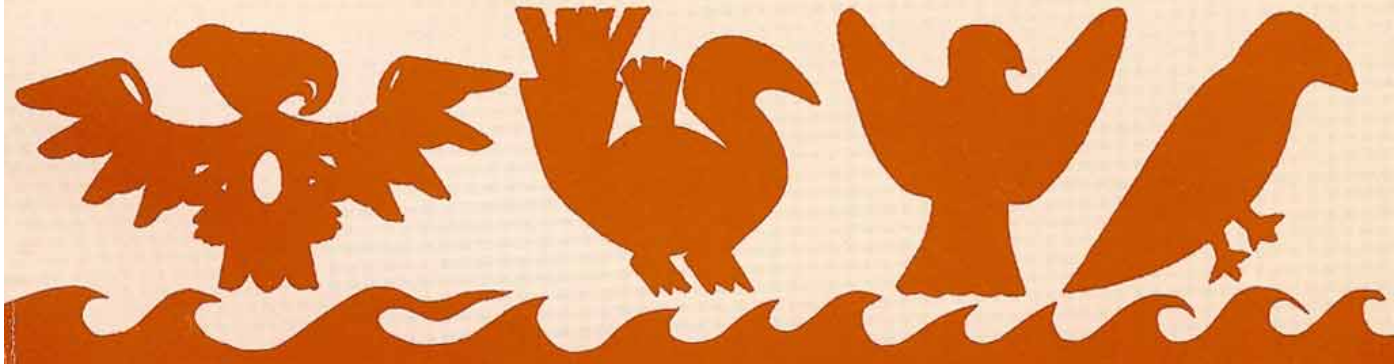
THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES

LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES



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ÉDITORIAL

Par la présente, la deuxième publication de La Revue des Études Indigènes, j'aimerais remercier les gens à travers le monde qui ont pris le temps de réagir à notre premier numéro en nous envoyant des lettres, des manuscrits, des abonnements et des paroles d'encouragements. Leurs réactions ont été positives, constructives, et pleins d'appuis. C'était enrichissant de communiquer avec cette population très étendue et diverse qui retrouvent les mêmes intérêts sous l'égide des études indigènes. Comme chaque journal novice, nous espérons recevoir beaucoup de manuscrits et nous rêvons au jour quand nous aurons un tel nombre de textes dans nos filières que nous pourrions planifier la mise-en-page un an avant la publication au lieu de seulement un mois. De plus, nous planifions une publication trimestrielle lorsque nous aurions atteint nos espoirs d'avoir une quantité suffisante de manuscrit.

Nous apprécions les suggestions de sujets thématiques que nous avons reçu pour les numéros spéciaux. Nous espérons être capable de publier à chaque quatrième numéro un sujet thématique. Comme prévu dans notre premier éditorial, nous allons publier en 1990 un numéro dédié au sujet de la santé mentale des indigènes de l'Amérique avec le Dr. Damian McShane, en tant que rédacteur invité, de Utah State University. Nous envisageons publier un deuxième numéro thématique au sujet de l'éthique archéologique et le traitement des morts qui sera développer au cours du Congrès archaéologique mondiale qui aura lieu en août 1989 à Vermillion au Dakota du Sud. D'autres suggestions en considération sont des éditions aux sujets de l'éducation indigène et les relations entre les peuples indigènes et les divers systèmes judiciaux mondiaux. Merci pour ces suggestions de numéros spéciaux et nous vous invitons de continuer vos envois d'idées.

Nous vous invitons également d'examiner avec un oeil critique le style de cette publication. Comme plusieurs entre vous avez commenté, notre premier numéro était moins que parfait. Plusieurs de ces commentaires étaient accompagnés par des offres d'assistances, de vérifier les textes ou de consulation. Ces offres sont appréciées et seront utilisées au besoin. La première édition nous metta à jour nos erreurs et nous souhaitons que chaque édition successive sera une amélioration. Nous vous demandons d'examiner ce numéro avec un oeil averti.

Nos définitions utilisées un étude indigène sont constamment revisées et élargies par les intérêts apportés par nos lecteurs. Nous avons reçu des demandes de renseignements ainsi que des manuscrits de gens qui oeuvrent dans des milieux que nous n'avons pu anticiper lorsque nous avons planifié La Revue des Études Indigènes. Nous invitons ces défis. Afin de juger comment mieux intégrer

tous ceux oeuvrant dans les divers métiers de cette discipline, nous sommes constamment appellés de revoir notre mandat en vue dés besoins de nos lecteurs et de leurs champs d'activités. Cet examen salubre et prolongé du mandat qu'on se propose élargira le contenu de chaque numéro. C'est notre but de fournir un réseau de communication entre ceux qui s'intéressent non seulement à la discipline mais à la philosophie qui dépasse les frontières politiques et les contraintes géographiques, et lorsque nous nous perfectionnons dans les rigueurs de la recherche, nous pourrions que croître.

Comme le démontre ce deuxième numéro, attirer des manuscrits provennant d'auteurs hors le Canada est toujours un défi,. La philosophie du journal parle d'un contenu international. Les sujets d'études indigènes dépassent les frontières des pays et des continents. Et même si nos abonnements et vos lettres démontrent un niveau d'intérêt international pour La Revue des Études Indigènes, il reste que les manuscrits provennant de l'extérieur de Canada demeurent épars. Nous vous encourageons de considérer la revue comme un milieu approprié pour la publication de vos importantes recherches.

Nous sommes heureux de vous présenter dans cette édition notre premier manuscrit écrit en français et nous espérons continuer de répresenter les deux langues officielles du Canada. Dans le cas actuel, et même si cela ne sera pas notre habitude, nous avons décidé de publier l'article au sujet de la langue Mitchif en français et en anglais. Cette décision a été prise à cause du niveau d'intérêt et les nombreuses demandes pour une traduction anglaise utilisable en classe. Un deuxième article, un document au sujet de l'imposition de la stérilisation parmi les femmes autochtones de l'Amérique du Nord, est aussi une première car celle-ci a été écrite par Verna Kirkness, une étudiante universitaire et une educatrice indigène reconnue au niveau international. Un autre article, co-rédigés par Donna Scarfe et Hellmut Lang, tous deux de la Saskatchewan, présente un sondage fait au sujet de l'appui des paires dans les programmes educaitonels des professeurs Indien/Métis. C'est notre espoir que ce deuxième numéro de notre revue démontre d'avantage la diversité des thèmes que nous envisageons présenter à nos lecteurs internationals.

Nous encourageons aussi nos lecteurs de nous suggérer des livres, soit en français ou en anglais et en particulier les titres qui sont édités hors le Canada, pour revue critiique; de nous faire connaître des conférences
et des programmes à venir; et de nous aider à développer notre réseau de contacts avec ceux impliqués dans les études indigènes internationales. De plus, et en dépit de que la politique de La Revue des Études Indigènes est de ne pas accepter de la publicité commerciale, nous annonçerons les conférences, les congrès et les demandes de documents, si nous avons de l'espace.

Nous devons non seulement remercier nos lecteurs mais aussi L'Institut Gabriel Dumont d'Études Autochtones et de Recherche appliquée pour leur soutient financier et philosophique. Nos rédacteurs adjoints nous appuient constamment en révisant les manuscrits et, en vue de nos intentions d'accomplir les rigoureux standards académiques, en faisant des suggestions de changement à nos politiques.

Les personnel de rédaction ainsi que le personnel de soutien de La Revue des Études Indigènes attendent avec plaisir la continuation des contacts et des conseils ainsi que déluge de manuscrits et d'abonnements anticiper durant les prochains mois. Le contact avec nos lecteurs est notre récompense pour nos efforts dans cette nouvelle entreprise éditoriale.

DANA LAWRENCE

LA REVUE DES ETUDES INDIGENES

With this, the second publication of the Journal of Indigenous Studies, I am in the position of saying thank you to people the world over who have responded to our initial volume by way of letters, manuscripts, subscriptions and words of encouragement. The response has been positive, constructive and supportive. It has been rewarding to communicate with a wide and diverse population who define their interests as falling under the aegis of indigenous studies. As with any beginning journal we anxiously await manuscripts and look forward to the day when we have such a number on file that we can plan our layout a year ahead of publication instead of the month before. As well, with the hopes of sufficient manuscripts our plans turn to becoming a quarterly publication in the future.

We welcome the suggestions we have had for special thematic issues. We hope to be in a position to publish a thematic issue every fourth issue initially. As indicated in the first editorial we will publish an issue devoted to the topic of Native American Mental Health in 1990 with Dr. Damian McShane of Utah State University as a guest editor. We hope to publish a second thematic issue growing out of the World Archaeological Congress which is meeting in Vermillion, South Dakota in August 1989, with a conference theme of Archaeological Ethics and the Treatment of the Dead. Other suggestions under consideration are issues on the topics of indigenous education and the relationships that exist between indigenous people and the various justice systems throughout the world . Thank you for those and please keep sending suggestions for special issues.

We also invite you to examine this issue critically for stylistic error. Our first volume, as many of you constructively commented, was less than perfect in many ways. Many of those comments were versed in offers to assist, to proofread or to advise; they are appreciated and will be used as appropriate. We hope that each issue will improve and ask you to examine this one critically as we hope to have learned from the faults of Volume 1, Number 1.

Our definitions of indigenous studies have been constantly challenged and expanded by our readers and their interests. Enquiries and manuscripts have been received from people working in areas that we did not envision when we planned the Journal of Indigenous Studies and we welcome these challenges. As we consider how to best include those working in the diverse fields within the discipline we are forced to constantly re-examine our mandate in view of the

readership and their activities. It is a healthy and ongoing examination which will bring expanded definition of the discipline in each issue. As we address our goal of providing a network of communication amongst people interested in a discipline, and a philosophy that transcends political boundaries and geographic constraints, and as we work to discipline ourselves to meet the rigours of scholarship, we here in the offices of the journal are forced to continually grow. It has been a rewarding process, albeit not always an easy one.

As this second issue will show, attracting manuscripts from authors outside Canada remains a challenge. The philosophy of the journal speaks to an international content. The issues of indigenous studies transcend boundaries of country and continent. Our subscriptions and your letters show an international interest in the Journal of Indigenous Studies but to date manuscripts from outside of Canada remain sparse. We encourage you to consider us as a venue for your important research.

We are pleased to present our first manuscript in French in this edition of the journal and hope that there will be a continuing representation from both of Canada's languages. In this one instance, our article on the language of Mitchif, we have decided to publish the article in both French and English although this will not be our routine. This decision was made due to the high interest in the article and in response to requests to have it translated into English for use in the classroom as there is little written on the language. A second article, the paper on forced sterilization amongst North American Indian women, is also a first in that it is written by an indigenous university student. Verna Kirkness, an internationally known indigenous educator, writes on the importance of teaching the Indian language. An article co-authored by Donna Scarfe and Hellmut Lang, both of Saskatchewan, presents a survey of the use of peer support in the Indian/Metis teacher education programs of Canada. It is our hope that this second edition of the journal further demonstrates the diversity of topic and focus across the disciplines that we aim to present to our international readership.

We again encourage our readers to recommend books, in both French and English, for review, to advise us of conferences and programs of interest and to help us develop the networking of those in international indigenous studies. We remain particularly anxious to hear of appropriate books published outside of Canada that we can acquire for review purposes. As well, although the present policy of the Journal of Indigenous Studies is not to accept paid advertising we will announce conferences, symposiums and calls for papers as our space permits.

Thanks must not only go to our growing readership but to the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research for their ongoing support both financially and philosophically. Our Associate Editors have supported us consistently with their work on reviewing manuscripts and suggesting policy in our intent to meet the rigourous academic standards in the still expanding discipline of indigenous studies.

The editorial staff and the support staff of the Journal of Indigenous Studies

look forward to the continuing contact, advice and the expected deluge of manuscripts and subscriptions over the coming months. The contact from our readers is reward for the efforts of publishing a new venture. Thank you.

DANA LAWRENCE

THE JOURNAL OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES

MITCHIF: UN ASPECT DE LA FRANCOPHONIE ALBERTAINE

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Résumé. La plupart des Métis albertains sont en train de perdre leurs caractères propres, à commencer par le dialecte français "mitchif" qui était leur trait distinctif. Le présent article passe en revue l'histoire des Métis albertains, analyse leurs principales caractéristiques linguistiques et culturelles, et souligne l'importance du langage dans la préservation d'une identité ethnique.

LE METIS CANADIEN

Les sang-mêlés de type génétique et culturel existent dans tout le monde colonisé, mais les Métis canadiens sont uniques — avec peut-être les mulâtres du Cap et ceux de Haïti — par le fait qu'ils ont réussi pendant une courte période à faire considérer leurs droits par le gouvernement national. Ces Métis, qui donnèrent au Canada son seul semblant de guerre indienne avec la rebellion de Louis Riel en 1885, étaient le produit d'unions entre Français (voyageurs, coureurs de bois et marchands) et Indiennes de sang pur ou mêlé. Les Cris surtout se trouvèrent impliqués dans ces unions : appellés *Kristinaux* par les Français au 17ème siècle, ils appartenaient au groupe algonquien qui, avec les Hurons, se trouva d'emblée en relations constantes avec les colons de la Nouvelle-France (Howard 1974, p. 39).

Il semble que les Français, bien plus que les Anglais, aient dès le départ fraternisé avec les Indiens, car ils étaient davantage attirés en Amérique par le commerce que par l'appât des territoires. A cette attitude mercantile s'ajoutait le fait que les Français immigraient en général dépourvus de femmes, ce qui les encourageait sans nul doute à maintenir un abord cordial vis-à-vis des populations autochtones (Eccles 1972, p. 11). Les sang-mêlés issus de ces Français eurent bientôt la supériorité du nombre, et c'est le mot français *Métis* qui vint à désigner toutes les personnes d'origine mixte indienne-européenne au Canada. Bien qu'il faille se garder d'exagérer les faits, il demeure que la compréhension relative qui

semble avoir régné entre Français et Indiens est attestée aujourd'hui encore par certaines statistiques : par exemple, c'est au Québec que la discrimination contre les Indiens est la moindre en ce qui concerne les arrêts pour conduite en état d'ivresse (Price 1978, p. 195).

Les Métis en tant que groupe ethnique distinct sont à présent confinés à l'ouest du Canada, mais ils naquirent d'une longue période d'interaction entre Indiens et Européens dans la région du Saint-Laurent et des Grands Lacs ; des centres d'échange peuplés de Métis allèrent même s'installer jusqu'à Cahokia (Illinois), le foyer de l'ancienne culture mississipienne (Peterson 1978, p. 45). Cependant, l'agressive ruée vers l'Ouest qui commença aux Etats-Unis dans la première moitié du 19ème siècle obligea ces lointains Métis à chercher refuge plus au nord, chez les tribus indiennes et dans la région de la Rivière Rouge (Peterson et Brown 1985).

Les Métis — pour la plupart d'origine française et algonquienne, mais aussi écossaise, anglaise et américaine — maintinrent leur distinction ethnique surtout au nord de la frontière internationale Canada-USA. Là, ils devinrent les intermédiaires culturels entre groupes européens et indiens ; beaucoup se consacrèrent à la chasse au bison, une activité alors indispensable à l'approvisionnement des centres de commerce des fourrures éparpillés dans la forêt boréale. Ils se trouvaient là où se trouvait la frontière, et ainsi ils fournirent au Canada ces facilitateurs d'expansion qui manquèrent toujours aux Etats-Unis ; il se peut même que sans leur aide la conquête de l'Ouest canadien eût été plus sanglante qu'elle ne le fut (Howard 1974, p. 40).

La tradition canadienne représente les Métis comme une société marginale, dont la culture originale est marquée par un mélange de "réticence" indienne et de "joie de vivre" français : comme l'a observé Giraud (1945, p. 874) d'une façon plutôt stéréotypée, leur tempérament est enclin d'abord à la réserve, ensuite à la camaraderie, et enfin à l'impulsivité. Toutes ces facettes de la personnalité métisse en ont fait un groupe pittoresque qui occupe une place de choix dans le folklore canadien, où on les reconnait à "leurs pantalons bleus, leurs capotes, leurs violons, leurs guêtres, leurs larges ceintures tissées, leurs plumes et leurs tatouages" (Peterson 1978, p. 53).

Tandis que le terme *Métis* désignait naguère un groupe ethnique seulement, c'est aussi maintenant une définition administrative et un terme légal. Un Métis est donc officiellement une personne ayant une part (quelle qu'elle soit) de sang indien et vivant en dehors des réserves : il y a de ce fait presque un million de Métis au Canada, en face d'environ 250,000 Indiens, et la plupart d'entre eux vivent dans la Prairie, c'est-à-dire au Manitoba, dans la Saskatchewan et en Alberta.

LES METIS DE LA MISSION DU LAC LA BICHE

Beaucoup de ces communauté métisses isolées dans la Prairie se maintinrent longtemps à l'écart des bouleversements financiers et industriels de la société euro-américaine (Harrison 1985, p. 122-135) ; certaines d'entre elles ont même conservé leurs anciennes traditions et ont subi un processus d'acculturation encore incomplet. L'une de ces communautés est le groupe de familles connu

sous le nom de "Métis de la mission", qui vit sur la rive ouest du Lac La Biche, à 220 kilomètres au nord-est d'Edmonton. Ce lac est depuis longtemps un site d'occupation humaine, comme en témoignent les objets préhistoriques découverts à ce jour — par exemple, des pointes de jet vieilles d'au moins 6000 ans et des tessons de poterie à impression cordée et ponctuée datant de plusieurs siècles (McCullough 1976). Il est probable que les matériaux préhistoriques récents appartiennent aux tribus Beaver et Sarsi, car les Cris et les Chipewyans qui occupent à présent le nord-est de l'Alberta n'y sont arrivés qu'au 17ème siècle, poussés vers cette région par le commerce des fourrures.

Ce commerce laissa son empreinte dans la région avec la fondation d'un poste par David Thompson sur la rive sud du Lac La Biche en 1798. Cette station de commerce faisait partie du système de rivières et de lacs reliant l'Ouest au marché européen, et elle attira de ce fait de nombreux marchands français, métis et indiens. Sa prospérité fut cependant de courte durée, car le commerce des fourrures commença à décliner au début du 19ème siècle, époque à laquelle les Oblats firent leur entrée en Alberta.

Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée furent fondés en France en 1816, et arrivèrent au Canada en 1841. La mission du Lac La Biche, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, fut établie en 1853 sur la rive ouest du lac, à dix kilomètres de la bourgade, pour servir d'entrepôt aux missions plus au nord (Carrière 1979, p. 12). Elle était fréquentée par des Indiens (Cris, Saulteaux, Chipewyans), et par des Métis venus du Manitoba (Fort Garry, Saint-Boniface, etc) pour aider les missionnaires. Les Oblats commencèrent à produire du pain et des légumes, qui s'ajoutèrent au régime de viande et de poisson d'usage chez les Métis. Les Soeurs Grises se joignirent à eux en 1862, et la mission devint un petit village doté d'une église, de fermes et d'habitations, d'une scierie, et plus tard d'une école, d'un couvent, et d'un entrepôt à provisions (May 1980, p. 8).

Peu à peu, la bourgade du Lac La Biche devint une petite ville desservant la campagne alentour ; elle fut même choisie comme siège épiscopal en 1875, mais perdit ce titre peu après. Aux environs de 1900, un flot d'immigrants venus du monde entier modifia l'équilibre ethnique de la région. Il s'ensuit que Lac La Biche est aujourd'hui une ville de plus de 2000 habitants, d'origine fort diverse : Euro-Canadiens anglophones et francophones d'origine britannique, française, ukrainienne, allemande et italienne, mais aussi Libanais, Cris, Métis et autres. La langue parlée est surtout l'anglais, mais les autres langues se parlent souvent chez soi et, parfois, dans les boutiques et magasins.

A huit kilomètres au sud-est du Lac La Biche se trouve la réserve indienne de Beaver Lake, où le cri est la langue principale ; cinquante kilomètres au sud se trouvent les deux colonies métisses de Caslan et de Kikino, où l'on parle le cri et l'anglais; et finalement, à dix kilomètres au nord-ouest de la ville on peut voir ce qui reste de la colonie métisse qui entourait auparavant la mission oblate. Il existe maintenant quatorze maisons dispersées dans un rayon de plusieurs kilomètres, dans lesquelles le français et le cri sont les langues traditionnelles, et qui appartiennent à cinq familles étendues arrivées au Lac La Biche dans l'ordre suivant : Ladouceur en 1853, Boucher en 1854, Lavallée en 1856, Bourque en 1861, et Huppie en 1872.

Ces familles, venues de la Rivière Rouge avec des missionnaires, se consacrèrent à la pêche, au trappage et à la chasse ; pendant l'été, les hommes étaient employés à charger les barges de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson en partance pour le nord (Lac La Biche 1975, p. 12). Après la rebellion de 1885, les Métis du Lac La Biche subirent le même sort que ceux du Manitoba et de la Saskatchewan : beaucoup perdirent les titres fonciers qui leur avaient été assignés, et qu'ils échangeaient souvent contre de l'alcool ou bien quelques chevaux (Giraud 1945, p. 1215). Mais les Métis de la mission échappèrent aux spéculations des Blancs, car ils vivaient sur des terres qui appartenaient au clergé, et qui par conséquent ne pouvaient leur être extorquées. Placée de fait dans une position marginale, cette communauté était donc privilégiée dans la mesure où elle disposait de terres cultivables et d'une école placée à proximité ; les Métis de la mission ont donc peu connu le racisme et l'hostilité auxquels leurs congénères étaient souvent en butte, mais pour cette même raison, ils se sont longtemps tenus à l'écart du monde anglophone industriel de la société dominante.

LE CONTEXTE MODERNE

Les Métis de la mission ont pourtant éprouvé des changements notables depuis les années soixante. Leur communauté s'est peu à peu séparée de la misson oblate à mesure que les jeunes partaient en quête de travail et que les vieux, profitant de la prospérité relative qui caractérisait cette époque, achetaient des lopins de terre plus étendus, souvent placés à plusieurs kilomètres de distance, et y déménageaient. En même temps, la ville du Lac La Biche se vit dotée d'un système d'écoles centralisé qui regroupait tous les écoliers des environs, quelle que soit leur origine ethnique : depuis, la langue anglaise s'est diffusée toujours davantage dans tous les segments de cette société bigarrée.

Par l'intermédiaire de l'Association des Métis de l'Alberta, la communauté a également accès à des caravanes modernes avec électricité et eau courante, qui servent d'habitation pour un loyer mensuel modique. La maison ou cabane d'autrefois a donc souvent été abondonnée, et sert à présent de chambre de débarras et d'endroit ombragé pour la sieste estivale. Les Métis de la mission comprennent environ 75 individus ; il est difficile d'établir un recensement précis, car cette population est essentiellement fluide, et ses mouvements internes fréquents sont en fonction des caprices de l'emploi et des projets d'excursion individuels. La situation est donc similaire à celle des bandes suburbaines d'Aborigènes australiens, chez qui seuls les vieillards constituent un noyau stable qui peut être dénombré (Sansom 1980) ; autrement, la communauté est toujours plus nombreuse que sa population à tout moment nous donnerait à penser. La génération des plus de 50 ans comprend donc exactement 16 individus; celle des 30 à 50 ans environ 25 individus ; et celle des moins de 30 ans en comprend approximativement 35.

Jusqu'aux années soixante, les hommes devaient être sans cesse en quête de travail temporaire, s'ils voulaient simplement subvenir aux besoins essentiels de leurs familles : "Fallait mouver pour vivre", disent les anciens. Comme la pêche était limitée par la loi et que les hommes devaient aller chasser et trapper au loin, il y avait parfois des pénuries de nourriture dans les foyers : il fallait alors

ramasser des oeufs de canards sauvages et de grèbes, et même faire des beignes à la graisse de mouffette. Aujourd'hui, il existe au Lac La Biche une coopérative de pêche commerciale qui comprend plusieurs Métis. La plupart des familles possèdent un camion, avec lequel on peut aller chasser plus loin dans les bois et visiter la ligne de trappage plus souvent ; l'hiver, ce sont les scooters des neiges qui remplissent cette fonction. Finalement, beaucoup de familles possèdent un congélateur dans lequel on peut conserver assez de viande et de poisson pour une année.

Chez les Métis de la mission, on vit à "l'heure indienne" : les dates mentionnées sont vagues, les rendezvous ne sont pas toujours respectés, etc... D'un autre côté, les individus plus acculturés sont bien souvent trop occupés pour converser avec un chercheur pendant plus d'une demi-heure! Dans tous les cas, il ressort que les habitudes de travail sont solidement adaptées aux circonstances : il est de rigueur de travailler dur pendant l'ouverture de la pêche, puis de se relâcher quelque peu pendant le reste de l'été, pour finalement se consacrer à la chasse et au trappage au gré des occasions pendant l'automne et l'hiver. Les bois (*sakaw* en cri, *the bush* en anglais) représentent l'idéal de vie des anciens et la nostalgie plus ou moins avouée des jeunes ; comme nous l'a répété maintes fois un homme de soixante ans: "C'est ma vie, ça ; c'est ma vie".

Cependant, l'esprit communautaire a décliné. Un Métis, qui partage avec ses enfants mariés une maison et deux caravanes placées côte à côte, décrit la situation en ces termes : "Yeah, autrefois vous alliez dans des parties, des barn-dances qu'ils appellent, là... Y avait du fun. Aujourd'hui c'est tout éparpillé". Un semblant de cohésion s'est pourtant maintenu : les femmes se rencontrent en ville, où elles passent parfois un après-midi entier pour faire les achats et se détendre ; quant aux hommes, ils se réunissent autour des activités de plein air telles que la chasse et la pêche, et le partage qui en résulte. Un Métis digne de ce nom est un homme de la brousse ; l'idéal est de posséder tout l'équipement désirable (filets, fusils, pièges, raquettes, camion, bateau, etc), et de contribuer à sa propre "Métissité" et à celle du groupe en partageant sans se soucier d'économiser pour le lendemain.

La mission elle-même, bien que fermée depuis plusieurs années, constitue encore le point d'attraction de la communauté, car aucun des Métis n'en est très éloigné. C'est à la mission que nombre de Métis s'approvisionnaient en eau, quand celle de leur terre ne convenait pas au lavage ou à la boisson, ou bien quand la sécheresse en avait rendu le niveau inaccessible. Certains Métis, qui ont déménagé depuis longtemps, louent encore un lopin de terre près de l'église et y cultivent un jardin. Les veillées funèbres étaient de ces occasions où la communauté toute entière se réunissait pendant deux ou trois jours ; contrairement aux joyeuses veillées irlandaises, on y mangeait peu, buvait seulement du thé, et parlait à voix basse. Mais elles aussi ont disparu de la scène.

De plus en plus, donc, les Métis occupent leurs loisirs comme les autres habitants de la région — en regardant la télévision et en allant au bar, où l'on joue de la musique moderne. Les deux joueurs de violon qui divertissaient la communauté se sont tus : l'un est décédé il y a plusieurs années, l'autre a contracté de

l'arthrite en pêchant toute sa vie dans les eaux froides du lac. Tous ces événements montrent que les Métis de la mission sont en train de subir des changements socio-culturels profonds; cependant, il existe encore un élément qui conserve toute sa singularité : leur économie linguistique.

LE PARLER "MITCHIF"

Les Métis de la mission âgés de plus de 50 ans sont trilingues (français, cri, anglais). Quand on leur demande quelle langue ils préfèrent, ils répondent invariablement "Tout mêlé" — typifiant par là l'aspect éclectique de leur comportement culturel. Pourtant, c'est encore en anglais que les anciens sont le moins à l'aise : leurs parents, qui auraient maintenant plus de 80 ans, ne parlaient en effet pas cette langue, tandis que traditionnellement chez les Métis le français est la langue du père et le cri celle de la mère.

La multilinguisme métis a été observé depuis longtemps. En 1870 déjà, le comte de Southesk, de visite dans la Prairie, décrivait ainsi un Métis en train d'encourager ses chiens de traineau : "Fox, ye ould sinner, pren' garde : crapaud that ye aire. Chocolat! michastim (en cri : *mauvais chien*)!" (cité *in* Caell 1979, p. 16). Des trois langues concernées, c'est le français qui est le plus distinctif, car il semble avoir gardé intactes ses caractéristiques, en dépit des fluctuations environnementales et historiques qui ont accompagné son évolution.

Un dialecte français similaire a été partiellement décrit par Lincoln (1963) pour un vieux Métis de St. Paul en Alberta, et par Rhodes (1977) pour une communauté métisse américaine du North Dakota. Nous nous proposons ici de passer en revue les quatre traits fondamentaux qui distinguent le français métis des autres dialectes présents en Amérique du Nord.

Le premier trait concerne l'*affrication* des consonnes dentales *t* et *d*. Tandis que le français canadien en général effectue une *assibilation* de ces sons devant *i* et *u* (c'est-à-dire les transforme en *ts* et *dz*, par exemple "Tu dis", prononcé *tsu dzi*) le français métis effectue une affrication chuintante, c'est-à-dire transforme ces sons en *tch* et *dj* respectivement, par exemple : *tchu dji*. Le parfait stéréotype de cette particularité est la prononciation métis *Mitchif* ("Métis"), où, de plus, le *f* final renvoie à la forme archaïque *Mestif* (fem.: *Mestive*), qui coexista avec *Métis* (fem.: *Métisse*) dans certains dialectes de la France entre le 15ème et le 19ème siècles.

Cette prononciation des consonnes dentales *t* et *d* était déjà attestée en 1860 dans le sud de l'Alberta, où un Métis était connu des anglophones locaux sous le nom de *Butcheesh* (Erasmus 1976, p. xxii et 114) ; l'orthographe *tch* dénote sans aucun doute une affrication dans le prénom *Baptiste*. Le français acadien archaïque connait aussi l'affrication, mais seulement devant la demi-consonne correspondant à *i*, par exemple : *tiens*, prononcé *tchien* (Lucci 1972, p. 34-5) ; quant au français de la Louisiane, il fait parfois alterner *t* et *tch* devant *u*, par exemple : *tu sais*, prononcé *tu sé* ou bien *tchu sé*. Le français métis est donc le seul dialecte qui pratique l'affrication systématiquement. Par ailleurs, on y distingue aussi deux autres phénomènes semblables :

a) une palatalisation des fricatives : *s* devient *ch* et *z* devient *j*, comme dans *les sauvages* (c'est-à-dire : les Indiens), prononcé *li chavage*.

b) une harmonisation des sibilantes — un processus assimilatoire qui fait que la prononciation d'une sibilante est calquée sur celle d'une sibilante voisine d'une valeur phonétique normalement différente : ainsi *sèche* devient *chèche* et *chasse* devient *sasse*.

Il semble hors de doute que l'affrication métisse — et les phénomènes phonétiques associés — provient d'une caractéristique présente dans certains dialectes français importés en Amérique du Nord ; cette caractéristique s'est trouvée renforcée et systématisée par la coexistence du cri, un langage où l'espace phonétique correspondant aux sons *t, d, s, z*, etc, est d'une instabilité notoire (voir Douaud 1985 pour une description détaillée). Il en est résulté une prononciation unique, qui frappe l'oreille immédiatement et est inséparable des stéréotypes normalement associés avec les Métis.

Le deuxième trait fondamental du français métis est l'élévation des voyelles mi-hautes *e* et *ô*, comme dans *blé* et *gros*, prononcés respectivement *bli* et *grou*. Là encore, cette modification est systématique et contraste avec l'anglais métis, où il semble impossible de prédire quand le son *ö* (comme dans *so*) va être élévé à *ou*, et où le son *é* (comme dans *day*) ne se trouve pas affecté. Cette fusion de *é* et *i*, et de *ô* et *ou* en français métis est si réelle qu'un *é* élevé à *i* provoque toujours l'affrication de la consonne dentale précédente, si bien que *parenté* se prononce *parentchi*, et *de l'autre côté* devient *d'lout'coutchi*.

Ce phénomène se rencontre partiellement en français acadien, où *ô* devient *ou* devant une consonne nasale, comme en ancien français et dans certains patois tels que le saintongeais ; par contre, *é* n'est pas affecté (Lucci 1972, p. 38-9). En français de la Louisiane, *i* remplace parfois *é* lorsqu'il existe déjà un son voisin *i* (dans ce cas, *séminaire* se prononce *siminare*) ; quant à *ou*, il remplace parfois *ô* en début de mot, comme dans *rôti*, prononcé *routi* (Conwell et Juilland 1963, p. 113).

Ainsi que dans le cas de l'affrication décrite plus haut, une tendance uni- ou bilatérale à élever les voyelles mi-hautes dans certains environnements phonétiques parvint en Amérique avec certains dialectes français ; après quoi, cette tendance se trouva renforcée par l'instabilité des voyelles hautes en cri, où *é* et *i*, et *ô* et *ou* font l'objet de fréquentes fusions dans les dialectes de la Prairie (Darnell et Vanek 1973, p. 175; Pentland 1978, p. 111).

La troisième caractéristique du français métis appartient à la morphologie, et affecte également l'anglais ; la provenance crise de cette particularité est manifeste. Le cri ne possède pas de genre sexuel (masculin, féminin, neutre), mais une distinction entre les catégories *animé* et *inanimé* : c'est ainsi que *wiyas* "viande" est inanimé (en tant que chair morte), tandis que *moswa* "orignal" est évidemment animé. Pour un locuteur cri, les distinctions pronominales basées sur le sexe ne sont donc pas pertinentes : voilà pourquoi les Métis trilingues échangent facilement *il* et *elle* en français, et *he, she* et *it* en anglais. Ceci nous rappelle le français populaire, où *il* et *elle* se trouvent souvent neutralisés en *i* (Bauche 1928, p. 34); cependant, le cas qui nous intéresse est caractérisé non pas par la neutralisation, mais par la *confusion* des pronoms — un phénomène que l'on observe fréquemment chez les locuteurs de langues possédant des genres, mais dont la langue maternelle ignore cette catégorie (comme le persan ou le hongrois).

Cette confusion des pronoms est omniprésente chez les Métis de la mission, comme en témoignent les quelques exemples suivants:

"Ma femme, *il* parlait cri ; *elle* peut quasiment pas parler à c't'heure — *il* parle rien qu'anglais, vois-tu?"

"Ma soeur, *il* vit à Fort McMurray"

(Parlant d'un vétéran de rodéo) "*Elle* a au moins soixante et dix ans"

"My grandmother, when *he* died *he* was a hundred and five"

L'exemple anglais le plus frappant est peut-être cette phrase entendue un jour au sujet d'un homme en train de courir : "*She* good runner, *him*" ; en plus de la confusion pronominale habituelle, nous nous trouvons ici en présence d'une interférence basée sur la construction emphatique crise
miyo-pimipahtaw wiya (littéralement : "Bien il court, lui"), parallèle au français "C'est un bon coureur, lui".

Finalement, il convient de décrire comment le français et l'anglais parlés par les métis ont été influencés par le cri en ce qui concerne l'expression syntaxique de la possession. En cri, si le possesseur est représenté par un élément faisant fonction d'adjectif possessif, l'ordre des mots est le même qu'en français ou en anglais, c'est-à-dire/adjectif + object/ : *o-masinahikan*" son livre". Cependant, si le possesseur est représenté par un nom (précédé ou non d'un adjectif), l'ordre devient /(adjectif)$_i$ + nom$_j$/ + /adjectif$_j$ + objet/ : *ki-kosis o-masinahikan* "le livre de tons fils" (littéralement : "ton fils son livre"). Chez les Métis trilingues, ce modèle se superpose aux séquences françaises et anglaises, si bien qu'il est normal d'entrendre :

"Ma père... ma femme, son père c'était un Boucher "

"My sister, his boy he's in Fort Chip"

Une telle construction apparait bien sûr de façon passagère en français et en anglais familiers, mais chez les Métis elle est si commune qu'il faut bien y voir la construction possessive *normale* des locuteurs trilingues. Une interférence semblable a été décrite par Elliott (1886, p. 181) pour les Métis de l'est du Canada au siècle dernier, par Rhodes (1977, p. 15) pour ceux de North Dakota, et par Keith Basso (communication personnelle) pour les Apaches bilingues de l'Arizona ; dans ce dernier cas, "x his horse" provient directement de la construction apache "x bi lii ".

LA FRANCOPHONIE METISSE

La communauté des Métis de la mission du Lac La Biche repésente une population canadienne marginale qui, grâce à son petit nombre et à ses liens étroits avec l'église catholique, a pu poursuivre ses activités traditionnelles et conserver un dialecte français unique en Amérique du Nord. Cette survie du langage est cependant précaire et sous la menace constante de l'assimilation des jeunes à la culture anglophone. *Mitchif*, le français des Métis, est la marque d'un groupe ethnique distinct. Comme tel, c'est maintenant un phénomène rare qui n'a laissé que quelques traces au Manitoba et en Saskatchewan, et qui en Alberta n'est encore vivace qu'au Lac La Biche : à Fort Chipewyan, par exemple, le français a pratiquement disparu au profit du cri, de l'anglais et, à un degré moindre, du

chiipewyan. Quant au *Mitchif* du North Dakota, il s'agit d'un dialecte hybride mi-français mi-cri, coexistant avec le cri proprement dit et un dialecte de français canadien de l'ouest (Rhodes 1977).

Mitchif est inséparable de l'identité des Métis de la mission : en tant que résultat d'une convergence partielle du français et du cri, il représente historiquement la fusion des deux culture concernées et leur interaction continue. L'émergence d'une économie trilingue après la Première Guerre Mondiale fut rendue possible par la présence d'un triple contexte autour de la mission du Lac La Biche:

a) le contexte français : les fermiers francophones, dont le langage est partiellement préservé ; et l'église catholique, avec son contingent de prêtres venant du Québec, de France et de Belgique.

b) le contexte cri : les Indiens de la réserve voisine de Beaver Lake, qui parlent le cri des Plaines.

c) le contexte anglais : omniprésent et gagnant toujours du terrain, il est associé avec les Euro-Canadians, les systèmes de communication, et les contacts économiques avec le monde extérieur.

Cette triple influence a empêché les Métis de perdre leur trilinguisme ou bien de fondre leurs langages en un hybride propre seulement à la communication interne. Ils sont conscients de ce pluralisme linguistique et commentent ouvertement sur les interférences qui émaillent leur discours — contrairement à certains multilingues, comme les Norvégiens de Hemnesberget, qui croyaient parler le dialecte local quand en fait ils étaient passés inconsciemment au dialecte cultivé (Blom et Gumperz 1972). La différence d'attitudes entre Norvégiens et Métis vient de l'absence de toute notion de prestige social dans la société métisse traditionnelle : dans ce cas, on passe d'un code à l'autre non par adaptation à un contexte social perçu comme différent, mais par adaptation environnementale. Cette attitude pratique vient tout droit de l'époque du commerce avec les Indiens, les trappeurs et les colons. L'exemple que les vieux Métis du Lac La Biche, de Fort Chipewyan, et certainement d'ailleurs, présentent toujours pour illustrer leur connaissance des langues locales est significatif à cet égard : "Si j'ai faim, je vais dans une maison française (ou crise, ou anglaise) et je leur demande à manger: ils vont me le donner".

Le multilinguisme a donc été longtemps indispensable à la survie physique et culturelle du Métis canadien ; pourtant, personne au Lac La Biche ne prend cette profusion de langages trop au sérieux : parler trois langues pour communiquer est pour les Métis traditionnels aussi normal que d'avoir deux jambes pour marcher. Comme dans la plupart des cultures amérindiennes, la parole n'est pas excessivement estimée, et le silence revêt une grande importance — comme les Blancs s'en aperçoivent bien souvent à leur grand dam. Même aujourd'jui, à une époque où l'influence des écoles se fait sentir dans les maisons, les enfants métis ne sont guère encouragés à parler — et en fait commencent à parler plutôt tard. En termes traditionnels, le langage n'est pas lié à une notion de style: c'est simplement un véhicule qui, comme tout ce que renferme la panoplie de l'homme d'action, doit êtte solide, souple et discret. Autrement dit, le langage doit répondre immédiatement et avec précision aux besoins de la communication : "Si tu parles français, je parle français ; anglais, je parle anglais, ; même chose pour le cri",

disent les anciens. Plus qu'une tautologie, cette remarque est une affirmation qu'aucun d'entre eux ne songe à imposer une certaine langue dans la conversation pour des raisons de prestige de facilité ou de style : l' important est de pouvoir s'adapter à l'interlocuteur.

Comme nous l'avons vu, cette situation est en train de changer, et les jeunes ont déjà abandonné l'ancienne économie trilingue pour une économie monolingue qui s'avère fonctionnelle dans le contexte de la société anglophone dominante. La communauté métisse de la mission est à présent scindée en plusieurs groupes de niveaux d'acculturation différents : à l'un des pôles se trouvent les anciens, trilingues et vivant surtout d'une économie de subsistance; au pôle opposé se trouvent les jeunes, parlant seulement l'anglais et vivant de travail salarié. Il est significatif que lorsque ces derniers cherchent à stigmatiser les valeurs traditionnelles, c'est au langage qu'ils s'attaquent d'abord : "Quand on parle trop de langues, on n'en parle aucune couramment". Mais peut-être ne faut-il voir dans ce genre de remarque qu'une prise de position résignée en face des changements culturels inévitables auxquels les jeunes assistent impuissants.

Les Métis furent longtemps un peuple "oublié", car dans une société qui montrait peu de compréhension vis-à-vis des croisements culturels et idéologiques, et qui persistait à vouloir imposer des étiquettes distinctes à chacune de ses parties constituantes, ils faisaient figure de compromis : pour certains, les Métis étaient des Indiens francisés, pour d'autres des Français indianisés. Ces oubliés font maintenant campagne pour être écoutés et reconnus; *Mitchif* serait donc un instrument idéal pour la préservation des traditions qu'il représente : malheureusement, ce dialecte va certainement disparaître. Cela ne veut pas dire que les Métis de la mission et leurs descendants vont nécessairement perdre leur patrimoine linguistique français, non plus que la francophonie albertaine en général va perdre le sien — mais il est difficile de voir comment *Mitchif*, c'est-à-dire le français tel que les vieux Métis le parlent, pourrait subsister alors que le mode de vie qu'il représente est en train de disparaître. Perdre l'une des caractéristiques de ce dialecte, c'est perdre un peu de sa "Métissité" (voir à ce sujet Douaud 1985, chapitre 3).

De façon intéressante, le langage cri a été le témoin de la manière dont les Indiens caractérisent les Métis : à l'époque de Louis Riel ils les appellaient *otipimsowak* "ceux qui sont libres" ; maintenant le Métis est *apihtaw-o-kosisan* "une demi-personne, un sang-mêlé". Ces deux termes marquent la transition brutale de la nation métisse de 1870 aux petites communautés ou colonies actuelles ; si le processus d'acculturation continue, les Cris ne vont-ils pas bientôt appeller le Métis *moniyaw* "homme blanc"? Pour éviter cela, l'identité métisse doit être conservée coûte que coûte, par delà la perte des anciennes traditions et du parler français distinctif. Il incombe donc aux écoles locales de se pencher sur ce problème, et de rédiger des programmes qui pour une fois tiennent compte des besoins culturels de ce groupe trop longtemps négligé.

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MITCHIF: AN ASPECT OF FRANCOPHONE ALBERTA

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Abstract. Most Alberta Metis have been losing their traditional characteristics including the "mitchif" dialect which used to typify them. This article provides an overview of the history of the Albertan Metis; it analyzes their most outstanding linguistic and cultural features, and it stresses the importance of language in the preservation of ethnic identity.

THE CANADIAN METIS

The mixed-blood or métis, people of mixed genetic and cultural heritage, exist throughout the colonized world. But the Canadian Metis are unique - with the exception of the Cape Coloured and the Haitian - because they have succeeded during a short period of time in having their rights recognized by the federal government. The Metis, who colored Canadian history with its only Indian war the Louis Riel Rebellion of 1885, are the product of unions between the French (voyageurs, coureurs de bois and merchants) and Indians of pure or mixed blood. The Cree people were involved in most of these unions: called Kristinaux by the French of the 17th century, they belonged to the algonquian group who, along with the Hurons, were in direct contact with the colonists of New France.

From the earliest days it appears that the French fraternized with the Indians much more than the English, because their initial attraction to America was the promise of trade rather than that of land or new territories. The French generally immigrated without women, a fact which, along with their mercantilist attitudes, no doubt encouraged them to maintain cordial relations with the indigenous populations (Eccles 1972, p. 11). The mixed-bloods of French descent soon gained in numbers and it is the French word Métis which came into popular usage to describe all persons of mixed Indian-European origins in Canada. While being careful not to exaggerate the facts, even today we see statistical evidence of the

general understanding and respect between the French and the Indians: for example, in Québec fewer Indians are discriminated against when it comes to being stopped for drunken driving (Price 1978, p. 195).

The Metis as a distinct ethnic group are presently confined to western Canada but they were born during a lengthy period of interaction between Indians and Europeans in the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes regions; trading centres populated by the Metis were opened up as far away as Cahokia (Illinois), the home of ancient Mississippian culture (Peterson 1978, p. 45). Meanwhile, the aggressive inroads into the western United States during the first half of the 19th century forced this remote Metis population to seek refuge among Indian tribes and in the Red River region further north (Peterson & Brown 1985).

The Metis - primarily of French and Algonquian origin, but also of Scottish, English and American - maintained their distinct ethnicity particularly north of the Canada-U.S.A. international border. They became cultural intermediaries between groups of Europeans and Indians. Many devoted themselves to hunting buffalo, an indispensable activity for supplying the trading centres with furs from the boreal forests. Because they lived near the border in Canada, the Metis provided the Canadians with facilitators of expansion that were still largely absent in the United States; it is plausible that due to the aid provided by the Metis the conquest of western Canada was less bloody than it might have been.

Canadian tradition represents the Metis as a marginal society whose original culture is marked by a mixture of Indian "reticence" and French "joie de vivre". As observed by Giraud (1945, p. 874) the stereotype outlines a temperament which is firstly inclined toward being reserved, then towards camaraderie, and finally towards impulsiveness. All of these facets of the Metis personality have created a picturesque and vivid group who occupy a choice place in Canadian folklore where they are recognized by "their blue pants, their hats, their fiddles, their leggings, their large woven sashes, their feathers and their tattoos"(Peterson 1978, p. 53).

Although not long ago the term Metis only designated an ethnic group, today it has an administrative definition and is also used as a legal term. Consequently, a Metis is officially a person who is partly (whatever percentage) of Indian extraction and lives outside of a reserve. Given that fact there are close to one million Metis in Canada in comparison to about 250,000 Indians. The majority of the Metis live on the Prairies, meaning the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The Metis of the Lac La Biche Mission

Many of the isolated Metis communities of the Prairies remained for a long time separate from the financial and industrial turbulences of the Euro-American society (Harrison 1985, p. 122-135). Some of these communities have not be assimilated completely and have preserved ancient traditions. One of these communities, belonging to the group of families called "Mission Metis", is on the west bank of Lac La Biche, 220 Kilometers north-west of Edmonton. This lake has for a long time been a site of human occupation, attested to by the prehistoric

objects which to this day are being discovered - for example, 6,000 year old arrowheads and pieces of pottery punctate, cord-marked, and dating back several centuries (McCullough 1976). It is likely that these recent prehistoric materials belonged to the Beaver and Sarcee tribes because the Cree and Chipewyans, who currently occupy northwestern Alberta, only arrived in the 17th century after being pushed toward the region by the fur trade.

The fur trade left its imprint on the region with the founding of a trading post by David Thompson on the south bank of Lac La Biche in 1798. The trading centre was part of the network of rivers and lakes connecting the west to the European market, and consequently attracted numerous French, Metis, and Indian merchants. Its prosperity, however, was of short duration due to the decline in the fur trade at the beginning of the 19th century, the era during which the Oblate fathers arrived in Alberta.

The Oblates of Immaculate Mary were founded in France in 1816 and arrived in Canada in 1841. Notre-Dame-Des-Victoires, the mission in Lac La Biche, was established in 1853 on the west bank of the lake, 10 kilometers from the village, and served as a warehouse for those missions located further north (Carrière 1979, p. 12). To aid the missionaries, the mission was attended by Indians (Cree, Saulteaux, Chipewyans) and by Metis from Manitoba (Fort Garry, St.Boniface, etc.). The Oblates made bread and grew vegetables which were then used to supplement the traditional Metis diet of meat and fish. The Grey Sisters joined the Oblates in 1862 and the mission became a small village complete with church, farms and residences, a sawmill and later a school, convent and warehouse for provisions (May 1989, p. 8).

Little by little, the village of Lac La Biche became a small town serving the surrounding countryside. It was even chosen as the episcopal seat in 1875, but lost this title soon after. About 1900, an influx of immigrants from around the world modified the ethnic balance of the region. Today Lac La Biche is a city of 2000 inhabitants of diverse origins: Euro-Canadian anglophones and francophones of British, French, Ukrainian, German and Italian descent, as well as Lebanese, Cree, and Metis among others. The language of use is primarily English but others are spoken in the home, and on occasion, in local shops and stores.

On the Beaver Lake Indian Reserve, eight kilometers south-east of Lac La Biche, Cree is the main language; fifty kilometers to the south on the Metis colonies of Caslan and Kikino, Cree and English are spoken; and finally, ten kilometers there still exist fourteen houses in which French and Cree are the traditional languages. These houses belong to five extended families which arrived in Lac La Biche in the following order; Ladouceur in 1853, Boucher in 1854, Lavallée in 1856, Bourque in 1861, and Huppie in 1872.

These families, who came from the Red River along with the missionaries, devoted themselves to fishing, trapping, and hunting. During the summer, the men were employed by the Hudson Bay Company to load barges bound for the north (Lac La Biche, p. 12). Following the rebellion of 1885, the Metis of Lac La Biche suffered the same fate as those of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Many lost title to the land which had been assigned them and which they used in exchange

for alcohol or to buy horses (Giraud 1945, p. 1215). But the "Mission Metis" managed to escape the speculation by whites because they lived on lands which were owned by the clergy and, consequently, these could not be extorted from them. Although marginal, this community was in a sense privileged because it had arable lands and a nearby school. As a result, the Mission Metis knew little of the racism and hostility which their brothers buttressed against. But, for this reason, they were isolated for a long time from the industrial world of the dominant anglophone society.

The Contemporary Context

The Mission Metis have witnessed remarkable changes since the 1960's. Little by little their community separated itself from the Oblate Mission as the younger generation left to find work and the elders, profiting from the prosperity that characterized the era, bought plots of land, often several kilometers away, and moved. At the same time the Lac La Biche school system was centralized and students from the surrounding areas, no matter what their ethnic origins, were grouped together. Since then the use of the English language has become even more widespread among all segments of this mixed society.

Through the intermediary of the Metis Association of Alberta, the community has also had access, for a moderate monthly rent, to modern trailers (mobile homes) with electricity and running water. Traditional homes or cabins have often been abandoned and are now used as lumber-rooms or as shaded areas for summer siestas. There are about seventy-five Mission Metis. It is difficult to establish accurate census figures since the population is essentially transient and its movement is linked to the caprices of employment or individual travel plans. The situation is similar to the suburban "mobs" of Australian Aborigines in that only the elders constitute a stable nucleus that lends itself to census (Sansom 1980). In other words, the community is always more numerous than its current population would lead one to believe. The over-50 generation is made up of exactly 16 individuals; there are about 25 individuals between 30 and 50, and those who are younger than 30 number approximately 35.

Up until the 1960's, the men were in constant search of temporary employment if they wanted to provide the bare essentials for their families. "We had to move to live" say the elders. Because the law limited fishing and because the men had to travel far to hunt and trap, there was often a shortage of food in the homes. It was necessary to collect wild duck or grebe eggs and even to make doughnuts with skunk fat. Today, there is a co-operative commercial fishing operation in Lac La Biche which includes several Metis members. Most of the families own a truck with which they travel further into the bush to go hunting or to check their trap-lines more often. During the winter snowmobiles are used to perform the same tasks. As well, many of the families now own freezers in which they can preserve enough meat and fish for the entire year.

The Mission Metis live on "Indian Time". Scheduled dates are often vague, meetings or get-togethers are often not respected, etc. On the other hand, individuals who are more acculturated are often too busy to chat with a researcher for

more than a half-hour! In any case, work habits are solidly linked to circumstance. It is customary to work hard when the fishing season opens and then to slack-off a bit during the rest of the year and devote oneself to hunting and trapping in accordance with the opportunities available during the fall and winter. The bush (*sakaw* in Cree, *les bois* in French) represents the ideal lifestyle to the elders and a more or less admitted nostalgia among the youth. As one man of 60 repeated several times: "It is my life; my life!"

Meanwhile, community spirit has declined. One Metis, who shares a house and two trailers with his children, describes the situation this way: "Yeh, we used to have parties, barn-dances they called them... now, there we had fun. Today everything's scattered". A semblance of cohesion has, however, been maintained. The women meet in town where, as a form of relaxation, an entire afternoon may be spent making purchases. As for the men, they get together during open air activities such as hunting or fishing. A Metis worthy of the name is a man of the bush; the ideal is to own all the equipment desired (fishing net, guns, traps, snow-shoes, a truck, boat, etc.) and to contribute to his "Metis-ness" and that of the group by sharing without worrying about economizing for tomorrow.

The Mission, despite its being closed for several years, constitutes the centre of attraction, because none of the Metis are far away from it. The Mission was used as a water source for many Metis when the water on their land was not usable for washing or drinking or when a drought lowered the water level. Some of the Metis who have long since moved away still rent a plot of land near the church to cultivate a garden. At wakes the entire community would gather for two or three days. Contrary to the joyous Irish wakes, they ate little, drank only tea, and talked in low voices. But even these get-togethers have disappeared from the scene.

More and more the Metis spend their leisure time in much the same way as other inhabitants of the region - by watching television or going to the bar where modern music is played. The two violin players who used to entertain the community are now silent. One died several years ago and the other contracted arthritis by fishing all of his life in the cold waters of the lake. All of these events show that the Mission Metis are undergoing profound socio-cultural changes. Nonetheless, there remains an element which preserves a certain distinctiveness: their language use.

The "Mitchif" Dialect

The Mission Metis who are over 50 years of age are trilingual (French, Cree, English). When asked which language they prefer, they invariably answer "All mixed together" - typifying the eclectic nature of their cultural behaviour. Still, the elders are the least comfortable with English. Their parents, who would now be more than 80 years old, never spoke this language. In the traditional Metis family French was the language of the father and Cree that of the mother.

Metis multilingualism has been observed for a long time. As early as 1870, the Count of Southesk, while visiting the Prairies, described a Metis trying to encourage his dog-sled team: "Fox, ye ould sinner, pren' garde: crapaud that ye

aire. Chocolat! michastim (in Cree: bad dog)!" (cited in Cavell 1979, p. 16). Of the three languages French is the most distinctive because it seems to have maintained its characteristics despite the environmental and historical fluctuations which have accompanied its evolution.

A similar French dialect, spoken by an old Metis from St. Paul Alberta, was partially described by Lincoln (1963), and one spoken by a community of American Metis in North Dakota was described by Rhodes (1977). Here we will provide an overview of the four fundamental traits which distinguish the French of the Metis from other dialects present in North America.

The first trait concerns the affrication of dental consonants t and d. While Canadian French generally assibilates these sounds in front of i and u (meaning to transform them into ts and dz - for example "Tu dis" is pronounced "tsu dzi") the Metis French carries a hushing fricative, meaning that it transforms the sounds of tch and dj respectively: tchu dji. The perfect stereotype of this particularity is the pronunciation of Metis Mitchif ("Metis"), where, in addition the final f refers back to the archaic form Mestif (fem. Mestive), which co-existed with Métis (fem. Métisse) in some 15th and 19th century dialects in France.

The pronunciation of the dental consonants t and d was witnessed in 1860 in southern Alberta where one Metis was known by the name of Butcheesh by local anglophones (Erasmus 1976, p. xxii and 114); the tch spelling is, without a doubt, an affrication of the first name Baptiste. Archaic Acadian French also uses this fricative, but only in front of the semi-consonant corresponding with i. For example *tiens* is pronounced tchien (Lucci 1972, p. 34-5). As for the French of Louisiana, it sometimes alternates the t and tch sounds in front of u; for example: tu sais is pronounced tu sé or tchu sé. Metis French, consequently, is the only dialect which practices systematic affrication. There are also two other similar phenomena:

a) the palatalization of fricatives; s becomes ch and z becomes j, as in "les sauvages" (meaning: the savages or Indians), pronounced li chavage.

b) a harmonization of sibilants - an assimilatory process which causes the pronunciation of one sibilant to be linked to a neighboring sibilant with a normally different phonetic value: thus sèche becomes chèche and chasse becomes sasse.

Without a doubt it seems that Metis fricatives - and the associated phonetic phenomena - originate from a characteristic present in certain French dialects which were imported by North America. This characteristic was reinforced and systematized by the coexistence of Cree, a language in which the phonetic spaces corresponding to the sounds of t, d, s, z, etc., is well-known for its instability (see Douaud 1985 for a more detailed description). The resulting pronunciation strikes the ear immediately and is inseparable from the stereotypes usually associated with the Metis.

The second fundamental trait of Metis French is the raising of the semi-high vowels e and o, as in blé and gros which are pronounced respectively as bli et grou. Once again the modification is systematic, in contrast with Metis English where it seems to be impossible to predict when the sound of o (as in so) will be

raised to ou or when the sound ei (as in day) is not affected. This fusion between é and i and ô and ou in Metis French is so real that to raise é to i always provokes an affrication of the preceding dental consonant so that *parenté* is pronounced *parentchi* and *de l'autre coté* becomes *d'lout'coutchi*.

This phenomenon is partially encountered in Acadian French where ô becomes ou in front of a nasal consonant just as in ancient French or some provincial dialects or patois such as the saintongeais. On the other hand, é is not affected (Lucci 1972, p. 38-9). In the French of Louisiana, i sometimes replaces é when there exists a neighboring i sound (as in the case of *séminaire* which pronounced *siminare*). As for ou, it sometimes replaces ô at the beginning of a word, as in *rôti* which is pronounced *routi* (Conwell and Juilland 1963, p. 113).

As in the case of the fricatives described above, there was, with the arrival of some French dialects in America, the uni- or bilateral tendency to raise the semi-high vowels in certain phonetic environments. Since then, the tendency has been reinforced by the instability of the high vowels of Cree where é and i and ô and ou are often fused in Prairie dialects (Darnell and Vanek 1973, p. 175; Pentland 1978, p. 111).

The third characteristic of Metis French belongs to morphology and also affects English. The Cree origin of this detail is obvious. There is no gender in Cree (masculine, feminine, neuter), but rather a distinction made between animate and inanimate categories. Consequently *wiyas* (meat) is inanimate (because it is dead flesh), while *moswa* (moose) is obviously animate. Pronominal distinctions based on gender are consequently irrelevant to those who speak Cree. That is why trilingual Metis easily interchange *il* and *elle* in French and *he, she* and *it* in English. This reminds us of popular French, where *il* et *elle* are often neutralized into *i* (Bauche 1928, p. 34). Meanwhile, what interests us about this case is not neutralization, but rather the confusion between pronouns - a phenomenon often observed by those who speak languages which have gender , but whose mother tongue does not (as with Persians and Hungarians).

This confusion with pronouns is present with the Mission Metis as witnessed by the following examples:

"Ma femme, il parlait cri; elle peut quasiment pas parler à c't'heure - il parle rien qu'anglais, vois-tu?"

"Ma soeur, il vit à Fort McMurray"

(Speaking of a rodeo veteran) "Elle a au moins soixante et dix ans"

"My grandmother, when he died he was a hundred and five"

One of the most striking English examples is this phrase spoken one day about a man who was running: "She good runner, him". Besides the common pronominal confusion we are presented with a mixture based on the Cree construction miyo-pimipahtaw wiya (Literally: "Bien il court, lui"), which is parallel to the French "C'est un bon coureur, lui".

Finally, it is important to describe how the French and the English spoken by the Metis has been influenced by Cree, particularly in regards to the syntactic expression of possession. In Cree if the possessor is represented by an element functioning as a possessive adjective, the order of the word is the same as in French and English: /adjective + object/ o-masinahikan "his book". Meanwhile,

if the possessor is represented by a noun (whether or nor preceded by an adjective) the order becomes /(adjective); - noun;/ +/ adjective; + object/: ki-kosis o-masinahikan "le livre de ton fils" (literally: "ton fils son livre" - "your son his book"). Among trilingual Metis this model is superimposed in French and English sequences so that it is normal to hear:

"Ma père.. ma femme, son père c'était un Boucher"

"My sister, his boy he's in Fort Chip"

Such a construction is definitely fleeting in French and in English, but among the Metis it is so common that it must be considered a normal possessive construction among those who are trilingual. A similar mixture among the Metis of eastern Canada in the last century has been described by Elliott (1886, p. 181) and by Rhodes (1977, p. 15) among the Metis of North Dakota, as well as by Keith Basso (personal communication) among the bilingual Apaches of Arizona. In the latter case. "x his horse" comes directly from the Apache construction "x bi lii".

Metis Francophones

The Metis community of the Lac La Biche Mission represents a marginal Canadian population which, thanks to its small numbers and direct links with the Catholic church, has been able to pursue traditional activities and preserve a French dialect unique to North America. The survival of the language is nonetheless precarious and the young people are constantly threatened by assimilation into the anglophone culture. Mitchif, the French of the Metis, is the trademark of a distinct ethnic group. As such, it is a rare phenomenon which has left only a few traces in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In Alberta it lives on only in Lac La Biche. In Fort Chipewyan, for example, French has practically disappeared as Cree, English, and to a lesser extent, Chipewyan have thrived. As for the Mitchif of North Dakota, it is a hybrid dialect, half French and half Cree, which co-exists with pure Cree and a western French Canadian dialect.

Mitchif cannot be separated from the identity of the Mission Metis much in as the partial convergence of French and Cree represents a historic fusion between two cultures and their continued interaction. The emergence of a trilingual economy after the Second World War was possible due to the triple context which surrounded the Lac La Biche Mission:

a) The French context: francophone farmers, whose language was partially preserved and the Catholic church with its contingent of priests from Québec, France and Belgium.

b) The Cree context: the Indians from the neighboring Beaver Lake Reserve who spoke plains Cree.

c) The English context: ever-present and constantly gaining ground, it is associated with the Euro-Canadians, the communication systems and economic contact with the outside world.

This triple influence prevented the Metis from losing their trilingualism or merging their languages into a unique hybrid for internal communication. They are conscious of this linguistic pluralism and openly comment on the mixture which peppers their speech - contrary to certain multilingual groups, such as the Norwegians of Hemnesberget, who believed they were speaking a local dialect,

when in fact they had unconsciously switched to a prestige form (Blom and Gumperz 1972). The difference in attitude between the Norwegians and the Metis comes from the absence of all notions of social prestige in the traditional Metis society. In such cases, one passes from one code to the other not by adapting to a social context which is perceived as being different, but rather by adapting to the environment. This practical attitude comes directly from the era of commerce between the Indians, the trappers and the colonists. The example that the old Metis of Lac La Biche, of Fort Chipewyan, and elsewhere, give to illustrate their knowledge of the local languages is significant in this regard: "Si j'ai faim, je vais dans une maison française (ou crise ou anglaise) et je leur demande a manger: il vont me le donner". In English: "If I'm hungry, I go to a French home (or Cree or English) and I ask for food they will give me some."

Consequently, multilingualism has for a long time been indispensable to the physical and cultural survival of the Canadian Metis. Still, no one from Lac La Biche takes this profusion of languages too seriously. For the traditional Metis, being able to communicate in three languages is as normal as having two legs with which to walk. As in the majority of Amerindian cultures, words are not of extreme value and silence assume a great importance - as many Whites have noticed to their chagrin. Even today, in an era when the influence of the school is felt in the home, Metis children are rarely encouraged to speak - and as a result learn to speak quite late. Traditionally, language is not linked to the idea of style. It is simply a tool, like all those included in the panoply of the active man, which must be solid, flexible and discreet. In otherwords, the language must respond immediately and precisely to the needs of communication: "If you speak French, I speak French: English, I speak English; same thing with Cree," say the Elders. More than tautology, this statement affirms than none of them would dream of imposing a particular language on a conversation for reasons of showing prestige or style. The important thing is to be able to adapt to the speaker.

As we have seen, this situation is changing and young people have already abandoned the ancient trilingual economy for the monolingual economy which has proven functional in the dominant anglophone society. The Metis community of the Mission is already divided into a number of different levels of acculturation. At one pole are the trilingual elders who live in an economy of subsistence; at the opposing pole are the young people who only speak English and are salaried workers. It is significant that when the young people try to stigmatise traditional values, they attack the language: "When you speak too many languages, you speak none of them fluently". But perhaps it is best to view this type of statement as a sign of the resignation and powerlessness which these young people sense in the face of inevitable cultural changes.

For a long time the Metis were a forgotten people because in a society which demonstrated little understanding of cultural and ideological cross-overs and one which persisted in imposing a different label on each of its constituents, the Metis appeared to compromise. For some the Metis were gallicized Indians, while for others they were Indianized French. These forgotten people are now campaigning to be heard and recognized. Mitchif could be the ideal instrument for the

preservation of their traditions. Unfortunately, it is likely that the dialect will disappear. This doesn't mean that the Mission Metis will lose their French linguistic heritage any more than it means that Alberta francophones in general will lose theirs - but it is difficult to anticipate how Mitchif, meaning French as spoken by the older Metis, could continue to exist while the lifestyle which it represents is in the process of disappearing. To lost any of the characteristics of this dialect is to lose some of the essence of being Metis (see Douaud 1985, Chapter 3).

In an interesting manner the Cree language is testimony of the way in which the Indians have characterized the Metis. During the era of Louis Riel the Indians called the Metis otipimsowak - "those who are free". These days the Metis are apihtaw-o-kosisan or "half-persons, mixed-bloods". These two terms mark the brutal transition from the Metis Nation of 1870 to today's communities or colonies. If the process of acculturation continues, might the Cree soon be calling the Metis moniyaw - "white man"? In order to avoid the loss of ancient traditions and a distinctive spoken French, Metis identity must be preserved at all costs. Itt is fitting, consequently, that local schools study the problem and devise programmes that, for once, take into account the cultural needs of this long neglected group of people.

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FORCED STERILIZATION AMONGST AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

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Abstract. Forced sterilization is defined in this paper as that procedure whereby Indian women were sterilized under suspicious circumstances. That is, many Indian women endured tubal ligations or hysterectomies without having been adequately informed of the consequences. This essay cites a number of such cases in the United States and Canada. The paper further argues that this was in fact genocide, and as such is a crime punishable under international law.

Résumé. La stérilisation obligatoire est définie dans ce document comme étant le processus durant lequel les femmes autochtones fûrent stérilisées devant des circonstances soupçonnables. C'est-à-dire que plusieurs femmes indiennes ont subi des ligatures des trompes ou des hystérectomies sans avoir été suffisamment informées des consequences. Cet article cite un grand nombre de ces cas aux États Unis et au Canada. De plus, le document nous fait voir que cette pratique était en effet un génocide et comme tel est un délit criminel susceptible d'être puni en vertu des lois internationales.

Genocide is defined by the United Nations as any act committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. One such act is described as "Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group" (Human Rights, 1983, p. 56). Further, according to the same document, forced sterilization, as well as all other forms of genocide, is a crime punishable under international law.

Historically, sterilization has been seen as a means of population control by those governments concerned with the rapid world population growth. However, research indicates that in some cases the motives for the sterilization of certain groups of women went beyond the desire for population control and were genocidal in nature, aimed at groups of people deemed inferior by the majority culture. Those researching this issue have uncovered the fact that attitudes of racial superiority were foremost in the minds of those responsible for determining whom should become barren.

When viewed from positions of increased scientific and social knowledge today, the eugenics movement of the early twentieth century appears not only erroneous and misdirected, but also racist and ultimately frightening in its insistence on betterment of the race, primarily by preventing the reproduction of those considered eugenically inferior, thereby preserving the strength and purity of the eugenically superior race or class (generally, by those doing the operations and making the laws.) (Saidie, M. H. and C. Zarmie: 1980)

This paper will illustrate that cultural genocide, in the form of forced sterilization, is not limited to economically deprived countries but has occurred as well in both Canada and the United States of America amongst indigenous Indian peoples as recently as the late 1970's. The practice of coerced sterilization is seen by many Indian people as genocidal and as the ultimate means on the part of the government to eliminate the North American Indian population.

A frightening number of "consented" sterilizations are described in Indian publications. The numbers of these sterilizations are as unnerving as the methods used to ensure the inability of Indian women to procreate. Reasons for the sterilization of so many Indian women are not only racist but are also linked to the social welfare syndrome that emphasized the patronizing relationship the government has formed with aboriginal people. The unjust treatment of Indian people in general, and Indian women specifically, is brought to light with the documented research found on the coerced sterilizations.

In Canada for example, *Akwesasne Notes* in 1977 reported that Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act (1928-1973) concentrated on Indians, Ukrainians, and Alberta's powerless people as its primary victims. The act allowed a four *man* eugenics board to order the sterilization of people judged mentally deficient, without their consent. Twenty-five hundred persons were actually sterilized, 25.7 per cent of which were Indians and Metis, although they comprised only 3.4 per cent of the population. The report went on to declare that the usual test of mental deficiency was an IQ test, an inadequate and biased measure of the intelligence of ethnic minorities. Further documented reports of sterilizations amongst Canadian Indian women are scarce. However, Akwesasne Notes (1977) does cite a number of sterilization cases amongst American Indian women.

According to Dr. Constance Redbird-Uri,an aboriginal physician from Los Angeles, a young Indian patient of hers had been sterilized without knowledge of the consequences. Upon further investigation, Dr. Uri uncovered a number of similar cases done in the same south-western state, where one woman out of every four had been sterilized under similar circumstances. The women had submitted to the procedure at the suggestion of their doctors and were unaware of the long-term results of the operation. In other words, there was no informed consent that would be considered satisfactory under any circumstances.

Informed consent is defined as that procedure whereby the physician informs the woman that a 72-hour waiting period and the recommendation of a second doctor are necessary before surgery can be performed. (Akwesasne Notes: 1974) The woman's husband must sign the consent form and she must be told that she will not be deprived of any benefits, such as welfare, if she does not have the

operation. Dr. Uri's report indicated that the consent forms for the Navajo women she investigated were written in English at a grade 12 level. It is likely many women from these reserves were not familiar with the English language.

A follow-up study occurred later and supported claims that Indian Health Services (IHS) had indeed sterilized thousands of Indian women without obtaining the proper consent from them. The General Accounting Office (GAO) also informed the public that the consent forms found in the files of the Health Service "were generally not in compliance with IHS regulations."

In 1974, Dr. Uri requested a moratorium on all Indian sterilizations and was denied. Frustrated, she went to congressmen and legislative aids. Finally, Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota listened and requested an investigation. The GAO uncovered three thousand sterilizations in four areas of the IHS that were investigated. Beginning in 1973, sterilizations took place over a period of less than three years, and had often been performed without the informed consent of the women.

Another article (Akwesasne Notes: 1970) gives a more detailed description of a coerced sterilization that occurred in the same area. Norma Jean Serena was sterilized directly after the birth of her fifth child while under the influence of medication and exhausted from the delivery at the time of the surgery. Doctors informed her that subsequent pregnancies might result in the birth of retarded or deformed children even though she had already delivered four healthy children. Authorities also told Norma Jean Serena that another reason for the sterilization was "socio-economic", (see appendix A) reinforcing the idea that poor people should limit the size of their families.

The findings of the disproportionate number of Indian women being sterilized continues with yet more documentation. In Claremore, Oklahoma, 48 sterilizations were performed in one month on Indian women, most of whom were in their twenties (Akwesasne Notes: 1974). At the same time, Indian patients were being turned away from the hospital on the grounds that there were not sufficient funds to care for them. Hospital records also showed that there were several hundred sterilizations in only two years. Furthermore, in the fiscal year of 1973, there were 132 Indian women sterilized at Claremore, 100 of them non-therapeutic, meaning that the procedures were done for the sole purpose of rendering the young women
incapable of reproducing. IHS records show that 19 percent of the Indian women sterilized were of child-bearing age.

The methods of sterilization used in these cases are similarly startling. The most common techniques were bilateral tubal ligation (fallopian tubes are cut and tied) and hysterectomy (removal of the womb). Hysterectomies are rarely performed on women of child-bearing age in the population at large and are not practised in most medical circles unless cancer or other diseases are present. Such a method of sterilization is highly questionable. "Hysterectomy ... is an effective (100 percent) method of sterilization, but its use specifically for contraceptive purposes is seriously questioned" (Female Sterilization p 44). The authors go on to state that hysterectomy is a major surgical procedure with a complication rate

of 12.3 - 29.4 percent. Not only were the sterilizations endangering the continuance of the aboriginal population, but they also involved serious risks to the individuals who endured the surgery.

The roots of this form of cultural genocide likely stem from the general acceptance in society that it is permissible for doctors and governments to decide whether or not members of minority groups, such as Indian women, should give birth. Such decisions would never be tolerated if they were applied to members of the majority. Obviously, there is a discrepancy between what happens to Indian women and what happens to non-Indian women in the area of reproductive choice. This discrepancy may lead to a feeling of powerlessness on the part of Indian women.

> Fertility as an expression of need for power is becoming increasingly evident in people who feel powerless or unsure of themselves whether on the grounds of poverty (or) ethnic minority problems...
>
> (Greer, G.1984:389)

While oppressed women may indeed feel that their ability to reproduce is their only source of power, this does not justify the practice of unethical sterilizations. This unethical attitude perpetuates the belief on the part of the majority society that Indian women have children indiscriminately and that even if members of minority groups have reasons for wanting children, they are bad reasons and do not need to be respected, especially if those people are poor and brown. Such ideas reinforce the racist attitudes that a white life is more worthy than a colored one.

Another quote from Germaine Greer, states a view that is more realistic and contemporary in its perspective. It suggests a more truthful outlook that a person's race or heritage is not a determinant of human worth.

> It is never possible from a knowledge of a person's parents (or race) to predict with certainty that he or she will be either a more adequate or less adequate member of society than the majority.
>
> (Greer, G. 1984:281)

The attitude that an Indian life is less important than one of the majority has developed because of the historical relationships between government and Indian people. The government's intentions originally were to "exterminate" Indians and, failing that, they tried to assimilate them into the white majority. However, these "helpful" plans for Indian people have led to many of them becoming dependent on the government rather than assimilated, while at the same time, alienating them from the non-Indian society.

Governments with a history of unjust management of Indian affairs, wanting to evade their responsibilities to Indian people, have devised a number of tactics to avoid the increasing cost of Indian social programs. Among their schemes to shirk their responsibility to provide services for indigenous persons, the use of unconsented sterilizations is perhaps the most destructive.

It has proven very nearly impossible for the victims of the surgical sterilizations to pursue the issue in a court of law, which the United Nations has agreed is an avenue of protection. The signed "consent" forms provide the authorities with proof that the sterilizations were uncoerced. Limited funds available to Indian women and the advent of emotional trauma involved are other restricting factors that keep most sterilizations from the courts. Today, stricter guidelines are in place to ensure that all women are adequately informed of the consequences of surgical sterilization. However, this problem has not completely disappeared. Government social workers and doctors continue to encourage Indian women to become infertile as in a Canadian case with which this author is familiar (McNab, 1988).

One of the results of the large numbers of forced sterilizations performed on Indian women is that the fundamental link to their identity as life givers has been severely undermined. Being unable to reproduce has left many Indian women with a great sense of loss and disparity. Victims of the sterilizations must confront the issue and indeed have a good legal example to follow in the case of a group of Canadian Indian women (Silman, 1987). These women regained their legal Indian status as Indians after having lost it by marrying non-Indian men. This assumably "powerless" group of Indian women, as a united group, challenged section 12 (1) (b) of the Indian Act which stripped them of their Indian status when they married non-status men, and regained their legal Indian status. Indian women's legal identity and forced sterilizations are both issues that should ultimately be dealt with by women. However, in today's patriarchal society, it is inevitable that it has been men who have made decisions concerning such major women's issues.

Government officials who declared Indian women as non-Indian under the Indian Act, eugenics committees, doctors who performed the illegal sterilization, (as outlined by the United Nations) and government authorities who allowed the doctors to do so, were predominantly men and therefore, were inherently ineffective in confronting these women's issues. Patriarchy, classicism and racism are the roots of the attitudes that form the triple oppression which has led to forced sterilizations.

A message to the women who are the victims of triple oppression is found in Daughters of Copperwoman by Anne Cameron. It is a message of sisterhood and survival.

> There are women everywhere with fragments
> when we learn to come together we are whole
> when we learn to recognize what we need to know
> to learn how to come together
>
> I know the many smiling faces of my enemy
> I know the pretense that is the weapon used.
> I have been the enemy
> and learn to know myself well

The ones who talk only from the throat
see only with two eyes
hear only with two ears
but pretend to do more
are the enemy.

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ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN CANADA: FROM CONFUSION TO CERTAINTY

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Abstract. This article offers a brief historical perspective to the use of aborginal languages in the schools, and the ensuing result that few aboriginal parents of this generation speak their native language. This has resulted in few Canadian aboriginal children learning their language in the home. The importance of the aboriginal language is emphasized, a strong rationale for the inclusion of aboriginal language teaching in the schools is made, and a number of questions are asked that deal with factors that must be considered in preparation for teaching the aboriginal language in a school based program.

Résumé. Cet article vous présente une brève perspective historique de l'utilisation des langues indigènes dans les écoles et qui a comme conséquence que peu de parents indigènes de notre génération parle leur langue maternelle. Le résultat est que peu d'enfants indigènes canadien parlent leur langue au foyer. L'importance de la langue indigène est accentuée, de fortes raisons sont données pour inclure l'enseignement de la langue indigène dans les écoles, et plusieurs questions sont posées à propos des facteurs qui doivent être considérer en préparant un programme scolaire d'enseignement de langue aborigène.

IT SEEMS A VERY SHORT TIME AGO that the use of, or teaching of aboriginal languages were prohibited in Canadian schools. It is so recent that many Canadian Indian/Metis adults of today experienced punishment for speaking their aboriginal languages at school. Consider then, that for the teacher of an aboriginal language who was punished when they themselves were students, the doubt and conflict that might arise over the inclusion of aboriginal languages in the curriculum. This doubt may be further enhanced by the reaction of some parents who do not support the idea of having their children learn an aboriginal language in the school setting, or of the school administration which treats the programming of aboriginal languages as merely a frill. Prime class time is seldom reserved for teaching aboriginal languages in the school? Teaching resources are scarce. Training and certification opportunities of the aboriginal language teacher

is virtually non-existent. Aboriginal language teachers are not paid on the same salary scale as all teachers though their task is even more immense than most teachers. They must not only teach but often they must teach all grades from kindergarten to grade twelve and develop curricula and materials as well.

The feelings of parents who have doubts or are outright opposed to aboriginal language teaching in schools can be understood. Permanent mental and even physical scars were left on parents and grandparents in Canada particularly by those who attended residential schools from their inception in the 1800's to the phasing out of those schools in the 1960's. Years of being denied the use of their own language in such institutions, and by being punished when the language was spoken, definitely had a lasting effect. For many decades, parents deliberately did not teach their children their aboriginal languages. They were determined to teach them English only. In this way, they felt their children would not have to endure the same difficulties and punishments that they did.

Some aboriginal parents in Canada have felt that the introduction of aboriginal languages in schools was not necessary. These parents, many of whom have lost their language, do not see the aboriginal language as being a viable means of communication. They tend to view English as the only important language. It took years of brainwashing to achieve this attitude in some aboriginal people, but it has, over time, become ingrained in those people. Yet other aboriginal people who do not support the idea of aboriginal language teaching in schools approach this concern from the perspective that language teaching is the responsibility of the home, of the parents.

Historically school authorities have questioned the need to retain aboriginal languages. A quotation from a Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1897 expresses this sentiment:

> Instruction of Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to the cause of education and civilization and will not be permitted in any Indian School. It is believed that if an Indian vernacular is allowed to be taught on Indian reservations it will prejudice the pupil as well as his parents against the English language. This language which is good enough for a white man or a black man ought to be good enough for the red man.
>
> (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1897)

Many who do not support the teaching of aboriginal languages in schools suffer from what is called lingua-centric attitudes which means that their language, in Canada often English and less often French, is the only language they value or that their dialect of English/French is for them the only correct version of the language. Such people treat other languages and other varieties of English/French as inferior.

Aboriginal language teachers in Canada, and possibly throughout the world, have to contend with these negative views of parents, school authorities and the general public. It must, at times, be very frustrating to those teachers of the aboriginal languages.

Why then, given the above constraints, do many others hold the view that the

teaching of aboriginal languages is good? Why do many aboriginal people, some school authorities, some linguists, some anthropologists, among others, promote the concept of the teaching of the aboriginal language in the schools?

The following is an extensive quote from an article written on the subject by the late Robert W. Sterling. Robert was still a young man in his forties when he drowned in 1983. Yet in his mind, he was an elder. It is a tribute to his insight regarding the importance of the aboriginal languages that his message is carried on.

> An Indian language, like any man-made tool is created to serve a purpose. To survive, any man-made tool must be useful and necessary to those who adopt it; it must be widely accepted and used; it must withstand competition with other tools which offer to serve the same purpose. If any tool no longer serves its purpose; is no longer useful and necessary; does not withstand competition, then that tool will become obsolete or will be reduced in its importance (perhaps to a toy - like the bow and arrow). Our Indian languages, if not treated correctly, can suffer the same fate.
>
> A language, like a modern machine, is a collection of parts. Each part can become obsolete if a better part is created. Many Indian words become obsolete because new modern words displace them. If enough parts of any machine are replaced then the whole machine itself will change and likely serve new purposes, forgetting its old purpose. In this way, we might see our Indian languages. So many parts of our languages may have changed to suit new purposes that the languages in their traditional form are becoming obsolete and its purpose forgotten.
>
> Those parts of our Indian languages that have survived did so because no new words can replace them, and we all wear them with pride like badges of honor.
>
> Because of the pressure of modern life to adapt, we have often thoughtlessly given up some of our major values when we gave up the words to effectively express them. When we gave up those values, we gave up our strength for our survival.
>
> This is why our language is important to us. Because it puts us in touch with our elders who can teach us, and because it is our way of maintaining what is important - to us and to everyone.

> To revive and maintain our ways through our language must be carried out in full seriousness and with full awareness of the challenge. An Indian language program should not be treated as a popular fad or a temporary band-aid. It should not be designed to replace modern English but to sit side by side with it in equal importance, serving it's own unique purpose.
>
> A good language programme should:
> - begin with children at birth and carry on till death;
> - not select special students but all;
> - not be simply an exercise in learning sounds, pronunciation and vocabulary, but one in which values, principles and philosophy are reflected;
> - lead to a constant refinement and updating of its parts so that it "keeps up with the time" while maintaining the permanent good values;
> - inspire further curiosity and opportunity to learn..

> The need for all Indians to survive in modern life may undermine even the best planned Indian language programs, but if we, as Indians, sincerely believe that the strength of our ancestors is the strength we need now, then their teachings which lie hidden in the languages will inspire us to overcome the challenges and bring our languages back forever.
>
> (Sterling, 1981.)

The teaching of aboriginal languages must go on if a meaningful education for aboriginal children is to be provided. The failures of past education endeavors lead us to believe that:

> *Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him the history of his people, their values and customs, their language he will never really know himself or his potential as a human being.* (N.I.B. 1972.)

Traditionally the school system has been alien to aboriginal students. It ignored anything aboriginal in the school program. It is now believed that the revival and retention of aboriginal languages is vital because language is the principal means by which culture is accumulated, shared and transmitted from generation to generation. If aboriginal languages are allowed to die, the nations of aboriginal peoples will surely die.

Aboriginal language teachers are not only responsible for teaching the language but are also responsible for convincing people of their worth. Although without any economic advantage or prestige, the importance of the language is its link with the ancestral past. It helps one to find his/her personal identity, of asserting who they are.

To do this effectively, there must be an excellent language program. Children must enjoy learning their language in school. A good language program requires planning. Its goals must be explicit. These goals will depend upon whether the aboriginal language is being introduced to non-native speakers, is being developed further, or is being used as a medium of instruction. Are children being taught to speak the language, to write it, or both? If they are writing it, are they using a standard Roman orthography or are they using syllabics? What do the parents prefer? Are aboriginal language resources being utilized? Are older people with expertise in some traditional art being invited to come and talk to the students in the aboriginal languages? Are tapes of legends and history as told by the elders being used? Is the language being made functional? (If children can communicate better with their elders, this can be interpreted as a functional use of the language.)

The teacher may be concerned that it is impossible to deliver such a program alone in the school, or that lack of teacher training prohibits the offering of an exciting or professional program. Both concerns are valid. Many aboriginal language programs have been introduced with little or no planning. Ideally the community and school should consider a number of factors before a program is designed:

1. Who will be the aboriginal language instructors (what level of education, fluency, etc.)?
2. Who will be the students they teach (ages, grades)? At one time, it was taken as axiomatic that the earlier a child was introduced to a second language, the more quickly and adeptly he or she would master it. Today, this notion is being challenged. Research is required to determine what stage or age is best for aboriginal children.
3. Who will design the courses that are taught and how and when will they be designed?
4. What materials are available on the aboriginal language?
5. Who speaks the aboriginal language, where is it spoken, and when is it spoken? How viable is the language?
6. What degree of fluency is required and/or literacy is desired? What time frame?
7. What training should the indigenous teachers be given? Where? For how long? By whom?
8. What funding is needed for the training? Where will it come from?
9. What funding is needed for the language program in the school? For how long will this funding be needed? Where will it come from is it secure?
10. What research needs to be done and by whom? Examples may be dialectical research, creation of new words, a dictionary, etc.
11. What materials will have to be produced? Who will produce them?
12. Is this program urgent? Why?

All these questions deal with factors to be considered in preparing for the teaching of an aboriginal language in a school based program.

What should be viewed as possible requirements for an Aboriginal Language Teacher Training Program? Few programs have been established to address this need in Canada. There is, however, such a program to train Indian Language Instructors in the province of Saskatchewan. It is imperative that all aboriginal language instructors have access to training in order to learn the structure of the language (linguistics) and the methodology of teaching.

Galloway (1979) suggests some requirements for an aboriginal language teacher training program:

1. There must be courses in linguistics. Linguistics is the science of language and comprises such subjects as morphology, the study of word building and grammatical categories, and syntax, the study of word order or sentence structure. A book entitled *Meet Cree, A Practical Guide to the Cree Language* by H. Christopher Wolfart and Janet F. Carrol (University of Alberta Press, Edmonton) provides a good overview of the structure of the Cree language, for example.
2. Indigenous language teachers should learn how to record a language using field notes, tape recorders, video-tapes, card files, photos and collections. In addition they need to know how to plan, what to ask, how to analyze and process what they have gathered, and how to analyze stories.
3. Indigenous language teachers need to learn how to best utilize the materials they have gathered, the teaching aids available to them, how to best use field trips,

cultural demonstrations and how to develop lessons using a variety of teaching aids.

4. Indigenous language teachers should learn language history: how languages are related, how they change and evolve, how they die, what are dialects, borrowings and so forth.
5. Indigenous language teachers should study the social aspects of the language, i.e. language revival and maintenance, how to encourage language pride, how to encourage language study, how to encourage language use (opportunities for language use), short-range and long-range language planning.
6. Indigenous language teachers should learn a variety of instructional techniques.
7. Indigenous language teachers should learn how to plan and develop lessons and teaching materials for different groups ranging from primary students through to adult classes, as well as students of mixed fluencies.
8. Indigenous language teachers in training should be involved in practica: first watching an experienced teacher, both preparing and delivering lessons, then assisting an experienced teacher, doing their own preparation, teaching for short periods and finally taking on the whole task.
9. Indigenous language teachers should learn how to work with administrators, teachers, parents, funding agencies as well as learn how to deal with government officials, school boards, indigenous band councils, governmental indigenous agencies, as well learn to become effective in garnering parental and family support.

These are just some of the things that could be included in a teacher training program for teachers of the aboriginal language. Undoubtedly there are other important topics that could be added, as well as regional and cultural differences that need to be taken into consideration.

Teaching a language is a highly specialized area. If aboriginal languages are to be a respected part of a school curriculum more appropriate teacher training programs must be carefully planned and implemented. It follows that the language programs also require stringent planning.

It is imperative that the aboriginal languages, with all their richness and diversity, be maintained and that the language of the local community become an integral part of the school curriculum. During the last decade, or more, as one example, the aboriginal people of North America have stated their desire for a culturally relevant curriculum which would increase the aboriginal child's chance of achievement, and, in turn reduce the total rate of school drop outs amongst North American aboriginal children. As far as language is concerned, many aboriginal children today can speak only English. Aboriginal adults often find themselves in need of re-learning their native tongue. Programs must be implemented to combat both of these situations. This situation, likely, is found throughout the aboriginal cultures the world over.

Bilingual-bicultural programs aim at preparing the aboriginal student to function easily in both languages and in both cultures, his/her own and that of the dominant non-aboriginal society.

Such programs, together with further study of the linguistics of aboriginal languages, will help ensure that the richness of the aboriginal cultures will not be lost to future generations, and that aboriginal students will begin to achieve

much-needed success as they proceed through the school system - a success in keeping with their academic potential.

At this time in history, the question of indigenous languages must be addressed. The languages must be promoted, revised if necessary, and used. They are not a frill; rather they are necessary to ensure the survival of the aboriginal peoples.

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NORTH OF THE 49TH: PEER SUPPORT IN INDIAN/METIS TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

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Abstract. This study examined events occurring in 10 Indian/Metis teacher education programs (nine Canadian and one Alaskan) which potentially contribute to development of student peer group support. Information was sought about: the opportunity to interact as a program/class group; events which enhance Indian/Metis identity; program components intended to develop interpersonal or group skills; the role of faculty and program delivery mode which influence the development of the group as a support system.; and, other factors that enhance or limit the development of the group as support to individual members.

Résumé. Cette étude examine les évènements qui se produisent au sein de dix programmes éducatifs de professeurs autochtones/métis (neuf au Canada et un en Alaska) qui ont le potentiel de contribuer au développement de groupe paire d'appui pour les étudiants. L'information a été requise au sujet des occasions d'actions réciproques en groupe; les évènements qui rehaussent l'identité autochton/métis; le rôle de la faculté et les méthodes de livraisons de programme qui influencent le développement des groupes en tant qu'organismes de soutiens; et d'autres facteurs qui relèvent ou limitent le développement du groupe ainsi que son appui aux membres individuels.

INTRODUCTION

THE PROCESS OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT is worth the effort. Benefits range from better grades through improved interpersonal relationships and eventual effective participation in mainstream society. Stanford observed that there is no doubt that the class which has been helped to develop into a mature group learns more. Enhanced self-concept tends to result, which contributes to improved learning. Group development can also help: (1) students feel less threat, become less defensive and more comfortable with one another, (2) promote subject-matter learning by freeing students to actively take part in learning activities, (3) increase effectiveness of teaching methods that involve

groups, and (4) promote learning by increasing student/student interaction, using the strengths of peer influence to enhance learning (p. 34-35).

Glueck (1977) asserted that the development of the group is "functional for all concerned: the individual, the group, and the organization... groups provide for their members' social, identity recognition, ego esteem and security and power needs . . . Groups help . . . decision-making, and getting the job done" (pp. 168-69). Effective groups, and healthy organizations, engage in activities which: (1) are task-centered, to accomplish group goals; (2) focus on group maintenance, responding to individual needs; and, (3) attend to group (or organization) health and effectiveness, improving proficiency and the ability to adapt to new situations.

Indian/Metis Teacher Education programs have endeavored to provide support—including peer group support—for their students in a number of ways. More (1980) observed that this has contributed to the success of the programs (p. 35). He went on to say "student after student has told me that when he or she has difficulty, the greatest source of help is from fellow students" (p. 35). Studies by More & Wallis (1979) and Bernie & Ryan (1983) indicated that many Indian/Metis programs were structured so peer group support was possible—one can speculate that this was done deliberately. For instance, the concept of a community with which students can identify exists in many programs. In speaking of the field center concept, McIntosh (1979) reported that a field center provides a "supportive community" which develops self-confidence, nurtures "the development of a cohesive group of peers" and provides a vehicle for solving problems (p. 24). The group of students can act as a support system for the growth of each Indian/Metis teacher education student and foster the achievement of program goals. Program goals include: (1) aiding the individual in person (including self-concept) development; (2) promoting growth in professional capability; and (3) fostering individual growth in Indian/Metis identity (Bernie and Ryan, 1983; More, 1980). Lang & Scarfe (1985), in their study of a specific Indian/Metis teacher education program, found that the peer group contributed to achievement of these objectives as facilitated by the program structure, center climate, and events (formal and informal) occurring throughout the life of the class group.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study was to examine the nature of, and events occurring in, ten Indian/Metis teacher education programs (nine Canadian and one Alaskan) which could contribute to the use, or development, of student peer group support to achieve program goals. After reviewing the literature on group development and Indian/Metis teacher education programs, Lang and Scarfe (1985) observed that program designers and implementers should "recognize the potential significance and power of the peer group by structuring opportunities for group development into program design and support systems" (p. 3). An important question is, "What kinds of occurrences foster the development of a supportive group in Indian/Metis teacher education programs?" It seemed that a reasonable first step was to determine what was currently occurring in Indian/Metis teacher education programs which can influence the role and effectiveness of the student

peer group. This study, then, addressed the following questions about Indian/Metis teacher education programs:

1. What opportunities exist for students to act and interact as a program or class group?
2. What events occur which may further enhance Indian/Metis identity?
3. What program components exist to develop interpersonal and group skills?
4. What roles do faculty, and/or program delivery, play in influencing the development of the group as a support system?
5. What other factors contribute to, or limit, the development of the peer group as a support system?

METHOD

A review of literature on group development and Indian/Metis teacher education (Lang & Scarfe, 1985) was completed. The study was limited to Indian/Metis teacher education programs north of the 49th parallel. A questionnaire was prepared which addressed the above questions about the kinds of occurrences that might foster the development of the group of students as a support system for the growth of individual teacher education students and achievement of program goals. The nature of the questionnaire was influenced by an in-depth examination of a specific Indian/Metis teacher education program and the experiences of the authors in working with, and studying, Indian/Metis teacher education programs—this can also be seen to be a limitation. A further limitation is that responses (and perceptions) were those of the program faculty who completed the questionnaires. The questionnaire was piloted and then sent to 21 programs (20 Canadian and one Alaskan). These were thought to be all the Indian/Metis teacher education programs north of the 49th parallel. Anonymity of responses was assured and programs were coded "A" through "J".

Based on the review of literature and the experiences of the authors, the following assumptions were made: (1) group development tends to take place when groups have the opportunity to be together and share common experiences; (2) groups tend to be more effective when planned interventions for interpersonal development and group development and productivity are employed; (3) groups can provide support for the development of individuals within them; (4) groups can facilitate achievement of program goals; (5) when students are all Indian/Metis, group development is strengthened and a positive sense of identity is fostered (recognizing that differences do nevertheless exist); and, (6) community-based or Native organization sponsored programs can promote group and identity development.

Information was sought about: (1) opportunity to interact as a program or class group (program location; classes taken as a group; periodic meetings to discuss professional identity and growth; provision for orientations; formal and informal social events; facilities for socializing, etc; group participation in outside events; and, contact with senior and former students), (2) events occurring to enhance Indian/Metis identity (program location; classes taken as a group, Indian language and Native Studies/Cross-Cultural classes; informal/formal events involving Indian/Metis community; outside presentations; senior students as mentors; and, group problem solving during practica), (3) provision for

development of interpersonal and group skills (workshops; part of regular classes; during-practica group problem solving), (4) roles played by faculty, or delivery mode, which influence development of the group as support (faculty/student interaction opportunity; student participation in program or other decision-making; counseling by faculty; program faculty instructing classes and supervising practica; faculty/student social interaction; availability of faculty to students; and, classes, etc. held at program center), (5) Other factors contributing to, or limiting, development of the group as support.

Completed questionnaires were coded and an item-by-item tabulation and analysis was done. Sophisticated statistical analysis, because of the relatively small sample size, was deemed inappropriate. Initial reporting, then, was done by frequency. Summary statements were prepared, and item responses were grouped under six broad headings. Conclusions were drawn and an implications statement was prepared.

FINDINGS

Survey Results

Questionnaires were sent to all programs that the authors could determine existed—21 programs. From the sample, usable returns were received from 10 programs (Table 1, Appendix). One indicated that their program had closed and did not complete the questionnaire. Another responded that they did not have a teacher education program, but did have counseling and support services for Indian/Metis students. One indicated that their program had closed but did complete the questionnaire. Another questionnaire was returned as "address unknown." In effect, then, the population was 18 programs. A return of 10 was received, or 55.56%.

Responses were received from the following programs: Teacher Education Program in Labrador, Memorial University; Indian Students' Program, Micmac-Maliseet Institute, University of New Brunswick; Brandon University Native Teacher Education Program, Brandon University; Project for the Education of Native Teachers, Brandon University; Indian Teacher Education Program, University of Saskatchewan; Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (Regina), University of Regina; Northern Teacher Education Program, LaRonge, Universities of Regina and Saskatchewan; Native Teacher Education Program, University of British Columbia; Simon Fraser University Native Teacher Education Program (Prince Rupert); and, Cross-Cultural Education Development Program, University of Alaska.

Responses to Questionnaire Items

The questionnaire contained 29 items, 27 of these were deemed usable. Findings are reported below.

Location of Programs (Table 2, Appendix).

Seven of the 10 programs were located away from the affiliated university

campus, with at least the first two years of the program delivered at the program center. One program took place totally on the main campus; and, one was on the main campus in spring/summer sessions only. Seven of the 10 programs were housed off the parent campus, with a significant portion of the program delivered there.

Classes Taken as a Program Group (Table 3, Appendix).

All programs limited at least some classes to program students (eight reported that all or most classes were taken as a program group; of these, two said this was true for the first and second year of the program; and, one response was not usable).

Kinds of Classes Limited to Program Students (Table 4, Appendix).

Classes which were limited to program students included: some introductory Arts or professional classes (five programs); introductory Native/Indian Studies classes (four programs); advanced Native/Indian Studies courses (two programs); and, core methodology classes (five programs).

Outside Classes Taken, But as a Program Group (Table 5, Appendix).

Three programs reported that, in at least some cases, the class group joined ongoing classes offered by the parent campus. Two programs had students take all classes either as a class group (with no or only occasional outsiders) or attended outside classes as individuals; and, five programs had all classes taken as a group with no, or few, outsiders.

Program Classes Available to Outsiders.

Four programs offered classes which were also available to outsiders. These classes included certain introductory and general community interest (e.g., Native Law) classes.

Native Studies or Related Classes Taken—Not including an Indian Language. (Table 6, Appendix).

Nine programs reported that their students normally took at least three Native Studies, Multi/Cross-Cultural or related classes. The number of classes taken was indicated as: three—three programs, four—two programs, five—one program, six ore more—three programs.

Indian Language Class(es) Taken (Table 7, Appendix).

Five programs reported a requirement of one to three classes in an Indian language or languages; there was no Indian language requirement in two programs (although three indicated that such classes were optional).

Periodic Meetings of Students (Table 8, Appendix).

Eight programs held periodic meetings to discuss: professional growth, being an Indian/Metis teacher or teacher education student, and/or other concerns or issues. Meetings were held to discuss group effectiveness and responsibility in four of the programs. Two programs stated that these topics were part of classes offered.

Interpersonal/Group Skills Training (Tables 9 and 10, Appendix).

Nine programs provided some training in interpersonal communications and/or group dynamics; and, six indicated that this kind of training is provided in classes and/or on an on-going basis. Seven programs reported that efforts to build group support/interpersonal relating skills were part of at least one class; two others stated that the entire program was so oriented. One program indicated that no formal efforts were made as part of a class or classes.

Provision of Orientations (Table 11 and 12, Appendix).

Eight programs provided orientation at program entry; seven of these stressed the importance of group support and a sense of common purpose during orientation. Eight programs held preparation sessions for later program stages or years.

Provision of Personal and Program Counseling (Table 13, Appendix).

All ten programs provided program and personal counseling by program staff. In six, group counseling was provided "as needed."

Social Events (Table 14, Appendix).

Eight programs held social events, at least twice each year, that involved students. Of these, five programs reported informal, student-initiated gatherings.

Clubs/Association (Table 15, Appendix).

Four programs had Native/Indigenous student associations available; two reported sports groups; and, one offered a variety of clubs (e.g., Pow-Wow, Drum, Drama).

Student Housing (Table 16, Appendix).

Four programs provided housing (either motel, apartment or student residence). Six did not provide housing.

Conference/Workshop Presentations/Attendance (Table 17 and 18, Appendix).

Seven programs reported that students engaged in presentations to outside groups or at conferences or workshops. Eight programs had students attend conferences/workshops as a group, or representatives of the group. The most frequently attended conference was the Canadian Indian Teacher Education (CITEP) conference—reported by five programs.

Community Programs Participation (Table 19, Appendix).

Six programs reported student participation in community programs (e.g.'s, Friendship Center and recreation programs).

Student/Staff Interaction (Table 20, Appendix).

Five programs identified social events as the most commonly occurring opportunity for staff/faculty/student interactions. Five programs reported that staff/faculty availability or teaching of classes or field supervision promoted interaction. Three programs reported that the physical design or "atmosphere" of the center contributed to interaction; and two programs held meetings involving students/staff/faculty.

Student Participation in Program Decisions (Table 21, Appendix).

All 10 programs provided for student participation in program development and/or implementation decision-making—e.g.s., student representation on advisory committees or board, class evaluations, feedback from students through such things as surveys or student meetings.

During/Post-Practicum Group Problem-Solving (Table 22, Appendix).

Eight programs had opportunity for group problem-solving and discussion during, or following, school experiences.

Resource Personnel to Build Identity (Table 23, Appendix).

Eight programs brought in guest speakers, elders or community leaders to help build group identity.

Senior Student Support of Junior Students (Table 24, Appendix).

Eight programs reported that formal or informal support was provided by more senior to junior students.

Contact with Graduates (Table 25, Appendix).

All programs reported that informal and/or formal contact was maintained by at least some graduates with the program center or students.

Other Factors Contributing to Group Development (Table 26, Appendix).

Eight programs added other things they thought promoted group support, identity, or the development of interpersonal or group skills, including: graduation ceremonies (four programs), retreats, modules, micro-teaching involvement, and student-community interaction.

Factors Which Facilitate or Limit Group Development (Table 27, Appendix)

While seven programs reported "family responsibilities" as limiting student participation in group development, a variety of facilitating and other limiting factors were reported. Facilitating factors were: off-campus location, small class size, sharing of common survival problems, the tradition of acceptance and support found in Indian/Metis families and communities, proportion of mature students, and the strong group feeling found in certain communities. Limiting factors were: the pressure of family responsibilities (seven programs), distance between home and center, transportation availability, lack of funds, working while going to school, and heavy course load.

Further Influences on Group Processes (Table 28, Appendix).

Other things were mentioned as having an influence on group processes. These included: cultural values, kinship bonds, caring faculty, "students are parents and they are involved or aware of much of what is happening in the general native movement," tensions resulting from interpersonal and/or family relationships, a multicultural approach to Native education, length of time the group is together, and bonds to the home community.

Respondents were asked to add anything else they felt to be pertinent (Table 29, Appendix).

Responses included: friendship patterns that develop, working out tensions with coordinator guidance, influence of the Tribal Council as an advisory group, perception of the program as being Native controlled, faculty modeling of cross-cultural methods and interpersonal and group skills, philosophy of support facilitating development of independence and interdependence, and sensitivity of instructors to the needs of the Native community and the teacher-in-training.

Summary of Findings

Findings are summarized under research question categories.

1. Opportunity to Interact as a Program/Class Group. Interaction opportunity was provided in a number of ways. Seven programs were located away from the main campus with at least the first two years taken at the program center. Orientation to the program was provided in eight centers. All programs had at least some classes

taken as a program group with no, or few outsiders—six programs took most or all in this way. Eight programs conducted regular and periodic student meetings on a variety of topics or issues. Group counseling occurred in six programs. Formal and informal social events involving students occurred at least twice a year in eight programs. Eight programs provided some training in interpersonal communications or group dynamics. Students met to problem solve about practicum experiences in eight programs.

2. Events Which Enhance Indian/Metis Identity. Students in the programs, of course, were either Indian or Metis—the very names of the programs imply the significance of Indian/Metis identity. Program orientations in seven programs reported the occurrence of group building and development of a sense of common purpose. Programs provided Indian/Metis components that foster heritage awareness, and pride and cross-cultural capability. Nine programs (one did not respond to this item) indicated that their students took at least three classes in Native, Multi/Cross-Cultural Education/Studies (four take five or more such classes). A class (or classes) in an Indian Language were available to students in all programs—five programs required at least one class in an Indian language. Students often attended Native conferences—CITEP (five programs), and other Native Conferences (five programs). Seven programs reported student participation such as conference or workshop presentations or cultural/program information presentations. Being involved with center clubs or teams occurred in five programs. Students got involved in the community programs including: recreation, Friendship Centers, children's/youth groups, drop-in centers, Native Women, and a Native political association. Senior students acted as mentors, or support, to junior students in eight programs. Group problem solving, during or after practica, occurred in eight programs.

3. Program Components Intended to Develop Interpersonal or Group Skills. Interpersonal or group skills were stressed in a number of ways. Program orientations held in eight programs included the development of the group as a support system. Three programs provided training in interpersonal and/or group skills in seminars, and/or workshops. Nine programs indicated that attention is given to this in at least one class. Five programs stated that interpersonal and group skill development was "ongoing". It may be that occurrences such as practica problem solving and group counseling (reported earlier) also facilitate the development of interpersonal and group skills.

4. Role of Faculty and Program Delivery Mode in Influencing Development of the Group as a Support System. Faculty can be seen to influence group development in a number of ways: doing counseling (10 programs); conducting orientations (8); involving students in decision-making and problem solving (8); providing opportunities for faculty-student interaction (8); being readily available to students and teaching classes (5); participating in formal and informal social events (5); physical design or atmosphere of the center (3); being sensitive to the needs of the Native

community and teachers-in-training (1); supervising practica (1); modeling of cross-cultural, interpersonal and group skills (1); and, "caring faculty" (1). The nature of program delivery can be thought to influence development of the group as a support system: taking at least the first two years of the program away from the main campus (7 programs); limiting at least some of the classes to program students (10 programs); taking certain kinds of classes—Native/Multi- Cross-Cultural Studies classes (9) and, requiring or having available as options Indian language classes (8); providing opportunity for group problem solving during/following practica (8); providing program graduations (4); being together a significant length of time (3); microteaching (2); and, having a program philosophy of support for inter-/independence (1).

5. Other Factors Contributing to or Limiting Development of the Group as Support. Through open-ended questions, other factors which were seen to contribute to, or limit, the development of the group as support were stated. Contributing factors included: retreats, modules (in-program workshops), graduation ceremony, small class size, sharing of common survival problems, length of time group is together, high proportion of mature students, tradition of acceptance and support found in Indian/Metis families and communities, strong group feeling found in some communities, cultural values, kinship bonds, students being parents are aware of native issues, bonds to home community, and perception of the program being Native controlled. Limiting factors included: family responsibilities (7 programs), distance between home and center, transportation availability, lack of funds, working while going to school, heavy course load, existence of many diverse cultural groups among the student population, and program structure which requires students to alternate between studying at the program Center and field placement in widely dispersed home communities.

CONCLUSIONS

It was clear to the authors that all 10 responding programs had a variety of events and features that could be seen to facilitate the development of the group as a support system. Some or all of these could lead to the development of students' professional capability, self-concept and Indian/Metis identity. This is illustrated by Table 30 (Appendix)—all programs provided a range of opportunities and experiences for group development. It cannot be concluded, however, that the common sets of occurrences which were identified would, automatically, if deliberately planned and implemented, result in enhanced group development or the achievement of program purposes—this can be hypothesized but would require further research.

Conclusions of the study apply specifically to the perceptions of the respondents of the programs surveyed. Major conclusions are as follows:

1. Responding Indian/Metis teacher education programs "North of the 49th Parallel" provided a wide range of opportunities for students to interact as a class or program group. Frequent responses (at least 5 programs) which support this conclusion

included: Off-campus location; at least the first two years of the program taken at the program center as a program or class group; at least some classes taken with no (or few) outsiders; meetings of students held to discuss a variety of topics; occurrence of group counseling; holding social events at least twice a year; providing training in interpersonal and group skills; and, holding student problem-solving meetings about practicum experiences. Students, then, had frequent opportunity to "rub shoulders" with each other and share many of the same kinds of classes and experiences.

2. Responding Indian/Metis teacher education programs "North of the 49th Parallel" deliberately strove to foster the development of Indian/Metis identity and provided the opportunity for this to happen. Students must be of Indian heritage to be eligible to enroll—indeed, the very names of the programs highlight Indian/Metis identity. Frequent responses (at least 5 programs) which substantiate this conclusion include: orientations were held which encourage group building and instill a sense of common purpose; at least three classes were taken in Native, Multi-, Cross-Cultural Education or Studies; Indian language classes were available; Native (or related) conferences were attended by students; senior students acted as mentors to junior students; Native or community resource people were used by programs; group problem solving arising out of the practica occurred; and, students were involved in Center clubs or teams.

3. Responding Indian/Metis teacher education programs "North of the 49th Parallel" were aware of the importance of interpersonal and group skills. Frequent responses (at least 5 programs) which support this conclusion include: orientations to programs including development of the group as a support system; giving attention to interpersonal and group skill development in at least one class; and, having interpersonal and group skill development as an "ongoing' concern.

4. Faculty in responding "North of the 49th Parallel" Indian/Metis teacher education programs, perceived that their role, and the way programs were structured, promoted group development. This is illustrated by the following frequent (at least 5 programs) responses: counseling; conducting orientations; involving students in decision-making and problem solving; providing opportunities for faculty-student interaction; being readily available to students and teaching classes; participating in formal and informal social events; associating with students at the program Center during at least the first two years of the program away from the main campus; having Native Studies (or related) and Indian language classes available (often instructed by program faculty); providing opportunity for group problem solving during or following practica; and, providing program graduations.

5. Respondents from Indian/Metis teacher education programs "North of the 49th Parallel" felt that a variety of other factors facilitate group development. Factors identified include: holding retreats; providing modules (in-program workshops), having small classes, sharing of common survival problems, having a high propor-

tion of mature students, having a tradition of acceptance and support in Indian/Metis families and communities, having a strong group feeling in communities, having cultural values and kinship bonds, students who are parents being aware of native issues, having bonds to home community, and perceiving the program to be Native controlled.

6. Respondents from Indian/Metis teacher education programs felt that a number of factors limited group development. These included: family responsibilities, distance between home and center, transportation availability, lack of funds, working while going to school, heavy course load, existence of many diverse cultural groups among the student population, and program structure which required students to alternate between studying at the program Center and field placement in widely dispersed home communities.

OBSERVATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study suggest a number of observations about, and implications for, Indian/Metis teacher education programs:

1. Programs should approach interpersonal and group development in a systematic way through each of the years of the program. Essential skills should be taught and practiced and used through-out the program in order that known and emerging issues and problems can be dealt with, and so that group support for the individual and the achievement of program goals can be better achieved.

2. Half of the programs do not require even one class in an Indian language. The desirability of making at least one Indian language class mandatory should be investigated.

3. Teaching faculty should use and teach strategies that facilitate the development of interpersonal and group skills in recognition of needs that emerge during each stage of group development.

4. All Indian/Metis teacher education faculty should develop competence in interpersonal and group skills; and, faculty should model and require these skills in the classes that they teach and the interactions they have with students.

5. Social events which involve students in planning and implementation should be structured and incorporated into the program Center calendar.

6. Group debriefing and problem solving around professional development and Indian/Metis identity issues should become a structured and systematic part of all practica.

7. Frequent opportunity should be provided to make use of Indian/Metis community resources and resource personnel to assist in development of Indian/Metis identity.

8. This study identified common program events and features that should be researched. The question is, do these occurrences indeed make a difference for group development? For achievement of program goals? For individual personal and professional growth? For development of Indian/Metis identity?

9. The instrument should be refined and the study should be replicated. Given the experience of this study, some of the questions can now be phrased more appropriately, some questions should be deleted, and others should be added.

10. A meeting, or conference, of Indian/Metis teacher education programs should be held to specifically examine the matter of group development to achieve program goals.

11. All teacher education programs, not only Indian/Metis, might well benefit from deliberately working on group development in a systematic way.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Program Questionnaires Sent and Returned

Total number sent	21
Number Returned	10
Programs closed (did not complete)	1
Had only counselling and support services	1
Returned "address unknown"	1

TABLE 2

Program Delivery Location of 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Where Delivered	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
At least first 2 yrs at program center away from main campus	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	7
Entirely on main campus			x								1
On main campus spring/summer					x						1
Combination of on/off campus		x									1

TABLE 3

Extent to Which Classes are Taken as a Program Group in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Portion of Program	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
All classes (no or "few" outsiders)						x		x		x	3
Most classes		x		x					x		3
Some classes	x		x		x		x				4
No classes											0

TABLE 4

Kinds of classes Taken as a Program group at 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Kinds of Classes	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Introductory Arts & Science	x		x		x		x	x			5
Professional (Education)	x	x	x	x			x				5
Introductory Native/Indian Studies	x		x		x		x				4
Advanced Native/Indian Studies			x				x				2
All classes									x		1

TABLE 5

Program Classes which Include "Outsiders" Offered in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Portion of Program	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
All classes					x						1
Most classes			x								1
Some classes	x	x					x				3
No classes (or very few outsiders)				x		x		x	x	x	5

TABLE 6

Classes in Native, Multi-, Cross-Cultural Education/Studies in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Number of Classes	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Three	x					x				x	3
Four			x				x				2
Five					x						1
Six or more		x						x	x		3

TABLE 7

Number of classes in an Indian Language Required/Optional in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Number of Classes	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
None required	x								x		2
One class required								x		x	2
One or two classes required			x								1
Two classes required				x							1
Three classes required						x					1
Optional		x			x		x				3

TABLE 8

Programs Where Meetings of Students Occur to Discuss Various Topics in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Topic	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Professional growth	x		x		x	x	x		x	x	7
Being Indian/Metis teacher/student	x		x			x	x		x	x	6
Group responsibility or effectiveness	x					x	x		x		4
Concerns surfacing from time to time	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	8

TABLE 9

Frequency of Interpersonal Communications or Group Skills Training Meetings or Workshops Held in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Frequency During Year	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Not provided									x		1
Once					x						1
Twice			x	x							2
In classes or ongoing	x	x				x	x	x		x	6

TABLE 10

Number of Classes Where Efforts are Made to Build Group Support or to Improve Interpersonal Relating Skills in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Frequency During Year	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
One	x								x		2
Two											0
Three							x				1
Four or more			x	x							2
No formal effort in classes								x			1
Part of most classes						x					1
"Part of any class I teach"							x				1
Whole program so oriented		x			x						2

TABLE 11

Nature of Orientation at Entry Related to Group as a Support System/Development of Sense of Common Purpose in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Description	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Is provided to entering group	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	8
Treats group building/sense of purpose	x	x		x	x	x	x			x	7

TABLE 12

Orientations/*Preparations Provided to Program Group for Other Than Entry in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Orientation/Preparation	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Preparation for later program stages	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	8
Not provided					x					x	2

*Types of preparation included: orientation to practica (3 programs); academic skills/writing/research skills (2 programs); orientation on-going as need arises.

TABLE 13

Personal and Program Counselling in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Provision	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Counselling done by program staff	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10
Group counselling provided	x			x		x	x		x	x	6
Group support fostered in sessions							x	x	x		3
Program purpose stressed in sessions							x	x			2

TABLE 14

Student Social Events Participation in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Times per Year	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Two							x			x	2
Three	x	x	x								3
"Frequent" informal student-initiated					x	x					2
Occasional informal student-initiated	x			x			x				3
None or only chance									x		1

TABLE 15

Clubs/Associations Available to Students in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Kinds	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Native student association	x		x	x	x						4
Sports groups			x							x	2
Pow Wow, Drama, Drum		x									1
None		x				x	x	x	x		5

TABLE 16

Group Housing in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Availability	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Provided		x		x	x					x	4
Not provided	x		x			x	x	x	x		6

TABLE 17

*Student Participation in Outside Presentations/Conferences/Workshops/ Projects in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Type of Presentation	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Conferences/Workshops		x	x	x	x	x	x				6
**Other Presentations		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			7

* two programs indicated that this was "seldom done".
** Cultural or Program Information presentations to: Bands, school inservice, career days, Friendship Centers, community organizations, or "mainstream" University classes

TABLE 18

Kinds of Conferences Attended by Students as a Group or Part of a Group in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

Type	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Canadian Indian Teacher Education Programs			x		x	x	x			x	5
Native Education		x					x				2
WESTCAST							x			x	2
Subject Councils							x			x	2
Indian Affairs			x								1
Other Education						x	x				2
When funding available		x		x					x		3

TABLE 19

Student Participation in Community Programs/Services in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

Kind of Program/Service	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Recreation	x	x	x	x	x						5
Friendship Centers			x	x	x		x				4
Children's/ Youth Groups			x				x				2
Drop-in Center				x							1
Church Groups	x										1
Legal Aid, Parent, Native Women			x								1
Native Political Association							x				1
Not done								x		x	2
No response					x				x		2

TABLE 20

Opportunities Which Promote Student/Staff/Faculty Interaction in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

Type of Opportunity	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Social events	x	x	x		x		x				5
Availability of staff/faculty		x			x	x	x				4
Informal Center climate		x			x	x	x				4
Staff/ faculty/student meetings				x					x		2
Center faculty instructing/field supervision			x				x				2
Center faculty doing counselling							x				1
Orientation	x										1
Workshops	x										1
Field trips	x										1

TABLE 21

Student Participation in Program Development/Implementation/Decision-Making in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

Ways of Participating	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
On program advisory committee/board	x	x	x		x					x	5
Informal consultation						x	x			x	3
Course evaluations by students			x			x					2
Course selection				x		x					2
Student meetings to discuss issues					x						1
Student executive executive council			x								1

TABLE 22

Opportunity for Group Problem-Solving/Discussion Following/During School Experiences in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Existence of Regular *Opportunities	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Yes	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	8
No response		x			x						2

*Opportunities included: seminar sessions (2 programs); general assembly (1); discussions during/following (3); as part of practicum instruction & state/provincial meeting

TABLE 23

Use of *Resource Poeple to Foster Group Identity in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Used	*Program*										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Yes	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		8
No					x					x	2

*Resource people included: guest speakers, community leaders, Elders, local artists, political leaders, etc.

TABLE 24

*Senior Students Acting as Mentors(Support) to Junior Students in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Used	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Yes	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	8
No (because of program structure)		x				x					2

*Kinds of support included: informal, buddy system, study sessions, group housing

TABLE 25

*Contact by Graduates with Program (or students) in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

Contact Maintained	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Yes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10
No											0

*Kinds of contacts: informal—e.g.s- visits, special events, at place of work; formal- membership on advisory boards, committees, acting as resource persons, assisting with recruitment, employed at Program Center, Newsletter, taking classes

TABLE 26

Other Occurences Which Promote Group Support and Identity, or Development of Interpersonal and Group Skills in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

1. "Students selected for ability to relate easily to students"
2. "Micro-teaching"
3. "We are much involved in sports"
4. "Since our program is community based, we have much in the way of student/community involvement"
5. "Finding council representatives meet regularly with students to deal with relevant issues. . . are available to, and meet regularly with students who need help"
6. "Modules" (within-program workshops)
7. "Class activities involving group work, role play, drama presentations"
8. "Organization (by the class) of dance"
9. "Recognition of class groups in Celebration"
10. "Graduation ceremonies"
11. State/provincial-wide conferences"

TABLE 27

Factors Fostering or Limiting Student Participation in Group Development in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs (open-ended question)

Facilitating Factors:

1. Off-campus location
2. Small class size
3. Sharing of common survival problems
4. Tradition of acceptance and support found in Indian/Metis families and communities
5. High proportion of mature students
6. Strong group feeling found in certain communities

Limiting factors:

1. Family responsibilities
2. Distance between home and Center
3. Transportation availability
4. Working while going to school
5. Lack of funds
6. Heavy course load

TABLE 28

Other Things Seen to Have an Influence on Group Processes
in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs
(open-ended question)

1. Cultural values
2. Kinship bonds
3. Caring faculty
4. Many students are parents, and are involved in/aware of Native issues
5. Tensions resulting from interpersonal and/or family relationships
6. Use of a multi-cultural approach to Native education
7. Length of time the group is together
8. Bonds to home community

TABLE 29

Additional Observations Regarding Group Development from
10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs
(open-ended question)

1. Friendship patterns that develop
2. Working out tension with coordinator guidance
3. Influence of Tribal Council as an advisory group
4. Perception of the program as Native controlled
5. Faculty modelling cross-cultural, interpersonal/group skills
6. Program philosophy of support to development of independence/ interdependence

TABLE 30

Summary of Selected Findings Relative to Group Support Development in 10 Indian/Metis Teacher Education Programs

Description	*Program* A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
At least first 2 years at program center away from main campus	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	7
All or most classes as a class group		x		x		x		x	x	x	6
At least 3 "Native Studies" classes	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	9
Require 1 to 3 Indian Language classes			x	x		x		x		x	5
Periodic student meetings held	x		x		x	x	x		x	x	7
Some training in group skills	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	8
Group skills part of at least 1 class	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	7
Orientation at program entry	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	8
Preparation session for later stages	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		8
Counselling by program staff	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10
At least 2 social events with students yearly	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	8
Clubs available to students	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		9
Student housing available		x		x	x					x	4
Student presentations at conferences/inservices	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				7
Student participation in community programs/services	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10
Student participation in aspects of program decision-making	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10
Group discussion during/following practica	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	8
Use of resource people to foster group identity	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		8
Senior students as support to junior students	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	8
Graduates contact after graduation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10

Summary of Table 30	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Total (out of 20)	17	14	16	18	12	18	17	15	14	16

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Biographies. Hellmut Lang is a Professor of Education at the University of Regina. He has coordinated the development of elementary, secondary, middle years, arts education, Indian/Metis, and technical-vocational teacher education programs. Dr. Lang has written a great deal of provincial Department of Education material and has developed generic protocol materials for elementary and secondary teacher education which have international distribution. His experience in supervision of practica and the training of sponsor teachers is extensive.

Donna Scarfe is a faculty member of the Suntep Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP) in Regina. A former elementary teacher, she instructs education students, supervises pre-interns and interns, and has been a leader in the training of sponsor teachers. Ms. Scarfe initiated the interpersonal and group skills component in the SUNTEP (Regina) program and has given presentatoins to WESTCAST, Learned Societies, and Native Education conferences. She is based at the Gabriel Dumont Institute.

THE ROAD TO NUNAVUT; The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War.

By R. QUINN DUFFY.

Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queens University Press,1988.
MAPS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX. XXIII & 266 PP.

Most outsiders' knowledge of the Canadian North has been restricted to a few National Geographic documentaries and perhaps the ice-blue images of A.Y. Jackson and F.H. Varley (the Group of Seven Artists who ventured north on a ship of the Eastern Arctic Patrol in the twenties and thirties). R. Quinn Duffy's *The Road to Nunavut* provides an informative background to contemporary developments in the Arctic. Subtitled the Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War, *The Road to Nunavut* is appropriate for the general reader whose ignorance of fundamental issues is probably exceeded only by an ignorance of the land and the Indigenes themselves.

Duffy's strength as a writer is his ability to be both lively and straight-forward, avoiding the ponderous circumlocutions of the politicians and government bureaucrats whose memos, reports and records have provided necessarily so much of the background material for his book.

> The east is the land called Nunavut. Here where the mainland of Canada shatters into the poleward scattering of Arctic Islands, the Inuit have for thousands of years endured stoically the unkind environment of the region and adapted to it. (p. xvi).

Although Duffy claims to have taken his inspiration from the land and the Inuit, he has organized his subject into 5 chapters that are as uninspiring as a list of government portfolios: housing, health-care, education, economic development, and self-government. Duffy's own interest in the Inuit dates from 1972 when as a doctoral student at McGill University he began a demographic study of the Eastern Arctic. *The Road to Nunavut* has been published with assistance from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

In keeping with Duffy's file and ledger approach to organization, each of the 5 chapters are further sub-divided chronologically into 4 sections: pre-1945, 1945-59, 1959-71, and after 1971. One of the curiosities of such a structure is that Duffy provides no rationale for such apparently arbitrary divisions in an otherwise smoothly-flowing narrative. This is alleviated however by a strong introduction in which Duffy insists that the concept of "progress" identified in the subtitle was

culturally determined by the paternalism of the Federal Government whose *in loco parentis* involvement in the lives of the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic evolved as "a gradually growing but uninformed interest [and] ... in part by concern over Arctic sovereignty (p. xxiii). Duffy describes a Mazlowian hierarchy operating over the last 40 years with the government first attending to basic needs (food, clothing, shelter) of the Inuit in the forties and fifties, then focussing on secondary needs (health care and education) in the sixties and seventies, and finally in the eighties encouraging a kind of collective self-actualization:

> [the federal government] sought to bring the modern Inuit into a modern technologically oriented economy, and ... it has encouraged the Inuit to take responsibility for the running of their own affairs (p. xxiii).

The concept of such progress once imposed is premised on "readiness" (in the way the Metis and Dene of the MacKenzie Valley are said now to be "ready" for an oil pipe-line after the decade long moratorium on such development). The irony of such progress escapes no one, least of all the Inuit themselves. Pre-contact Inuits governed themselves intrinsically and lived a completely integrated life in their harsh and barren landscape. It is only after surviving the devastation of their culture and life-style that the Inuit are "ready" to address the extrinsic forces that have fundamentally changed their lives forever.

The Inuit story, despite the absence of a war or dramatic conquest, parallels the colonization of Indigenous people in the rest of North and South America. Intervention had devastating results on the pre-Dorset - Dorset - Thule culture that had survived 4,000 years. In quick succession, starting in the latter half of the nineteenth century, came the outsiders: first the whalers, then the traders, followed by the missionaries, the military, and the government agents. The result of this contact is not a pretty picture, but to Duffy's credit he does not romanticize the brutal lives of the pre-contact Inuit. He respects the Inuit's ability to survive, but he understand the allure and promise of a safer and easier life imported from the exotic South.

Duffy pulls no punches in describing the adversarial role of The Hudson's Bay Company after it opened its first post in the Eastern Arctic in 1911 on Baffin Island and a dozen more in as many years based on trade in white fox pelts, "the only fur that the Inuit's Arctic habitat produced in quantity".

> The federal government showed unforgivable weakness in its dealings with the HBC. If it was the reluctant, if rightful, guardian of the Inuit, the HBC was the wicked uncle, eager to take charge of the innocent orphans of the Arctic in order to exploit them for monetary gain. (p.13)

The chapter on housing starts with the inadequacies of the skin shelters used in summer, the inevitable filth of the igloo, and focuses on the influence of military camps and the radar stations of the DEW system in accelerating migration to settlements. The government adopted a military mentality which saw the "Inuit problem" as a matter of logistically overcoming geography - how to organize and

administer to an incredibly sparse population of 16,000 Inuit scattered over one third of the land mass of Canada. One anachronistic result was wood-frame southern housing: rental units paid for with welfare money or houses sold with mortgages as more and more Inuit "fled the harsh conditions of migrant camp life on ice and tundra to a more sedentary life-style in the settlements" (p. 37). As a solution to a "problem" these little bungalows took into account no assessment of the needs of the Indigenous population. Duffy quotes a journalist's visit in 1969 to an Inuit's new home where a dead seal waiting to be skinned filled the bath tub. The woman of the house, kneeling on the kitchen floor gutting a rabbit, was

> surrounded by small parts of a motor toboggan that had obviously been brought into the house to be fixed ... She wiped her hands on her cotton dress, beamed broadly at me and offered me tea. (p. 43).

The abandonment of the last remaining Inuit hunting camps in 1970 following the decline of the caribou herds led to a huge demand for such housing, which cost four times its southern counterpart despite inadequate plumbing or sewage, and with a life-span of only 10-15 years, given their heavy use inside and the toll of the elements outside. As one Inuit leader asked, is it unreasonable to demand housing "that lasts at least as long as the mortgage"? (p. 50).

The chapter on health care paints as dismal a picture. Much primary medical care was in the hands of the Anglican and Catholic missionaries until the sixties. Federal clinics and nursing stations promoted prevention and self-care as a strategy for addressing tuberculosis and infant mortality. It is shocking to read that in 1956, "10% of the total Inuit population were receiving hospital treatment in southern Canada". (p. 71). The alienating effects of such "medical banishment", as Duffy calls it, can only be appreciated by other Indigenous people who have suffered a similar fate. As in other parts of the non-industrialized world, the change from breast-feeding to bottle-feeding and the resulting reduction in infant resistance to respiratory infections was "the crucial factor in excessive rates of infant morbidity and mortality". (p. 77).

Pre-contact Inuits, living on fresh uncooked meat and clothed in furs were so isolated from each other and outsiders that they rarely came in contact with sources of infection. By the eighties the Inuit were still not "ready" for processed junk food, alcohol, drugs, and sexually transmitted diseases. The high suicide rate, particularly among the young, attests to the rapidity with which the social environment had changed.

The chapter on education documents the history of missionary schooling, territorial and residential schools, the first day schools, trade and vocational schools, open learning and distance education centers and teacher education programs. It is largely a story of the imposition of English on the Inuit by southern and foreign teachers ignorant of the Inuit culture. Everything in such an education, like religion before it, was alien, imported and imposed: the buildings, equipment, supplies, and the teachers - dropped into a strange culture, armed with primers and basal readers full of blonde children in dresses and shorts greeting the postman and the mailman by a white picket fence under the leaves of an oak tree.

> One story, frequently told and vouched for as genuine concerns a 15 year old Inuit whose teacher handed him yet again a copy of *Fun with Dick and Jane*. The boy opened the book at the right page, read "Oh Dick, Oh Jane," added "Oh Fuck," and walked out in disgust never to return. (p. 108).

There has been progress in the last decades since administrative responsibilities for education have been turned over to the NWT government. Particularly important is the emphasis on the retention of the Inuit language followed by a gradual transition to English and bilingualism. As Duffy states, in the 1980's Inuit education is"largely determined by the Inuit themselves ... schools, at all levels, are becoming a repository of cultural values, and determiners of political and economic self-determination". (p. 130). it would appear the Inuit have faced the conflict in the schools between cultural relevance and individual achievement.

In battles with the HBC and particularly in the growth of the co-operative movement (first for the production of art and then in direct competition with the HBC as outlets for staples and as marketers of fish and fur) the Inuit demonstrated an incredible capacity to adapt and reach beyond bi-cultural and bi-lingual policies. Duffy's comparisons to the Indigenous people of Greenland and Alaska are useful here.

When the NWT Constitutional Conference in 1983 recognized the principle of Native rights many, like Peter Ittinuar, Canada's first Inuit parliamentarian, insisted that "the key to sustained and effective Inuit participation in politics ... lies in the formal constitutional recognition of the Inuits' fundamental right to determine their own future". (p. 264). A new northern territory of Nunavut ("Our Land") has the support of the NWT Assembly and Aboriginal groups who are pressing Ottawa for partition.

R. Quinn Duffy sees the Inuit in some ways to be like all Canadians: survivors. The Inuit, "threatened physically by hostile elements, threatened culturally, linguistically, and spiritually by an alien people and government, have survived" (p. xviii). The skins and furs have given way to down and nylon, rawhide and bone to buttons and velcro, the dog sled to the skidoo, seal meat and whale blubber to hamburger and coke, but "they are the Canadian survivors par excellence. This is why a small minority like the Inuit should be of concern to the rest of Canada.

R. JAMES McNINCH

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EVOLUTION OF THE ONONDAGA IROQUOIS: ACCOMMODATING CHANGE, 1500 - 1655.

By James Bradley.

Syracuse University Press. 1987.
12 HALFTONES, 27 FIGURES, 9 MAPS, 28 TABLES, INDEX, APPENDICES, BIBLIOGRAPHY. 267 PP. $24.95.

According to Bradley, this volume is an attempt to "understand more clearly events in northeastern North America during the sixteenth century, that formative yet enigmatic phase of native American-European relations" (p.1) and to examine Iroquois lifestyle, especially the Onondaga. He proceeds to construct his thesis around the "process of acculturation, that is, the process of reciprocal interaction which occurs when one autonomous culture comes into contact with another" (p.2). The author's prime concern is to focus on how the Onondaga culture responded to and incorporated European materials into their own culture. The author's main contribution regarding the history of the Onondaga is that Bradley demonstrates how these people successfully adapted to changing circumstances. By refining European materials, they made these more useful within the context of their own cultural tradition rather than having that tradition overwhelmed by the increasing influx of European culture.

A positive aspect of this volume is the accuracy of the maps which show the location of the Onondaga people in relationship to both their Algonquian and Iroquoian neighbors. The plates which depict various artifacts and sacred objects, such as pottery, pipes and effigies, are also an excellent source of information.

The author continues to build a strong treatise on the development of the Onondaga as a "strong and prosperous" (p.48) people whose culture was "dynamic" (p.47) and were able to "integrate new people and traits' (p.47) into their way of life rather than becoming "weak and defeated" (p.47) as some writers (Bailey, A.G. - 1933: Jenness D. - 1932: Ray, A.J. - 1974) have depicted them. Bradley has to be commended in the approach which he takes in attempting to rectify the information presented by other prominent writers of general Indian history and more specifically, the history of the Iroquois - Onondaga people.

The Author "seeks to understand the process of acculturative change *from a native, rather than a European perspective*"* (p.6). He states that this is probably not possible and proceeds to write the remainder of the text for this volume using

Archaeo-centric methods to explain his hypothesis. By his own admission: "Emphasis is placed one *material** culture patterns, which can be sensitive indicators of change within a culture". From this emphasis. Bradley develops conclusions regarding changing lifestyle of the Onondaga.

In his introduction, Bradley comments on the use of other methods of research and study along with his own discipline of archaeology. He lists shortcomings in these disciplines as a rationale for discarding them in favour of archaeology. However, by his own admission, archaeological constructs are "ephemeral and arbitrary" (p.4). If, he had in fact sought to understand the *native perspective*, he would have used a more holistic approach to this volume and included elements from these other methodologies as well as the oral histories of the Onondaga.

The Author has divided the volume into five chapters and three appendices. Chapter 1 focuses on the evolution of the Onondaga prior to contact with Europeans. Bradley's analysis of the development of the Onondaga, based on previous works becomes mired in the same pitfalls followed by other scholars. He does not consider the possibility of population growth which requires the building of new sites for sheltering and the further expansion of needed agricultural lands for an expanding populace.

Chapter 2 spotlights Onondaga development during the sixteenth century. Bradley focuses on the fact that the Onondaga have European materials in their possession and are integrating these materials into their way of living.

Chapter 3 continues the discussion of the evolution of the Onondaga and the Iroquois Confederacy as well as greater interaction with Europeans. Bradley documents the shift in the Onondaga's relationship from the St. Lawrence Iroquois to their southern neighbors the Susquehannock.

In Chapter 4, Bradley documents the rapid material changes which occurred in the first half of the seventeenth century during the influx of Europeans to North America, especially the Dutch. He also relates how this new market influences the production of specialized merchandise. Products made specifically for the native American market had become a "well established practice" (p. 165).

Chapter 5 concludes by summarizing the acculturative changes which occurred among the Onondaga people and, by extension, the Iroquois Confederacy. Bradley states "In Spite of the cross-cultural influences, however, it was the Iroquois themselves who were the architects of their own success" (p.188).

Appendices *A* and *B* are further descriptions of materials of Onondaga and European origin which have been found in various Onondaga village sites. *Appendix C* briefly describes five Onondaga village sites. The *Notes* and *Bibiliography* which follow are excellent sources for further clarification and reading for those who are interested in pursuing this line of study.

By introducing the concept that the Onondaga were partilocal through the use of the Niemczycki model (p.44, p.46), Bradley begins to introduce an element of misinformation to the volume. The author might have perused more closely the writings of James Axtell (1983), Bruce Trigger (1976, 1978) and Sally Weaver (1972). These writers have found that the Iroquois - by extension the Onondaga - have developed as matriarchal - matrilocal communities. Trigger (1986:89) comments: "The village and its adjacent clearing increasingly became the

domain of, and their welfare the concern of, the Iroquoian women... As a result, by historical times Iroquoian women had a dominant voice in all matters concerning the welfare of their community" (Trigger, 1978:55-65).

To conclude: in spite of the few shortcomings of this volume, it is a useful addition to the literature in that it continues the trend of presenting positive views of Indian Nations - in this case the Onondaga. It illustrates to the reader the ability of Indian people to actively and successfully adapt new materials and cultural ideas to suit their needs. The result of this resilience, then, is the continued survival of a distinctive way of life for the Onondaga people.

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LIVING ARCTIC: HUNTERS OF THE CANADIAN NORTH.

By Hugh Brody

Vancouver, British Columbia: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987
Illustrations, 192PP. $14.95

LIVING ARCTIC, Hugh Brody's sixth book, is an important addition to contemporary Arctic literature. Here he looks across the Arctic and focuses on the hunt as a cornerstone of native culture. He brings together ideas introduced previously concerning the survival of native identity, the relationship of native people to the land, and native languages as powerful carriers of cultural tradition. Brody's ability to speak the Eskimoan languages gives him unique insight into Inuit life. For instance, in Inuit "isuma" means intelligence; people losing their temper are seen as lacking "isuma". As there are no Inuit words for "thank you", "hello" or "good-bye", social discourse proceeds on a footing that non-natives may not fully understand; this barrier is sometimes impenetrable. But not to Brody.

Through Brody's eyes and ears the reader is exposed to subtleties of Inuit life and introduced to the other peoples of the region. Inuit, Dene, Cree, Naskapi, Innu and Metis are referred to as "aboriginal peoples". Hunting and trapping is their common occupation. In discussing the hunt, he elucidates the idea of the "leader" in the native community, who leads without leading.

The hunt is a kind of poetry where the steps are known, but not taught. The native sense of well-being is enhanced through rituals surrounding the hunt. Brody also gives us an idea of the dislocation which occurs when villagers are removed from their ancestral lands. They lose their ability to be flexible and adaptable in hunting, making shelter and finding food.

Governments have made policy without any adequate knowledge of native life and culture. Bureaucrats, needing a spokesperson for a village, often chose an apparent leader. But within the native community, no leader can speak on behalf of another person. A true leader is one who does not lead. Brody puts it succinctly: "hunting cultures know that in order to learn one must listen". Respect for the individual is given lip service in the non-native community but, according to Brody, "native egalitarian individualism is at the heart of social integrity and well being".

Interference with native control over their own lives has led to social breakdown in many native communities. Nowhere is this interference more damaging than in the case of hunting and fishing. Hunting, native people claim, "is also a system of wildlife management which includes harvesting". But Government regulation of hunting and fishing has undermined the whole idea of the hunt and the social rituals which are part of it.

The concern for the preservation of the land articulated by native people throughout the Arctic is that "we must be sure we will not owe our grandchildren an apology"; it is an expression that goes to the heart of the tie with the land; the land, they believe, enables them to remain a distinct people.

The book has a shape, format and style of writing that matches the themes about the Arctic. The cover jacket illustration is in a muted color with a solitary parka - clad figure carrying a rifle. Inside, excellent black and white photographs are supplemented by 18 colored photographs which give glimpses of the private world of the Inuit people. The text is well written, easy to read, yet packed with information. Wide margins on the pages of text are balanced by the photographs of and quotes from the people on the opposite side of each page. At first, the table of contents seemed simplistic with 12 one-word categories, but it suits the pared - down style of the book.

The book is ideal for use as a textbook for high school or college students; it is also suitable as a resource book for teachers and students of the Arctic. It is important that stereotypes be questioned. Are native hunters concerned about conservation? How can native people maintain their traditions, yet use modern technology? How have they retained traditional beliefs, yet jointed organized religions? Brody, in reconciling these apparent opposites, dispels the myth that native society is static.

I don't agree with Mr. Brody that the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 prompted "similar Canadian movements". Native people in Canada did investigate the Alaska model when, for example, the James Bay agreement of 1975 was signed, but in the end they rejected its main features. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry of 1974-77 was not "prompted" by ANCSA. The Inquiry did visit Alaska, but simply to obtain information about ANCSA; in the end the Inquiry urged rejection of ANCSA as a land claims model for Canada.

I agree with Mr. Brody's summary of native peoples' goals for the future: self-government, control over education of their children, equality in Canadian society, a role in conservation, and recognition of their language rights. Concern over the education of native children has resulted in native teacher education programmes across Canada. Now native graduate students are doing research about their own educational strengths and weaknesses. They are looking to models in other native communities - even as far afield as the Maoris of New Zealand. Now, with elected native parliamentarians and legislators, native broadcasting network in the North, and native leaders with a high profile on the national media, native people's expectations are being increasingly understood by political institutions. The affirmation of native rights in the 1982 Constitution - the recognition of rights of the first nations - is another signpost for native people

on their journey towards a new relationship with Canadian Society.

The book speaks for indigenous people in a positive, refreshing way, giving the reader a view of the people and their land through, as it were, a picture window.

BEVERLEY BERGER
VANCOUVER, B.C.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Brian Swann is collecting original essays and translations for a volume on THE TRANSLATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURES. The deadline is Christmas 1989, and he suggests that anyone interested should contact him for guidelines and details at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, The Cooper Union, Cooper Sq., New York, NY 10003, USA.

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS/DIRECTIVES CONCERNANT LES MANUSCRITS

The Journal of Indigenous Studies is a refereed semi-annual scholarly journal published by the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. The journal aims to provide an open forum for the dissemination of scholarly research, discussion and ideas. It seeks a broad readership, both French and English, national and international, of all scholars and the general public having an interest in indigenous studies. The content of such studies will be in the areas of, but in no way exclusive to, administration, anthropology, arts, ecology, education, ethnography, health, language, law, linguistics, literature, political science and sociology.

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