Naskapi illustrated the negative impacts which had resulted from the number of forced relocation they had experienced. The description of the community today demonstrated some of the positive impacts which can result from a voluntary relocation, such as the improved housing and

education. This chapter provided evidence of significant improvement resulting from voluntary relocations. These findings were important however, for further support, the views the community members were needed. Chapter Five presented those findings.

Chapter Five explored community members' own observation on the long-term impacts of the relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, through an analysis of forty in-depth interviews with Naskapi people and personal observations achieved through participant observation. The data were organized into six main categories, and analyzed in 23 sub-groups. This chapter highlighted the impacts, both positive and negative, of the relocation, and provided important information for the formulation of recommendations for future aboriginal community relocations. The findings presented in this chapter illustrated the many positive impacts which community members felt had resulted from their relocation. These included: improved quality housing, better access to hunting, the preservation of their culture and better opportunities for education and employment. However, a number of respondents felt that the relocation was not a completely positive experience. The lack of recreational facilities, problems with alcohol, and insufficient housing and employment were some of the issues of concern to many of the community members. These findings provided important information to incorporate into recommendations for future aboriginal community relocations. The findings also illustrated the interconnections between the issues and identified the underlying linkages. To summarize, throughout the relocation process the community has focused on achieving greater decision-making powers and a better quality of life. One of the incentives for change is a common concern shared by the community for the future which they believe lies in their young people.

The third and final objective was to make recommendations which could be incorporated into the policy of future aboriginal community relocations. These recommendations, which are presented in the next section, are based on the results derived from the literature review and the experiences of the Naskapi with relocation, particularly the most recent relocation. They address the six main categories identified in Chapter Five in an attempt to draw further attention to the issues which the community members and the literature deemed significant in aboriginal community relocations, while recognizing the importance of the interconnections within and between the issues.

In summary, the Naskapi relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach did not solve all of the problems previously experienced by this Band. The movement of a community from one place to another is not an overall or immediate solution. However, this most recent relocation has provided the Naskapi people with a better quality of living, greater sense of identity, cultural protection, greater self-government, territory and control over that territory, and greater decision-making powers. All of these are things that are empowering the people of the community, enabling them to work on solving the remaining problems. Although some problems in housing, recreation, and decision-making remain to be addressed in Kawawachikamach, it is evident that the overall impact of the relocation has been positive. The community has provided their young people with a better quality of life and greater opportunities for the future. As Joseph Guanish stated, *“I tell the young people that they have their whole lives ahead of them, and that they have to be strong, because they are the future of this community.”* The future of the community was an incentive for the community to relocate and it continues to be an incentive as the Naskapi work toward a better life for their community.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

The problems associated with aboriginal community relocations have been well-documented in the literature and recognized in the 1996 RCAP. Following from this, a number of recommendations have been offered by the RCAP, as described in Chapter Two, and others in an attempt to avoid these negative impacts associated with relocation from occurring in the future. The recommendations vary from procedures for planning to basic ethics. Dickman, who has written a number of articles on relocation stated that,

Two prerequisites for successful relocation that may be more difficult to realize than any recommendation regarding procedure. For whatever reason, people being relocated must first accept it as a desirable move, and secondly, they must have the resources, internal and external that are necessary for successful change to occur (Dickman, 1973: 169).

Through the review of literature on aboriginal community relocations, such as Dickman's, numerous case studies from across Canada, and the analysis of the Naskapi community member's own observations on the long-term impacts of their relocation from Matimekosh to Kawawachikamach, a number of recommendations were developed for consideration in future aboriginal community relocations.

The development of the recommendations entailed a comparison of the findings from the review of the literature and the findings from the analysis. As previously stated, the four effects of relocation identified in the 1996 RCAP and supported by the literature, were also the issues identified through the analysis of Naskapi community members' responses. However, housing and education were two issues which were highlighted in the analysis, but were incorporated into greater categories in the literature. Although the importance of these issues may vary somewhat depending on the particular community, they are evidently important considerations both during and following the relocation.

The factors identified in the relocation framework derived from the literature review, were also found, to a varying extent, in the analysis Naskapi relocation. One factor which did not emerge during the review of the literature but which was identified in the analysis, was the need for the necessary resources to assist the community in exercising the formal authority achieved through the relocation process. These resources, which may be monetary or educational, are necessary for the relocated community to gain the full potential benefits made available through the relocation. This may in turn have positive impacts in many other areas such as self-government, education, and health care.

What an examination of the literature did not highlight, but was made clear through the analysis of the Naskapi relocation, may be common underlying incentives for a voluntary or community-initiated relocation. These were the shared desire by the Naskapi community for greater decision-making power and a better quality of life for their people. This is especially apparent in the shared concern by community members for the young people in the community. The respondents recognize that the young people are the future and the impacts from this relocation will be experienced by them. This is an incentive for community members to continue to strive toward a better future for their community. These two themes, power and decision-making, and improved quality of life, and a recognition of the importance of the youth, were important considerations in the development of the recommendations.

The similar results found through the comparison lend support to the findings and the subsequent recommendations. The differences do not take away from the findings, instead they bring to light further issues which may be shared by other communities

considering relocation.

The following recommendations, which are based on the experiences of the Naskapi and a reading of the literature, may help aboriginal communities who may be relocating in the future plan for a successful relocation and avoid the potential negative impacts. The recommendations are directed at those involved in the formulation of policy and also to those involved at the community level. The recommendations are intended to raise the awareness of policy makers, and also community members, consultants, planners, and others who may be involved in the early stages of the relocation process, about the important issues related to aboriginal community relocations. The recommendations deal with:

- Informed consent;
- Participation in planning;
- Economic improvements;
- Formal authority;
- Resources for healing;
- Sufficient housing and services;
- Consideration for traditional needs and cultural preservation;
- Policies and promises must translate into practice.

The careful consideration of the negative impacts which resulted from forced relocations and the recommendations offered in this study, may lead to the achievement of greater power and decision-making and an improved quality of life by aboriginal communities which relocate in the future.

### **6.2.1 Informed Consent**

The first, and I believe, the most important factor in an aboriginal community relocation is that the entire community must have a choice as to whether or not it wants to relocate. It is imperative that all members of the community give their prior and informed consent to the relocation before any movement is initiated. Informed consent is an important aspect of decision-making power, highlighted in both the literature and the data analysis. Informed consent was a factor that was absent from the majority of relocations in the past, such as with the Sayisi Dene and the Chemawawin Cree relocations, which had serious negative impacts on the community (Fiddler, 1992 and Skoog and Macmillan, 1990). The members of the community must be made aware of the reasons for the relocation and the future plans for the community. At this point the community members should be given the opportunity to vote on the issue. For their most recent relocations to Kawawachikamach and Little Sango Pond, both the Naskapi and the Innu of Davis Inlet, respectively, were given the opportunity to vote on whether or not to relocate, after having been informed of the details of the relocation (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989 and Personal Interviews, 1997). Naskapi community members felt strongly about the community achieving and maintaining decision-making power. It gives the community a sense of control over their future and avoids the forced relocation of an unwilling community.

### **6.2.2. Participation in Planning**

Following from a community decision to relocate, the members of the community should continue to play an active role in the planning and decision-making processes

related to the relocation. This begins with the site selection process. It is very important for the community to have a significant degree of choice in deciding where they are to be relocated. So many relocations in the past have had negative impacts when the relocated community is excluded from participation in planning. This has led to inappropriate sites being chosen, loss of employment opportunities and a dislocation from culturally significant territories. For example, the community of Grassy Narrows was forcibly relocated to a location where they could not fish which deprived them of their main source of employment and led to welfare dependency and alcoholism (Shkilnyk, 1985). The Naskapi community was given the choice of selecting one of four different relocation sites. They chose the site which they believed best suited their needs and where they felt they could find a better quality of life (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989).

It is important for community members to play an on-going role in planning and decision-making to help determine the needs of the community. This could involve community lay-out, housing design, economic development, and skills training. There needs to be a recognition by everyone involved that the relocated community generally knows what is best for itself, and that it should be involved to ensure that this is accomplished. As Dickman states in his recommendations, "During the planning stage community members must be involved in meaningful tasks which will help determine the needs of the community" (Dickman, 1973:169). As illustrated in Kawawachikamach, participation in planning and decision-making are imperative to the continued well-being of a community. Community members need to be involved in the planning and decision-making which will impact the future of their community.



### **6.2.3. Economic Improvements**

A strong economy is very important to the well-being of a community. So many relocations in the past have resulted in poor economic conditions, widespread unemployment and welfare dependency. When the Mi'kmaq communities in Nova Scotia were relocated to two centralized reserves, many people were forced to give up their jobs, without alternative employment opportunities being made available in their new communities (RCAP 1996: 418). A relocation should instead offer the community a chance to improve its standard of living and maintain or improve employment opportunities in its new location (RCAP, 1996).

A successful relocation is dependent upon economic planning which takes into consideration a growing young population. There are so many young people on reserves who need the opportunity to find meaningful employment. Training and education programs can provide members with new skills to plan, build, service and administer their new community. Training programs were available to the Naskapi prior to their relocation and a number of community members found employment building and running the new community (Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989 and Personal Interviews, 1997). In Davis Inlet, the Innu are learning new skills and acquiring capital through Joint Venture companies (Personal Interviews, 1997). There are also on-going working groups on economic development for the Naskapi in an attempt to continue to improve the community's economic well-being (Ross, 1993).

Consideration should also be given to the traditional activities of the community such as hunting, fishing, and trapping. As described in Chapters Four and Five, both the James Bay Cree and the Naskapi have hunter support programs which provide economic

assistance so community members can continue to practice their traditional activities.

These important programs offer economic benefits while promoting cultural preservation, self-sufficiency and pride in the communities (Personal Interviews, 1997).

As illustrated in the literature and the analysis, one of the links among all elements of the relocation is the community's desire for an improved standard of living; this can not be achieved and maintained without maintaining or improving the community's economy.

#### **6.2.4. Formal Authority**

Formal authority is an important factor in a successful relocation. In the past, many communities were relocated without ever giving their consent, which deprived the communities of any sense of self-control. Through the relocation process, important decisions were made by authorities outside the communities with minimal, if any, consultation with community members. This is illustrated in the High Arctic relocations where families were forced to move to unknown locations without their consent or involvement in the planning process (RCAP, 1994). As described in Chapter Two, this situation often leads to a greater dependency on the government and the loss of community self-determination.

Formal authority should be a mandatory part of relocations to ensure increased community self-determination. This could be legislated through a relocation agreement and/or an act, such as the NEQA and the Cree-Naskapi Act, and entail such things as monetary compensation, the settlement of land claims, administrative autonomy and self-government. The community then needs the training, education, and resources to be able to exercise, to the full extent, the formal authority which they have achieved. Voluntary

or community-initiated relocations can only provide positive long-term impacts if the community has the opportunity to continue to achieve greater self-determination. The Naskapi secured legislated formal authority through their relocation, with the settlement of the NEQA, and the passing of the Cree-Naskapi (Personal Interviews, 1997 and DIAND, 1995). For members of the Naskapi community whose lives had for so long been determined for them by others, the relocation to Kawawachikamach, in association with other factors, was an important step toward self-determination. The challenge for the community is to competently exercise the powers of self-government to their fullest. As the community works to meet this challenge, the community continues to achieve greater self-determination.

#### **6.2.5 Resources for Healing**

Many aboriginal communities across Canada are struggling with social problems related to drug and alcohol abuse. For communities such as that in Davis Inlet, which are still suffering from the negative impacts associated with forced relocations, these problems are especially difficult (Gathering Voices, 1992 and Personal Interviews, 1997). Some communities may consider a voluntary or community-initiated relocation as a possible means to help deal with these problems and so begin healing. However, as stated earlier, a move from one location to another is not an immediate solution. Sufficient resources must be available to the community to help the people deal with their problems and begin the healing process. A relocation can be a healing experience if the community is properly equipped to help the people in need. This may be accomplished through the construction of a treatment centre, the training of people from the community

to be counselors, or the opportunity for members of the community to go out on the land. In Kawawachikamach, a number of community members received counseling training at an aboriginal treatment centre in Alberta after the relocation so they could learn to find culturally appropriate methods to help the people in their community (Personal Interviews, 1997). Only the community will know what they need and it is important that these needs are recognized and addressed in the planning process. Dickman states that sufficient funds must be committed to provide intensive support services during and after the relocation. He adds that, "as many services as possible should be provided from within the community" (Dickman, 1973: 169). As illustrated in the literature review and the data analysis, the relocated community needs adequate resources to find the appropriate solutions for their community's problems, so that community members may find a better life in the new location.

#### **6.2.6. Sufficient housing and services**

Across Canada there is a serious lack of housing on reserves. As on-reserve populations are growing rapidly, young families are often forced to live with their extended families in small, often poor quality, houses while they wait, sometimes for many years, for houses of their own (Personal Interviews, 1997 and Mitchell, 1998). These realities must be considered and addressed in the planning stages, prior to relocation. Resources are needed to provide sufficient good quality housing to the community, with plans to meet housing demands in the future. Community members should be trained in construction and other trades so they can build and maintain housing and other buildings in the community.

Another consideration in the planning stage should be for the provision of recreation facilities. In remote locations especially, community members of all ages need a place to partake in sports, crafts, and other activities. As described in Chapter Five, many people of all ages in Kawawachikamach feel bored and isolated, and attribute this and adolescent drinking to the lack of recreational facilities in their community (Personal Interviews, 1997). Other services such as health care, education, and policing are also important considerations which should, where possible, be provided within the community by community members. In Kawawachikamach, community members hope that in the future they will have the education, training, and resources to take over all the service provisions in the community.

Sufficient quality housing, recreational facilities and other services are important factors which will contribute to the relocated communities' feeling of well-being and quality of life.

#### **6.2.7 Consideration for traditional needs and cultural preservation**

As described earlier, many aboriginal communities have strong ties to their land and culture. In the past, this was often ignored by planners and as a result communities were relocated with no consideration for the people's traditional needs or for cultural preservation. Dickman states that one step to a successful relocation is consideration of the traditional needs of the community members. "This may be the inclusion of unplanned areas to be completed according to the needs of the people who live there" (Dickman, 1973: 169). This is an important consideration throughout the relocation process, from site selection, to community lay-out, and even to economic planning. For

example, the Cree community in Easterville, who previously grew a considerable amount of food in their gardens, should have been set up in an area where they could have had gardens and thus continued to grow their own food (Dickman, 1973: 161-162). As another example, the Sayisi Dene, whose culture was strongly linked to the caribou, should have been relocated to an area where they could have continued to hunt caribou and preserve their culture.

The Naskapi people interviewed generally feel that their relocation to Kawawachikamach has had a positive impact, through the recognition of their traditional needs and the preservation of their culture. The NEQA and the relocation to Kawawachikamach facilitated hunting and fishing and have helped to strengthen and preserve their culture (Personal Interviews, 1997 and Wilkinson and Geoffroy, 1989). As described in Chapter Five, the attainment of their own school has resulted in cultural education, the increased use of the Naskapi language, and the opportunity for the young people in the community to participate in hunting and fishing. The community hopes that the construction of a recreation centre will, among other things, provide a place for the elders to meet, practice their traditional activities, and pass on their knowledge to the community. The recognition of communities' traditional needs and the preservation of their cultures through the relocation process should produce positive impacts through the promotion of community pride and self-reliance.

#### **6.2.8. Policies and promises must translate into practice**

For any recommendation or policy to be effective, the parties involved need to ensure that it translates into practice. As Hogwood and Gunn state, "Policy can be

interpreted as a statement of intent, to which management activities may or may not adhere (Hogwood and Gunn 1984, 17). For a relocation to be successful it is vitally important that policies do become practice. The RCAP states in their recommendations relating to relocation that “Promises made concerning the relocation should be kept and supported by adequate resources” (RCAP, 1996). Case studies illustrate time and again that many promises made to communities regarding the relocations never materialize. As described in Chapter Four, when the Naskapi first relocated from Fort Chimo to Schefferville they believed there would be housing, a school and a nursing station for them. When they arrived, there were none of the things they had been promised (Cooke, 1976). Future aboriginal community relocations should be focused on building positive relationships among all the parties and guaranteeing that the relocated community has the powers to influence the relocation process. This may help to ensure that promises made during the relocation process are kept and policies become practices.

### **6.3 Areas for Further Research**

This study has led to a better understanding of the long-term impacts of community initiated relocation and the formulation of a number of recommendations to be considered in future aboriginal community relocations. There are a number of topics which deserve further exploration, as noted below.

Many elders were absent from Kawawachikamach during the field study period. Additional field work could be done to permit the researcher to focus on those persons not interviewed by me. The elders in the community offer important perspectives on the impacts of the relocations due to the many changes they have experienced over their

lifetimes. They have witnessed and experienced changing: community locations, employment, language, culture, social problems, and lifestyles. Questions may focus on documenting the changes over an extended time line, or alternatively interviews may be left open to allow for the issues important to the respondents to emerge without the researchers imposed ideas.

Another group, which was not interviewed, was people who currently are living away from the community, including those who are studying in the “south”. It would be useful to make contact with these people to determine their views of the impacts of the relocation and about the prospects for the Naskapi both in and outside Kawawachikamach. In this study, a number of the respondents had spent some time in the “south” for education or employment, however they had all returned to live in the community. The views of those who have remained living outside the community may present very different perspectives on the relocation.

As described in this study, the residents of Kawawachikamach are hopeful that a recreation centre will be built in their community. Many respondents believe that the construction of the centre will help to alleviate adolescent boredom and alcohol consumption. If a recreation centre is built in Kawawachikamach, it will be important to study the resulting impacts on the community. This may involve in-depth interviews with community members from all age groups, particularly the young people. Topics for consideration may include:

- the programs offered at the recreation centre;
- community use of the facilities, including a profile of the users;
- maintenance;



- a survey of adolescent feelings of boredom;
- rates of adolescent alcohol consumption.

Such a study may offer important information for planners and aboriginal communities in other isolated areas on the potential social, cultural and health values of a community recreation centre.

Another suggestion for future research in Kawawachikamach results from what was revealed in many of the interviews for this study. Respondents described communication problems between the administration and community members. Many people blamed the Band Office and the Council for the problems in Kawawachikamach. The community may benefit from a study which explores the use of conflict avoidance and conflict resolution techniques in Kawawachikamach. Through interviews and workshops, the researcher and the community may uncover traditional methods which may have fallen out of use or new culturally appropriate techniques which the community could utilize to resolve old conflicts and help to avoid future conflicts. The findings from this study may also be useful to other aboriginal communities which have communication problems.

The findings from a study which delves into the various dimensions of community viability may provide useful information for consideration in the planning of aboriginal community relocations. As illustrated in the Naskapi relocation to Kawawachikamach and the Innu's relocation from Davis Inlet, some aboriginal communities may choose to relocate to a remote location where there may be questions of the community's economic viability. This study may offer insight into importance of economic viability compared to other issues such as cultural or spiritual viability.

Finally, there may be merit in undertaking a series of voluntary or community-initiated aboriginal community relocation studies, involving several communities, using the same research methodology. Studies of relocations to date have used different methodologies thus there are problems when comparing and contrasting findings. This would also contribute to a better understanding of the long-term impacts of this type of relocation.

## **Bibliography**

- Anderson, Bruce, David Covo and Dan Corsillo. Fort George. Montreal: Office of Research on Educational Policy, Department of Administration and Policy Studies, Faculty of Education. McGill University, 1981.
- Arbour, Daniel and Associates Inc. Community Plan for the Nemaska Band. Montreal, 1978.
- Arbour, Daniel and Associates Inc. Naskapis - Schefferville: Etude Comparative des Sites / Comparative Sites Study. Montreal, 1979.
- Arbour, Daniel and Associates Inc. Special Qualifications of Daniel Arbour & Associates. Montreal, 1994.
- Braul, Waldemar. "Ingenika Point: No More Riverboats" in Nation to Nation. eds. D. Engelstad and J. Bird. Concord: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1992.
- Bussidor, Ila and Ustun Bilgen-Reinhart. Night Spirits: The story of the relocation of the Sayisi Dene. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1998.
- Canada. Quebec Indian Community Guide. Quebec: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1995.
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Under Attack: In Grassy Narrows. Transcript from Ideas. Toronto: CBC, 1983.
- Cardinal, Douglas J. Architect Ltd. Ouje-Bougoumou Village Architectural Concept. October 2, 1991 (Updated December 31, 1991).
- Cassidy, R. and R. L. Bish. Indian Government: Its Meaning in Practice. Lantzville: Oolichan Books, 1989.
- Cernea, Michael M. and Scott E Guggenheim eds. Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice, and Theory. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.
- Chapman, Jean. Supplementary Socio-economic Information on the Naskapis 1990. A Report presented to the Naskapi Employment Creation Working Group. Montreal: Paul F. Wilkinson & Assoc. Inc, July 22 1991.
- Chapman, Jean. Infrastructure and Services in the Naskapi Village of Kawawachikamach. Submitted to The Working Group on Job Creation in Kawawachikamach. Montreal, September 29, 1992.

- Chartier, A. E. Relocation in Canada: Policies and Practices. A Report from the Compensation Research Centre of The Conference Board of Canada, No. 72. May, 1982.
- Chicoine, L. "Le Village Ouje-Bougoumou: une experience de planification partagee en milie autochtone". Masters Thesis, School of Urban Planning, McGill University, 1990.
- Chokor, B.A. "Environment-behaviour-design research techniques," Environment and Planning, 19: 7-32, 1987.
- Cole, David. "'They Use Binoculars Instead of Dreams' - Traditional Ecological Knowledge Use Among the Naskapi of Northeastern Quebec: A Question of Survival." An unpublished major research paper submitted to the University School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph, August 1992.
- Cooke, Alan. A History of the Naskapis of Schefferville: Preliminary Draft. Montreal: Naskapis Band Council of Schefferville, 1976.
- Corbin, J.M. and Strauss, A.L.. Basics of Qualitative Research: grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Cree - Naskapi Commission. 1986 Report of the Cree - Naskapi Commission. Ottawa: Cree - Naskapi Commission, 1987.
- Crowe, Keith J.. A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada. Arctic Institute of North America, 1974.
- Davies, K.G. and Johnson, A.M., eds. Northern Quebec and Labrador journals and correspondence, 1819-35. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963.
- de la Barre, Kenneth et al. Relocation of the Nemaska Band: Review of the Nemaska Environmental and Social Impact Review Panel. Quebec: Secretariat of the Review Panel, 1979.
- Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, and The Northeastern Quebec Agreement Cree - Inuit - Naskapi Annual Report 1995. Ottawa: Canada, 1995.
- Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Pride in Partnership. Ottawa: Canada, March 1997.
- Desy, P. "Acculturation et Socio-Economie chez les Montagnais et les Naskapi du Lac John pres de Schefferville." MA Thesis geography. Ste-Foy: Universite de Laval, 1963.

- Dickason, Olive Patricia. Canada's First Nations. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992.
- Dickman, Phil. "Thoughts on Relocation," The Musk-Ox. No. 6: 21-31, 1969.
- Dickman, Phil. "Spatial Change and Relocation," Manitoba Geographic Studies. Winnipeg: Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, 1973.
- Draper, C. "Grassy Narrows: The Struggle from Devastation To Self-Sufficiency," in Preventing and Responding to Northern Crime. ed. Curt Taylor Griffiths (Editor): Vancouver: Northern Justice Society and Simon Fraser University, 1990.
- Duerden, F. and R.G. Kuhn. "Scale, Context, and Application of Traditional Knowledge of the Canadian North," Polar Record 34(188): 31-38, 1998.
- Erikson, K.T. and C. Vecsey. "A Report to the People of Grassy Narrows", in American Indian Environments. ed. C. Vecsey and R.W. Venables.. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980.
- Fiddler, Elsie. "From Cedar Lake to Easterville: Mourning For What My People Lost" in Nation to Nation, eds. D. Engelstad and J. Bird. Concord: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1992.
- Fleras, Augie and J. L. Elliott. The Nations Within: Aboriginal- State Relations in Canada, the United States and New Zealand. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Gathering Voices: Finding the Strength to Help Our Children. Utshimastits, Ntessinan: Innu Nation and the Mushuau Innu Band Council, June 1992.
- Gadgil, M., F. Berkes, and C. Folke. "Indigenous Knowledge For Biodiversity Conservation," Ambio 22(2-3): 151-156, 1993.
- Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Press, 1967.
- Goddard, John. "In from the Cold," Canadian Geographic. 114/4 July/August: 38-47, 1994.
- Goodall, George. The Penguin Dictionary of Human Geography. London: Penguin Books, 1987.
- Grand Council of the Crees. Sovereign Injustice: Forcible Inclusion of the James Bay Crees and Cree Territory into a Sovereign Quebec. Nemaska: Canada, October 1995.

- Hansen, Art and Anthony Oliver-Smith. Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People. Boulder: Westview Press, 1982.
- Harvey, Sylvain. The Native Peoples of Quebec. Quebec: Les Editions Sylvain Harvey, 1997.
- Hawkins, Joyce M. ed. The Oxford Paperback Dictionary 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Hearing the Voices: Government's Role in Innu Renewal. Utshimassits: Innu Nation and Mushuau Innu Band Council, February 23, 1993.
- Hogwood, Brian W. and Lewis A Gunn. Policy Analysis For The Real World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Honingmann, J. "Social Disintegration in Five Northern Canadian Communities," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 2: 199-214, 1966.
- J.B.N.Q.A. The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. Quebec: Editeur Officiel du Quebec, 1976.
- Jenkins, J. "Design and Construction of the New Town of Kawawachikamach for the Naskapis". Unpublished manuscript. Toronto: Shelter Construction and Development Ltd. 1983.
- Jimmiken, Lawrence. "The Nemiscau Situation: Background." Unpublished manuscript, 1977.
- Johnson, M. Lore: Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge, Dene Cultural Institute/IDRC, Ottawa, 1992.
- Johnston, R.J., D.B. Knight, and E. Kofman. "Nationalism, Self-Determination and the World Political Map," in Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography, 1-17, eds. R.J. Johnston, D.B. Knight and E. Kofman, London: Croom Helm, 1988.
- Jorgensen, J.G. "Commentary: Native Americans and Rural Anglos: Conflicts and Cultural Responses to Energy Developments", Human Organization, 43(2): 178-185, 1984.
- Kenney, Gerard. Arctic Smoke and Mirrors. Prescott: Voyageur Publishing, 1994.
- Kirby, S. and McKenna, K. Experience Research Social Change: Methods from the Margins. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1989.

- Knight, David B. "Self-Determination for Indigenous Peoples: the Context for Change", Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography, 117- 134, eds. R.J. Johnston, D.B. Knight and E. Kofman, London: Croom Helm, 1988.
- Koolage, William W. Jr. Relocation and Culture Change: A Canadian Sub-Arctic Case Study. Winnipeg: DIAND and University of Manitoba, 1972
- Kozina, Andrew. Notes on Relocation. Unpublished, n.d..
- Lal, Ravinda. "From Duck Lake to Camp 10: Old Fashioned Relocation," The Musk-Ox, 6: 5-13, 1969.
- Lal, Ravinda. "Some Observations on the Social Life of the Chipewyans of Camp 10, Churchill and their Implications for Community Development," The Musk-Ox, 6: 14-20, 1969.
- Lalonde, Michelle. "A Cree Triumph Rises From Snow," The Gazette. Montreal, December 4, 1993.
- Landa, Michael. Easterville: A Case Study in the Relocation of a Manitoba Native Community. Winnipeg: M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969.
- La Rusic, Ignatius, et al. Negotiating a Way of Life: Initial Cree Experience with the Administrative Structure Arising from the James Bay Agreement. Montreal: ssDcc Inc. and Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979.
- Lessard, Marie. "Chisasibi: Le point de ve des residents sur la qualite de leur environment," Plan Canada, 124-134, July 1986.
- Lessard, M., N. Chicoine, and R. Ouellet. "Le Nouveau village de Chisasibi: une evaluation par les residents," Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec, 16 (2-3): 127-139, 1986.
- Lithman, Yngve G. The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reservation. Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press, 1984.
- Loney, Martin. "The Construction of Dependency: The Case of the Grand Rapids Hydro Project," The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 7, 1, 1987.
- Man Alive. Inherit the Earth: Story of the Ouje-Bougoumou. CBC. 1995.
- Manuel, George. The Fourth World. Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1974.

- Marcoux, R. Evaluation des incidences environnementales des vols d'avions militaires en basse altitude, en vitesse subsonique, au dessus des territoires de chasse des Montagnais de la Basse-Cote-Nord (La Romaine) 2 vols.. Quebec: Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, 1986.
- Marcus, Alan R. Relocating Eden. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995.
- McBryde, Allyson. "A Study of the Natural Vegetation of the Iron Ore Mine Dumps at Schefferville, Quebec." Masters Thesis, Department of Geography, Mc Gill University. Montreal, 1976.
- Mitchell, Alana. "Population Bomb Ticking on Reserves," Globe and Mail, A1, Wednesday, January 14, 1998.
- Moody, Roger, editor. The Indigenous Voice: Visions and Realities, 2 Volumes. London: Zed Books, 1988.
- Morris, Margaret. "Boundary Problems Relating to the Sovereignty of the Canadian Arctic," The Musk-Ox, 6: 32-58, 1969.
- Morschauer, Edward J. Jr. and Martha W. Chescheir. "Identity and Community Relocation," Social Casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 63(9), November 1982.
- Mushuau Innu. Davis Inlet Community Relocation Agreement: Signing Ceremony. Wednesday, November 13, 1996.
- Mushuau Innu Relocation Agreement. Between the Mushuau Innu, Canada, and Newfoundland and Labrador. November 1996.
- Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee. Kajatukuant: Relocation of the James Bay Cree. 1994.
- National Film Board of Canada (NFB). Broken Promises: The High Arctic Relocation. 1995.
- N.E.Q.A. The Northeastern Quebec Agreement. Ottawa, 1984.
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Allyn and Bacon: Boston, 1994.
- Opekokew, Delia and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. The First Nations: Indian Government and the Canadian Confederation. Saskatoon: Midwest Litho Ltd., 1980.



- Orzechowska, M. Report of Study to Assess Work Related Experiences, Attitudes and Aspirations of the Naskapis of Kawawachikamach, Northern Quebec. Montreal: Naskapi Development Corporations (Native Economic Development Programme), 1986.
- Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation. Community Report, 1993.
- Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation. Housing Program. Chibougamou, 1993.
- Peat Marwick et Associes. Socio-Economic Study: Naskapi Band of Schefferville Socio-Economic Study Report. Montreal: Peat Marwick et Associes, 1979.
- Personal Interviews, 1997.
- Peters, Evelyn. "The Geographies of Aboriginal Self-government," in Aboriginal Self-Government in Canada, ed. J. Hilton. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 1997.
- Press, Harold. "Davis Inlet in Crisis: Will the Lessons Ever be Learned?," in The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 15(2): 187-209, 1995.
- Preston, Richard J. "The Politics of Community Relocation: An Eastern Cree Example," Culture, 2(3), 1982.
- Quebec. The Crees and Naskapis of Quebec: Their Socio-Economic Conditions. Quebec: Government du Quebec, Ministere de l'Industrie et du Commerce, 1984.
- Relph, E. Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography. Billing, Guilford, 1981.
- Relph, E. Place and Placelessness. Pion, London, 1976.
- Robbins, R. H. Ecological Adaptation and Economic Change Among the Schefferville Naskapis. McGill Subarctic Research Paper No. 24, 1969: 124-129.
- Robbins, R. H. "Education and Culture Change: Naskapi Schooling in Schefferville," Paper Presented at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, the American Ethnological Society, and the Council on Anthropology and Education Symposium on Bicultural Education of Canadian Eskimos and Indians. Montreal: April 8, 1972.
- Robbins, R. H. "Alcohol and Identity Struggle: Some Effects of Economic Change on Interpersonal Relations," American Anthropologist, 75: 99-124, 1973.
- Robbins, R. H. Modernization and Social Change among the Schefferville Naskapi. Unpublished manuscript, 1988.

- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Canada Communications Group-Publishing, 1996.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation. Ottawa: Canada Communications Group-Publishing, 1994.
- Ross, Judy. A Job Creation Strategy for the Naskapis of Kawawachikamach. A report presented to Canada and the Naskapi Band of Quebec by The Working Group on Job Creation in Kawawachikamach. January 28, 1993.
- Rothe, J.P. Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide. Heidelberg: RCI Publications and PDE Publications. 1994.
- Rudnicki, Walter. "High Arctic Relocation: No Random Act," Compass. Nov./Dec., 1994.
- Salisbury, Richard F. A Homeland for the Cree: Regional Development in James Bay 1971-1981. Montreal: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1986.
- Scudder, Thayer. No Place To Go: Effects of Compulsory Relocation on Navajos. Philadelphia: A Publication of the Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1982.
- Shkilnyk, Anastasia. Government Indian Policy and its Impact on Community Life: A Case Study of the Relocation of the Grassy Narrows Band. A Report Submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. October, 1981.
- Shkilnyk, Anastasia. A Poison Stronger Than Love. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Skoog, Douglas M. and Ian R. Macmillan. Band Relocation Study. A report prepared by Windborn Consulting, 1990.
- Smith, Doug. "A Long Way Home," This. January/February, 1998.
- Speck, Frank G.. Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula. The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume 10. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1977.
- Tester, Frank J. and Peter Kulchyski. Tammarnitt (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994.
- Treeline Productions. Nu Ho Ni Yeh: Our Story. The Sayisi Dene of Tadoule Lake, Manitoba, 1992.

Usher, Peter J., J.E. Torrie, P. Anderson, H. Brody and J. Keck. The Economic and Social Impact of Mercury Pollution on the Whitedog and Grassy Narrows Indian Reserves. A report prepared for the Whitedog and Grassy Narrows Indian Bands. Ottawa: Unpublished, 1979.

Wadden, Marie. Nitassinan. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991.

Waldram, James B. "Relocation, Consolidation and Settlement Pattern in the Canadian Subarctic," Human Ecology, 15(2), 1987.

Ward, Fred. "The Changing World of Canada's Crees," National Geographic, April 1975.

Wilkinson, Paul F. and Denise Geoffroy.. A Parcel of Fools: Economic Development and the Naskapis of Quebec. A Report Submitted to the Native Economic Development Programme by the Naskapis Development Corporation. August 1989.

Witness. Utshimassits: Place of the Boss. CBC, 1996.

Wolfe-Keddie, Jackie. "Listening and Heeding: Challenges of Restructuring the Relationship Between Aboriginal Peoples and Canada," in Restructuring Societies: Insights from the Social Sciences, eds. D.B. Knight and A.E. Joseph. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, in press.

[www.inusiaat.com/tek.htm](http://www.inusiaat.com/tek.htm) Inuit Circumpolar Conference Web Page.

"Recommendations on the Integration of Two Ways of Knowing: Traditional Indigenous Knowledge and Scientific Knowledge" from the Seminar on the Documentation and Application of Indigenous Knowledge, Inuvik, Northwest Territories, Canada, November 15-17, 1996.

[www.inac.gc.ca](http://www.inac.gc.ca) Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Web Page, 1997.

## Appendix A: Sources for Information on Selected Relocations

Selected Relocations	Sources
<u>Mushuau Innu</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Gathering Voices, 1992</li> <li>■ Hearing the Voices, 1993</li> <li>■ Mushuau Innu Relocation Agreement, 1996</li> <li>■ Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, 1994</li> <li>■ Press, H, 1995</li> <li>■ RCAP, Vol. 1, 1996</li> <li>■ Mushuau, 1996</li> <li>■ Witness, 1996</li> </ul>
<u>Sayisi Dene</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Bussidor, I &amp; U. Bigen-Reinhart, 1998</li> <li>■ Dickman, P., 1969</li> <li>■ Dickman, P., 1973</li> <li>■ Lal, R. , 1969</li> <li>■ Skoog, D. and I.R. Macmillan, 1990</li> <li>■ Smith, D., 1998</li> </ul>
<u>Cree of Chisasibi</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Anderson, B. et al., 1981</li> <li>■ Arbour, D. et Assoc., 1994</li> <li>■ Lessard, M., 1986</li> <li>■ Lessard, M. et al., 1986</li> <li>■ Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, 1994</li> </ul>
<u>Ojibwa of Grassy Narrows</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ CBC, 1983</li> <li>■ Draper, C., 1990</li> <li>■ Erikson, K. &amp; C. Vecsey, 1980</li> <li>■ Loney, M., 1995</li> <li>■ Shkilnyk, A., 1981</li> <li>■ Shkilnyk, A., 1985</li> <li>■ Usher, P. et. al., 1979</li> </ul>
<u>High Arctic Relocations of the Inuit</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Kenney, G., 1994</li> <li>■ Marcus, A.R., 1995</li> <li>■ Morris, M., 1969</li> <li>■ National Film Board, 1995</li> <li>■ RCAP, 1994</li> <li>■ RCAP, Volume 1., 1996</li> <li>■ Tester, F. &amp; Kuchyski P., 1994</li> </ul>

Selected Relocations	Sources
Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Chicoine, L., 1990</li> <li>■ Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Ltd., 1993</li> <li>■ Goddard, J., 1994</li> <li>■ Lalonde, M., 1993</li> <li>■ Man Alive, 1995</li> <li>■ Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee, 1994</li> <li>■ Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Nation - Housing Program, 1993</li> <li>■ Ouje-Bougoumou Community Report, 1993</li> </ul>
Chemawawin Cree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Fiddler, E. in Engelstad &amp; Bird, 1992</li> <li>■ Landa, M., 1969</li> <li>■ Loney, M., 1995</li> <li>■ RCAP, Volume 1, 1996</li> <li>■ Waldram, 1980</li> </ul>
Naskapis of Northeastern Quebec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Arbour, D.A. et Assoc., 1979</li> <li>■ Chapman, J., 1991</li> <li>■ Chapman, J., 1991</li> <li>■ Cole, D., 1992</li> <li>■ Cooke, A., 1976</li> <li>■ Cree-Naskapi Commission, 1987</li> <li>■ Désy, 1963</li> <li>■ DIAND, 1995</li> <li>■ DIAND, 1997</li> <li>■ Harvey, S., 1997</li> <li>■ Jenkins, J., 1983</li> <li>■ Peat Marwick et Assoc., 1979</li> <li>■ Orzechowska, M., 1986</li> <li>■ Quebec, 1984</li> <li>■ Robbins, R., 1969</li> <li>■ Robbins, R., 1972</li> <li>■ Robbins, R., 1973</li> <li>■ Robbins, R., 1988</li> <li>■ Ross, J., 1993</li> <li>■ Speck, F.G., 1977</li> <li>■ Wilkinson, P.F. &amp; D. Geoffroy, 1989</li> </ul>
Nemaska Cree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Arbour, D. et Assoc., 1978</li> <li>■ Arbour, D. et Assoc., 1994</li> <li>■ de la Barre, K., 1979</li> <li>■ Jimmiken, L., 1977</li> <li>■ RCAP, volume 1, 1996</li> </ul>

Selected Relocations	Sources
Mic'kmaq of Nova Scotia	■ RCAP volume 1, 1996
Ojibwa on the Saugeen	■ RCAP volume 1, 1996
Cheslaatta Carrier Nation	■ RCAP volume 1, 1996

## Appendix B: Letter to the Community

**BANDE NASKAPI DU QUÉBEC  
NASKAPI BAND OF QUÉBEC**

C.P. / P. O. Box 5111  
KAWAWACHIKAMACH, Nouveau-Québec.  
G0G 2Z0

Tél. : (418) 585-2686  
Fax : (418) 585-3130

### OPEN MEMO

From: Reine Oliver

Date: November 17, 1997

My name is Reine Oliver and I am a student at the University of Guelph in Ontario. I will be in Kawawachikamach for approximately two weeks. I am interested in speaking to those who are interested, about your views on the relocation from Schefferville to Kawawachikamach. I hope to learn, from you, about the long-term impacts of the relocation on your community. I hope that this information will be helpful to both your community and to other aboriginal communities who may be relocating in the future. Your comments will of course be kept anonymous if you so desire.

If you have any questions please feel free to call me at the McGill Research Station in the evening or to approach me in the village during the day. You can also speak to John Mameamskum who is overseeing this work. Thank-you for your cooperation.

I hope to see you soon.

*Reine Oliver*

Reine Oliver



**BANDE NASKAPI DU QUÉBEC  
NASKAPI BAND OF QUÉBEC**

C.P. / P. O. Box 5111  
KAWAWACHIKAMACH, Nouveau-Québec.  
G0G 2Z0

Tél. : (418) 585-2686  
Fax : (418) 585-3130

σ - Reine Oliver

Γ - ΛσϑΛϑ 17,1997

σ Reine Oliver βΓ·Ν·δΝ·ΰββ· δ·C βΓ·Ν·δΝ·δββ·  
University of Guelph, Ontario. ϑC λC·β· β·ΰ·β·Γβ·λ·λ· δ·λ·λ· σ·  
Γ·α·Cβ·α· δ·α· <Γ·ΰ·δ·C· λ·Γ· δ·Γ·β· δ·ΰ·Γ· δ·σ·λ· δ·Γ·Γ·C·C·  
β·Ν·λ·α·β·δ·λ· ϑ·C β·ΰ·β·Γβ·λ·λ· σ·<Γ·ΰ·δ·C· λ·Γ· Γ·λ· λ·β· λ·δ·Ν·λ·  
δ·α· σ·β·β· δ·Γ·λ·C·δ·C·β· β·Ν·λ·α·β·λ· ϑ·ΰ· δ·λ·δ·α· λ·Γ· Γ·λ·ΰ·δ·Γ·δ·λ·  
Ρ·λ· λ·Ν·λ·Γ·λ·ΰ· Ρ·λ· δ·Ν·β· δ·λ·λ· δ·Γ·α·δ·σ·β· σ·β·β· λ·Γ· δ·Ν·λ·δ·λ·  
δ·α· δ·λ·δ·α· δ·λ·λ·Ν·α·β·β· δ·ΰ·α· λ·ΰ·δ·C· λ·δ·β· δ·C·β·β·δ·λ·  
ϑ·Ν·Γ·σ·β·Γ·β·ΰ·ΰ·

Ν·λ·λ· λ·β·α· ΰ·δ·β·Γ·λ·λ·λ· λ·δ·Γ·λ· δ·C McGill Reasearch Station  
δ·C ϑ·C·α·λ· ϑ·C·δ·Γ·λ· Ρ·λ· λ·β· δ·λ·ΰ·δ·λ·Γ·λ·β· ϑ·C β·ΰ·β·Γβ·λ·λ· λ·λ·  
δ·α· λ·δ·Ν·λ·ΰ· λ·σ·λ· λ·Γ·λ·σ·λ·β·λ· δ·δ·β·Γ·λ·λ·λ· λ·β·α· λ·σ·λ·δ·Γ·Ν·α·

σβΓ·ΰ·δ·C· ΰ·λ·Γ·Ν·δ·λ·  
*Reine Oliver*  
Reine Oliver



## **Appendix C: Land categories as defined in the JBNQA and the NEQA.**

A land regime divides the territory of the beneficiaries under the JBNQA and NEQA agreements into three categories (I, II, III). It also specifies the total areas of land and the rights in each category.

Category I lands are set aside exclusively for the Native communities that are signatories to the two agreements. Cree and Naskapi Category I lands are further subdivided into categories IA and IB: "A" for lands under the jurisdiction of Canada, and "B" for those under that of Quebec. To distinguish them from Cree lands, Naskapi lands are classified as IA-N and IB-N. Lands under federal jurisdiction are governed by Native institutions as defined in the Cree-Naskapi (of Quebec) Act. Lands under Quebec's jurisdiction are governed by corporations composed exclusively of Native people.

Category II lands come under provincial jurisdiction, but the Native people participate in the management of hunting, fishing and trapping and the development of outfitting operations. They also have exclusive hunting, fishing and trapping on these lands.

Category III lands are Quebec public lands where Native and non-Native peoples may hunt and fish. However, Native people enjoy certain privileges on these lands under the agreements. They have exclusive rights to the harvesting of certain aquatic species and certain fur-bearing animals; they participate in the administration and development of the territory; and last, they enjoy a right of first refusal, until the year 2015, in the event of applications to transfer or set up new outfitting operations. The Native people must, however, relinquish this right for 30 percent of transfers or new operations proposed by non-Natives.

The JBNQA and the NEQA identify more than 14,000 square kilometres of territory as Category I lands, 150,000 square kilometres as Category II lands and one million square kilometres as Category III lands.

Source: DIAND, 1995.

**Appendix D: Speech read by Joseph Guanish, a respected Naskapi elder, at a staff meeting held on October 22, 1997, at Jimmy Sands Memorial School.**

The last 50 years have been a time of many upheavals and changes and difficulties for the Naskapi people. During this time I have been involved in my community because I believe it is important to help. I got involved in politics a long time ago, and as Chief I signed the North Eastern Quebec Agreement on behalf of, and for the benefit of the Naskapis. Because of the agreement, the Naskapis have the power to decide how young people will be educated. I tell the young people that they have their whole lives ahead of them, and that they have to be strong, because they are the future of this community.

That future depends on the ability of the students to learn to survive and grow in the modern world. JSMS is the one place that can prepare the Naskapi students to survive in the modern world. So the survival of the Naskapi people depends on the success of the young people in school. Teachers working at the school must realize how urgent and serious the teaching job is here at Kawawachikamach. They must realize that they are shaping the future of the Naskapi people.

If you are going to be a teacher at JSMS, you have to believe that you are here for the students. You have to believe that they are important and special and deserve the best you can give. You cannot give up on any one. Not even one. Everything you say and do as a teacher makes an impression on the students. They must believe that you are here to support them. And if you have some difficulties with a student, you must look for ways to help him. You can not waste time blaming the student, you must try to find a way to be the kind of teacher that he needs. His success depends on your ability to provide the support that he needs.

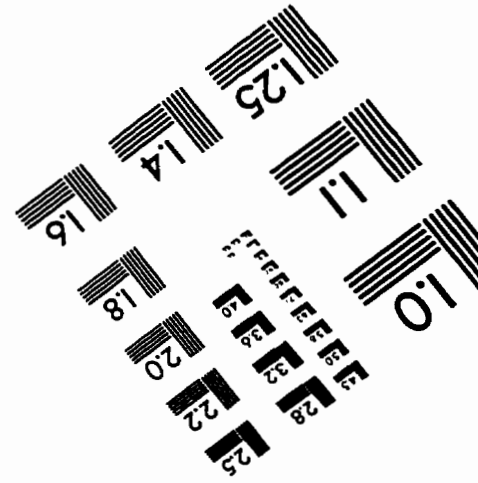
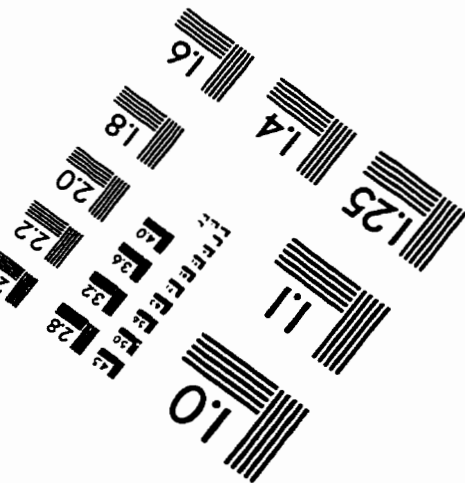
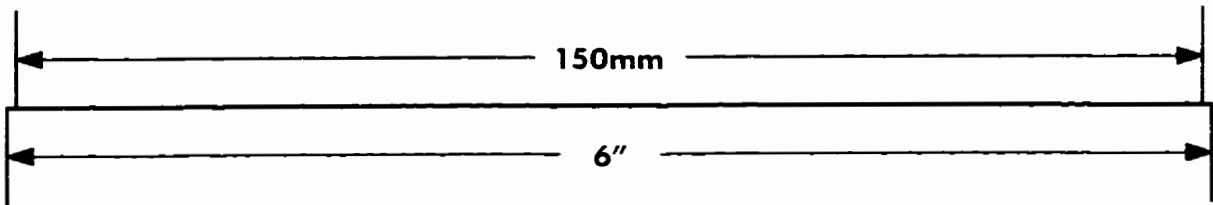
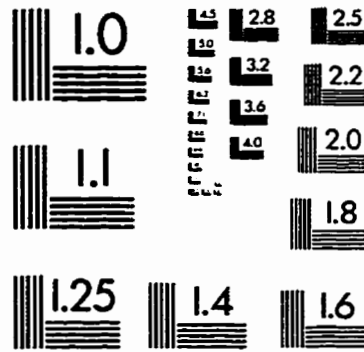
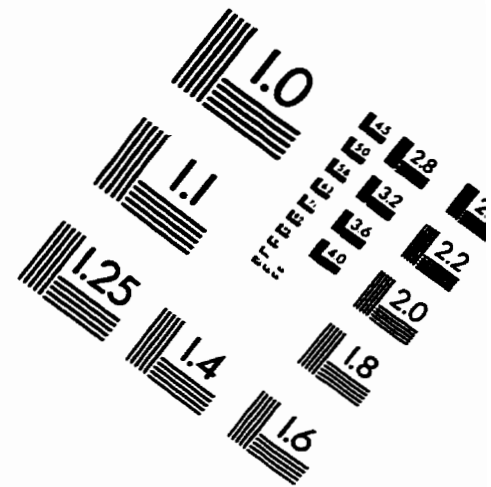
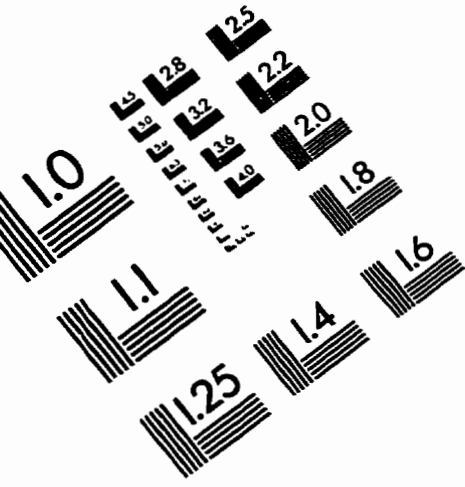
You have to learn what ways of teaching are best for native students and you have to try those ideas; and if they don't work, then you have to find out why, and then you have to try again. And if the ideas still don't work, you have to try something else. You cannot give up.

You have to find ways to bring the languages and culture into your classroom, because they are an important part of the students pride and self-worth. Valuing the language and culture shows that you value the students.

You have to work together with other teachers on the ONE goal of supporting every student. If there are problems, you have to work with your fellow teachers to solve the problems. You have to be respectful of the others even if their ways are very different from yours. You **have** to work together - that is how the Naskapi people survived in the past, that is how we will survive in the future. Survival depends on working together.

Do you think that we are asking for a lot? We are. We need people who are willing to make a commitment to the survival of the Naskapi people. We are looking for people who think of teaching as more than a job. Our community requires teachers who are totally committed to the students, and we ask for nothing less than your **TOTAL** commitment.

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc  
1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved