

Opening the Healing Path -
The Cultural Basis for a Solvent Abusers
Treatment Program for the Attawapiskat First Nation

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
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A B S T R A C T

OPENING THE HEALING PATH - THE CULTURAL BASIS FOR A SOLVENT ABUSERS TREATMENT PROGRAM FOR THE ATTAWAPISKAT FIRST NATION

Doctor of Philosophy Thesis 1998, Norbert W. Witt
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Solvent abuse, particularly gasoline sniffing, has developed into a problem for the Attawapiskat youths since the 1980's. While there are treatment centres for solvent abusers, the success rate for treatment among First Nation youths is very low. In the community researched in this dissertation it is 0%. Among the causes identified for the low success rate in healing programs among Attawapiskat youths are *cultural differences, culture shock* and *inability to function in a 'white' society*. This dissertation is based on the suggestion that not only are acculturative stress and loss of the own culture the major contributing factors for the development of the problem, a cultural basis for the treatment program is also the only solution for successful treatment.

The causal model for the solvent abuse problem in Attawapiskat and the cultural basis for a healing program was analyzed on the basis of interviews among the people of the community and solvent

abusers themselves. Much of the discussion about the cultural basis refers to statements of elders of the community who are seen as the link to the people's culture. The presence of these cultural structures in the mind set of the people, even though they have been exposed to a life long assimilation attempt by the dominant society, can be identified from the statements of the solvent abusers themselves and other community members.

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Mushkego-Cree Area

Hudson Bay

Handwritten scribble

Peawanuck

James Bay

Attawapiskat

Kashetchewan

Fort Albany

Mosonee

Moose Factory

100

200

300

Kilometres

INTRODUCTION

Please Tell Me Who I Am

As can be concluded from the title and the abstract of this dissertation, the topic is a delicate one, dealing with the cultural differences of people. The fact that I as a *Whiteman* write my thesis on the necessity of a cultural basis of a program for Aboriginal Northamericans therefore needs some explanation beforehand, in order to explain my interest and devotion to Aboriginal people, and how I reached the conclusions that will be presented in the thesis. My being a non-Native person married to a Cree Indian, at times living in Attawapiskat, a Cree community, often provoked criticism by other non-Native people about the way I dress or behave, about what I discuss and about whom I talk. Particularly the last item, the *who*, brought some comments by critical pedagogic students indicating my inappropriate *cultural appropriation*, which means that I pretend to be somebody else, an Indian for that matter. Similar remarks, although much less frequently, were thrown at me also by some Native people who just see the *Whiteman* in me, having their own imagination what a *Whiteman* is supposed to be.

The problem in these remarks is the basis of who somebody is supposed to be being sought in one's own perceptions of reality instead of making it up to the individual to decide who s/he is. The basis of identity is the individual's own heritage, and the

opinion of the group s/he considers him/herself to belong to of what and who they are. Of course, a marriage to a person of a different group will also have its impact on the individual. Let me start with my own background.

When I Was Young

Many a story starts with the words *once upon a time*, setting the time frame for the tale that follows, saying that the times told in the story are over. My story will start with the words *when I was young*, which I borrowed from *The Logical Song* by the rock group *Supertramp* (Supertramp 1979). These words should indicate that, as I am still alive now, the time when the story began has of course still its impact on my behaviour today, and that my understanding of the world was formed in that time. It also includes what is called *post memory*, my memory of what my people have been before my own birth, related to me by parents, grand parents, relatives and the home environment as a whole. What I also want to make aware of are identity problems that sometimes arise when the expectations by the society in the growing up person are different from the identity and values of the family the person is born into.

The *Logical Song* describes:

when I was young, it seemed that life was so wonderful,
a miracle, oh it was beautiful, magical. (Supertramp 1979)

Reflecting on my own life, this was the time of my early childhood. All I knew was my immediate environment, the family, which meant my parents, my older brother and my grandmother, and

some years later also my younger sister. Naturally, they were the people who formed my perception to the world, who I drew my identity from. This identity made me a *Schlesier* (Silesian), a member of the people who lived in the land east of the River Oder. For centuries, this land was subject to struggles among different Nations (Poland, the first German Empire, Prussia, Austria, and later the Second German Empire and the 'Third Reich') who all claimed it as theirs, forgetting the fact that the people who inhabited it had meanwhile formed their own identity, particularly in the southern part, Upper Silesia where my father is from, where the country folks had developed their own language, *Wasserpölnisch*, a slavic language with both German and Polish elements. It was the division of Upper Silesia after World War I (1914 -1918) that would influence the identification of my family as being German. The hope of the Silesian people to keep their distinct identity turned out to be an illusion when Upper Silesia was divided between Germany and Poland, making the people either Polish or German, but at the same time their loyalties were always doubted. The effect of such a division on the identity of people can be demonstrated by the example of my father's family who had lived right at the new borderline. My grandfather, considering himself a German, moved to the northern, German part of Upper Silesia, while his brother, considering himself Polish, changed his name from *Witt* into *Vit* to give it a more Polish appearance. The family was divided making the two brothers into enemies which went so far that my grandfather once

had to flee back to the German side of the country after his own brother had reported him to the Polish police for holding up the German cause in a discussion in a country inn.

Nevertheless, my father grew up a Silesian, speaking *Wasserpolnish* in his early childhood, as this was the only language his grandmother would understand. Although he went through a massive *Germanisation* of the people in Upper Silesia, which for him meant that he joined the *Hitler Jugend*, a youth organization of the Nazi Party, he was never absolutely sure if the 'other' Germans actually accepted him as one of theirs, as they still called him a *Pollack*. At this point he developed doubts about his political loyalties to Germany.

He came into a painful situation when World War II broke out. Having turned 18 in 1939 he had to join the German Army. On September 1, 1939 the Germans attacked Poland, and the soldiers from Upper Silesia were sent to the eastern front to be able to show their loyalty to Germany. What was painful for my father was the advice he got from his mother who told him with tears in her eyes that he should watch for her brother, my father's uncle, on the other side and make sure the uncle would not be killed by him or other German soldiers.

Ethnically he never made it as a first rate German with his many 'Polish' relatives and a grandmother with Jewish origin. As far as I remember, in the about ten categories of German ethnicity during the Nazi period he made it to category three, and he has never been sure what would have happened to him and

his people had the Germans actually won the war.

When I was born in 1951, I grew up a Silesian, experiencing my *home land* and my heritage in the stories of my parents. From the moment I was communicating with the larger environment outside my family, I found out that something was wrong with this picture. I was born in Bavaria in southern Germany, not in the land my parents were telling me about, and the children I played with spoke a dialect that was different from that of my parents'. My first analysis was that adults and children obviously spoke different languages, but I soon found out that the parents of my friends also spoke Bavarian, as we children did, and due to this fact, they 'belonged', as well as we children 'belonged', but my parents did not. However, this did not develop into a major problem for my parents, because they still developed friendships with the neighbours in the apartment building we lived in, and at my father's office. They also had family, members of which were spread all over West Germany after the war, and they met other people from their homeland. I do not know how much I really comprehended of all this as a five year old, but looking back now I grew up in an environment where my people were able to keep their identity and nevertheless were accepted by their environment at large, if not by every single individual. The fact that they did not 'belong' was not weighing so heavily. They accepted that as long as they knew who they were and that was Silesian.

In the eyes of other people the ethnic status of my father

changed as well, because he was not a *Pollack* any more but became a *Fluechtling*, which is a German from the eastern regions who had to flee from his homeland and now resided among his western German brothers. Although the word *Fluechtling* was often meant as a negative, marking a person who did not belong here, it also indicated that this person was nevertheless a German and belonged to the country as a whole. Although the word *Pollack*, a mocking word for Polish, did not completely disappear, it became sort of rare, being only used by nasty educated people who actually knew about the history of my parents' homeland.

We children were not as heroic as our parents as to show who we really were. We wanted to belong, and therefore we denied our heritage when we were together with other Bavarians, speaking and behaving 'Bavarian' outside our home. Other than that the world was in order and we could live with our split heritage, being Bavarians on the streets and Silesians at home. There was one aspect however in which we were different from the other children. Knowing deep inside that we actually did not belong there, we never pushed away anybody that was different and whose difference could be detected more easily than ours. Among my friends there have always been foreigners, children from foreign workers who had come to work in Germany. And I could bring them home, and my parents accepted them as my friends. This was different with many of my other German friends who, although they accepted the foreign children themselves, could not bring them home and were not allowed to go to their homes.

Then They Sent Me Away - A Lost Identity

The situation changed into an identity crisis for me with two events that fit perfectly with the lyrics of the *Logical Song* as it continues:

But then they sent me away to teach me how to be sensible, logical, responsible, practical. (Supertramp 1979)

The first event was our move to a different region due to my father being promoted in his job. He worked for the Bavarian revenue, and as a civil servant he had to move wherever his employer sent him to. Although we had moved twice before, this move was more significant for us children, because first of all we moved to a city, Augsburg, which was a big change for us country children, and second, this city was the capital of a different part of Bavaria, Suabia (Schwaben), where people came from a different ethnic background (they were Allemans) and spoke a different dialect. As we children, of course, wanted to belong again, we had to change our language. This would not have been the worst part because as a child you pick up rather fast. In the transition period, however, my school mates teased me for being a Bavarian, and when I visited my friends back in the town we had lived before, they called me a Suabian. At home nothing changed. We were still Silesians, and for the others we were *Fluechtling*. I became more and more aware that it was not me but other people who determined my identity at that time.

The second event had much more effect on me. Although I had entered school before our move, 'real' school started in grade two, which I entered in Augsburg. In grade one, school did not

do much to confuse me in terms of what I thought of myself. We just learned how to read and to write. In the following grades we were evaluated, and it was the teachers who told us who we were, not only in the marks we got, but also in lessons like regional history. Subconsciously knowing that ethnically I was not an Alleman, I developed a feeling that I did not belong any more, and that I did not have a homeland because the land my parents came from was part of Poland, a communist country at that time. That seemed out of reach. Moreover, expressing a desire to return to my homeland would have made me a 'right wing' extremist, a Neo-Nazi. My father being a devoted Social Democrat never mentioned that he would like to return, but nevertheless I could feel his love for his country.

My feelings, or sensitivity, was another thing that got me into trouble in school. Much later, when I started to paint, performing on stage and make music, I accepted my difference and was proud of being an artist. The time in school, however, was an ordeal. Not being responsive to the usual teaching methods, based completely on logic, not on feelings, my marks got worse and worse, and the identity given to me by the teachers was that of being a dreamer, a slow learner, and sometimes even somebody who lacks the intelligence for attending a higher educational institution, the *Gymnasium* (grammar school) I had entered after grade four.

Other than in art class, I stopped communicating my feelings to the environment, trying to find my identity and secretly

longing for a homeland I had never seen. I was very interested in history though, and I developed some sort of pride in the fact that I was an 'Easterner', somebody whose origins were in the eastern regions. Nevertheless, I had serious doubts about myself and my identity, and altogether my situation at that time can again be perfectly summarized in the *Logical Song* which says

At night, when all the world's asleep
the questions run so deep
for such a simple man.
Won't you please, please tell me what I've learned
I know it sounds absurd,
but please tell me who I am. (Supertramp 1979)

First Contact - Meeting the 'Indians'

Yet, school also had positive effects on me. Having learned how to read I entered a completely new world, the world of books. There I eventually met people who I could relate to because of their somewhat similar situation. In addition to international literature like *Moby Dick*, and *Treasure Island*, I was reading a lot of books by the German writer Karl May, who was writing about Northamerican Natives in the so-called travel tales he actually never experienced himself. His tales were my first contact with the 'Indians'. I knew from the history I had learned at school that these people had lost their homeland and were now assimilated into Northamerican society. I have always doubted that this was according to their own choice, reflecting on my own experience. Reading Karl May's stories I immediately detected that again, like in my case, an identity was given to people by other people without actually considering the people's

own opinion. In Karl May's stories there were 'good' Indians, those associated with the white heroes of the stories who were fighting for 'justice', and there were 'bad' Indians, those who, as I saw it, were just fighting for their land. The 'good' Indians were led by the Apache hero of the stories, *Winnetou*, who later even became Christian, a fact that made him even more aimable to the 'white' reader. The 'bad' Indians were Sioux and Assiniboines who were always on the 'wrong' side, attacking 'white' settlers and still holding on to their 'heathen' religion. Although I did like the heroes of the stories, my sympathies were with the 'bad' Indians, for me the 'real' Indians, because they were holding on to their identity. Nowhere in these stories was there an explanation of how Winnetou could fight for a 'just' cause when the result was the loss of his people's homeland, a fact I knew from history. In my mind I made up stories and excuses that explained why the 'bad' Indians were on the supposedly 'wrong' side. I can say that I was reading the stories in a completely different way than the other children who only identified with the heroes.

My Indian Life?

To find out more about the people in Karl May's stories I started to research history on this subject, and I read other literature like *Leather Stockings* by James F. Cooper or *Tecumseh* by Fritz Steuben. When I finally made it to university I took Anthropology, beside my studying of education and becoming a

teacher after I had completed my degree in Fine Arts. The 'Indians' had captured me, and I decided to look deeper into their history. This finally got me to Canada, where I was teaching on reserves in Quebec and Ontario for three years before I went back to university to do my M.A. in Native Studies. The last reserve I was teaching on, the Mushkego-Cree community of Attawapiskat, became my second home, as I also married there. Through my wife and the other people I was in contact with in Attawapiskat I experienced the same uneasiness I had felt during my youth years, realizing that the identity of the people there was also determined by other people, by teachers, consultants, government workers etc., not by themselves. In fact, it seemed that the people were supposed to give up their identity to become 'Canadian', or the Indians' identity was considered something that belonged in the past, and the personal development of the people was considered complete only when they had caught on to *modern times*, a concept that by my definition has actually nothing to do with the times we live in but is rather merely based on a different view to the world. I will here not expand on what this means to the identity of a Cree person but just refer to the second chapter of my wife's M.A. (Hookimaw-Witt 1997), where she discusses this matter, and to my own dissertation below which also deals with identity. However, for myself I tried to find out the Attawapiskat people's view of the world. When I was teaching in the school up there, I learned from the people and listened to their stories. From

the children I learned how to snare and fish, and I participated in the life of my new family, my in-laws, which also meant that I went hunting.

I also wanted to share my own experience with other *Whitemen*, and decided to dedicate my post-graduate work to the people of Attawapiskat, which I did with my M.A. thesis on local control of education in Attawapiskat (Witt 1994), and with this dissertation, which was part of a project in Attawapiskat, as I will explain below.

Despite all my years of doubts I did find my own identity, which, of course, I did not appropriate from 'Indians', although I could relate to and identify with their history. And, as a human being, I could share their pain. Although I am a Canadian now, I am completely aware of my European heritage, which is, when I go far enough back in history, Celtic, Slavic and Germanic. I still disagree with judging anybody on the grounds of one's own perception of reality, including one's own perception of other people's spirituality, and I suggest that people should be accepted for what they tell us they are, rather than for what we think they should be. I therefore have divided loyalties to my own religion (I was raised a 'Christian'), because of the violence inherent in our 'mission' to christianize the 'heathens'. Actually, this religion was brought to us by the Romans and later by their Celtic and German followers, much as it was brought to the Natives here by us white people. Knowing who I am, with this ancient Celtic, Slavic, German heritage in mind I

can also claim my right to braid my hair, something my ancestors did, and to participate in Native ceremonies which are very similar to those of my ancestors, without being in danger of 'appropriating' Native culture. Nevertheless, by my marriage to an Attawapiskat Native, and my participation in the people's lives, part of me certainly also belongs there.

The important conclusion of these introductory words is that identity cannot be found by somebody else. The individual has to find his/her own identity, and a good starting point would be to seek it in the people the individual would consider him/herself part of. This is certainly also true for the people of Attawapiskat who, in the project I was participating in, were looking for the basis of a healing program as it is described below.

The Community

Attawapiskat is a Mushkego-Cree community in northern Ontario, some seven miles up the Attawapiskat River on the west coast of James Bay. Situated approximately 500 miles northwest of Timmins, the community is well isolated from any major centre in Ontario. Other settlements south of Attawapiskat are Kashetchewan and Fort Albany at the Albany River and Moosonee/Moose Factory at the Moose River.

Attawapiskat, like Fort Albany and Kashetchewan, is not connected to any road or railway. The community is served by two

airlines, Air Creebec (an Air Canada connector), and Commercial Aviation, which provide three flights daily.

During the summer months, freight can be brought in by barge from Moosonee, and between January and April a winter road is maintained from Moosonee up the coast. Transportation by air cargo is available throughout the year.

The economy of Attawapiskat is based on the provision of government services to the resident population (administration in band office, hospital, school). Some other wage employment is available by Northern Store, Koostachin & Sons (the local store) and some other small businesses. Over 200 people are permanently employed. The wage employment economy is supplemented by traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing and some trapping. Attawapiskat has a population of around 1400 people, about 98% Mushkego-Cree speaking. The majority of the people are Roman Catholics. There is a parish of Pentecosts in the community, and also traditional spirituality is on the advance.

The community is a recognized reserve of the Attawapiskat First Nation and is administered by an elected Chief and Council. For the understanding of this paper it is important to add here that Attawapiskat became a permanent settlement between the 1930's and the 1960's when the people left their bush camps and moved to the 'reserve'.

Substance Abuse - Outline of the Problem

Substance abuse by the youths of Attawapiskat has been known to take place since the late 1980's. The exact extent of the problem is, however, difficult to determine. In most cases, solvent abusers only go on record when they have abused the solvent to the extent that their behaviour becomes harmful to themselves or to others (Kells & Associates, 1995:5). Over the years, two deaths occurred that were directly related to solvent abuse. In March 1992, a thirteen year old gas sniffer died as a result of prolonged solvent abuse. In September 1993, a seventeen year old abuser committed suicide by shooting himself in the abdomen. Other incidents are numerous where abusers have been found unconscious and required medical intervention. There are many more suicides by youth in the community which go unrecorded (Kells 1995:5).

Since 1986, for the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation as a whole (the region covering the James Bay Treaty (treaty #9) and treaty #3 in northern Ontario there have been a total of 95 suicides in which solvent abuse has been implicated (Tome, 1993). In addition, there are various incidents of threats involving dangerous weapons by youth under the influence of solvents. By July 1994, 7 female and 22 male youths in the community were known to be chronic solvent abusers (Attawapiskat Solvent Abuse Intervention Regional Committee Meeting, July 21, 1994). These figures do not include occasional abusers and those experimenting

with solvents. Especially among the latter group, the number has grown far beyond the 44 persons that were recorded in 1994, and there seems to be a trend towards younger children becoming involved in solvent abuse.

Since 1993, 15 youths have been sent away from Attawapiskat for periods of up to 6 months to treatment centres in Cornwall, Toronto, Kenora, White River, and to centres in Manitoba and Alberta (Poundmaker's Lodge) (Kells 1995:6). In many cases the youths sent out for treatment did not complete their programs; the shortest time a youth was away was one week. Failure to complete the programs is attributed to loneliness, language and cultural differences, culture shock, distance from home, and inability to function in a white society (Faries, 1995:31). Regardless of degree of completion of solvent abuse programs, upon return to the community there is complete return to solvent abuse. The success rate of programs used so far is 0% (Attawapiskat Solvent Abuse Intervention Regional Committee Meeting, July 21, 1994).

The problems are exacerbated because, despite the widespread awareness that the problem exists, the various agencies and interested parties (including health care, education, religion, law enforcement, family and friends) are either involved in only part of the problem or, because of lack of a clearly identified course of action and a responsible agency, are incapable of any sustained assistance (Kells, 1995:6).

Participants in Emily Faries' survey in spring 1995 pointed

out that **coordination** in organizing groups dealing with solvent abuse is needed; at present, everyone is working on their own. There is little **communication** among those people trying to address the problem. Faries concludes that one unified group is needed with clear goals and objectives (Faries, 1995:35).

The Suggested Solution - A Community-Based Treatment Centre

A treatment centre for Attawapiskat was in the planning after the community had been chosen to receive the funds for a treatment centre within Nishnawbe Aski Territory. The Attawapiskat director for health and social services had become the project manager for coordinating the efforts of all care givers (education facility, hospital, prevention teams) and other agencies involved (peace keepers, police). I participated in two meetings with all the agencies involved on August 23 at Payukotayno Family Services in Moosonee, and on September 13, 1996 in the parish hall in Attawapiskat.

It was agreed that communication among and coordination of efforts of all agencies involved was necessary.

The format of the treatment centre would be a land based camp outside the community where the youths had the opportunity to build up their self-esteem by learning traditional survival skills taught by their elders.

As suggested by Emily Faries (1995), the staff would be recruited from the community, yet, as "caregivers need training

on counselling skills, physical, verbal, emotional, sexual abuse and its effects" (Faries, 1995:34), training programs would have to be identified and then be offered by Northern College in the community.

The Thesis Project - Identification of a Cultural Basis

Recognizing that so far the treatment received outside the community had failed, and considering the wishes of the community, the planning group decided on a community-based treatment centre. My contribution to the planning process was to research the cultural basis for the healing program in order to make it more effective than the programs that had failed the Attawapiskat youths so far. It was the hope of the planning group that by basing program and aftercare on and trying to gear all involved agencies towards Attawapiskat culture, that a healing process would begin in the entire community. For this goal a program was needed that is based on local culture. The basis for this program is the curriculum. A curriculum in education aims, by Jackson's (1968) definition, at "...the reproduction of the society". What needed to be identified first therefore was which society should be reproduced; or in regards to the curriculum created, which was the cultural basis for the curriculum. A curriculum is not politically neutral. The rephrasing of the question of "what knowledge is most worth into whose knowledge is most worth" (Apple 1990:vii) shows the political *brisan*ce the curriculum makers were faced with in this

project. Curricula, as set up in schools, are used for

"...legitimation. Social groups are given legitimacy...through which social and cultural ideologies are built, recreated and maintained".
(Apple & Weis 1983:516)

What would have to be recreated in a curriculum project for the Attawapiskat Healing Lodge was the cultural ideology of the local people in order to open the healing path for those who failed in their lives because they were seeking their identity within a different cultural context. Articulating the cultural basis for the treatment program, which at the same time has to follow and satisfy the requirements set by political and educational authorities, entails exploring and understanding the cultural context of the people who would benefit from the treatment centre. The administrative structure of the treatment centre and the training programs for staff should be based in the same cultural context, and a curriculum could be expanded and eventually be worked into a school curriculum for local schools in the region.

In order to begin this research and to find the basis for the survey questions I had to look into the proposals for the treatment centre and I had to do a literature search.

CHAPTER 1

Review of Literature

While preparing for the research work in the community I always had to have the actual problem in mind which I was about to look into - the solvent abuse by Attawapiskat youths. The framework for literature review and design of research had to be developed in reference to two facts:

- (1) This was an actual project leading to the establishment of a treatment centre. In this way I not only had to fulfil the requirements set by the university for acquiring the degree, but I also had to consider what the planners of the project and the community expected me to do.
- (2) There were two proposals for the establishment of the treatment centre. The proposals had been handed to the funding agencies already and the funds to be received were based on these proposals.

What I was expected to do was to work out a basis for a program for the treatment centre which referred to and discussed the contents of the proposals. In this way I made the two proposals the frame of my literature review by making the concepts and facts discussed in the proposals the reference points for the literature I reviewed.

The facts and concepts in the proposal that needed interpretation were:

- The idea of education as basis for healing.
- The problem of solvent abuse with some indication to causes, medical treatment, and psychological treatment.
- The success rate of 0% of the programs offered to the youths of the community so far. This was interpreted as cultural problem and led to the suggestion that local culture was an important component in the program to be developed.
- The idea to provide the clients with the skills to survive in both Native and western environments. This led to the central question of the basis for such a program.

The Treatment Program Outlined in the Proposals

Objectives:

Primary objective of the treatment program is

to free youth from substance abuse and establish skills for growing and developing.

As the program will be developed by and in a Native community, this objective will put to work by

reestablishing links with Native cultural and spiritual roots.

Reestablishment of links with Native cultural and spiritual roots will help the clients to build up self-esteem. Low self-esteem was not only identified as one of the major causes for youth to start sniffing (Farries, 1995), it is also a cause for learning disabilities and for lack of strength when the abuser wants to quit the abuse.

The relationship of the above objectives is that the first one, to free youth from substance abuse, is the primary goal, and the second one, to reestablish links with Native roots, is the primary means to reach that goal.

The other objectives, which developed out of the proposal for the treatment centre (Kells 1995: 19 - 51), refer to this relationship:

- to establish awareness of history and culture,
- to gain understanding of the environment the abuser is exposed to,
- to establish skills to meet daily stress situations,
- to develop a sense of community and ownership of treatment centre and program,
- to enable reintegration into family and community,
- to assist family members and community to develop a caring, nurturing and supportive environment,
- to give abusers the strength to stay away from substance abuse after they left the treatment centre,
- to familiarize youth with traditional life and survival skills,
- to enable youth to find an independent, drug-free life,
- to enable youth to produce their own food and other necessities of life,
- to provide academic education during the time of the treatment,
- to give the clients life skills that enable them to survive in 'both worlds'.

The program to be worked out will offer assessment and treatment services detailed as:

- outreach and pre-treatment
 - assessment and referral
 - primary treatment (in residence; training and education)
 - recovery (New Life Houses)
 - aftercare (New Life Houses and clients' homes, training and education)
- (Kells 1995:23)

Delivery Modes:

- Experimental activity (trial and error)
- Talking circles (as group therapy)
- Role modelling (staff, elders, buddies)

- Individual counselling
- Peer counselling and support (buddy system)
- Solitary introspection (will be supported by individual counselling)
- Mentoring
- Academic:
 - independent studies (library, reference material)
 - Lecture, films, videos
 (Kells 1995:45-47)

The primary treatment listed above includes a wilderness camp with elders where the clients live on the land for several weeks pursuing traditional activities (camping, hunting, fishing and trapping). The above described delivery modes will be applied in all parts of the treatment services (outreach, treatment, recovery and aftercare). As an example I want to refer to the so-called 'wilderness camp'. I have to note here that the term 'wilderness' might not be the most accurate term for describing the location. In Cree it is referred to as 'aski', which would be translated as 'the land'. However, the term 'wilderness' was used in the proposals, and to make a reference easier, I will use this term in this paper.

Referring to the above delivery modes, almost all of them are contained in the wilderness camp. The clients will do experimental activities. Talking circles are part of the local culture and the elders monitoring the camp will, naturally, talk to the clients. They will also be the role models for the clients, as they are the experts on the land. Some of the clients might have experience with living on the land already. These clients will also be role models for those who are new to these kinds of activities. Role modelling by clients (peers) is

thus part of the healing process as it builds self-esteem in those who grow into this role. Individual counselling is certainly part of the wilderness camp as well as solitary introspection by the clients, as the clients will have enough time on the land to reflect. Delivery modes like 'independent study' and 'lecture, films videos' will be confined to the facilities where these activities can be carried through, in the centre and in the community.

Healing and Education - Finding the Basis

In the second, revised proposal (Hannah 1996) the concepts of healing, education and training are repeatedly mentioned and a connection between healing and education was tried to be established. However, the terms were not discussed. It is therefore important to define the concepts of healing, education and training and their place in the program. One disagreement among the people involved in the project, as expressed in several meetings, was that of the importance of education and what comes first, education (which would make healing possible) or healing (which would make education possible), or if the program should be based on healing by education/training, or if that education follows after the healing process. It is self-evident that a healing lodge has the purpose of healing, yet, the basis for the healing process has to be defined.

It is the goal of the Jules Mattinas Healing Lodge, the

proposed treatment facility, to heal body, mind and spirit of the clients. The possibility to heal the body in the healing lodge will depend on the degree of physical damage done by abusing solvents. Naturally, the healing lodge has to depend on the expertise of local hospital staff for physical healing.

Symptoms and Medical Treatment

Physical damage done by inhaling organic solvents (like gasoline) extends to:

- KIDNEYS - some patients progressing to acute renal failure,
- LIVER - jaundice and hepatomegaly,
- HAEMATOLOGY - anemia, acute leukaemia and other changes,
- NEUROPSYCHIATRIC (BRAINS)
 - delirium, tremor, visual disturbances and psychotic behaviour, and cases of sudden death.

(Agbayewa 1981)

Apart from the toxicity of the solvents themselves, sniffers are at risk because of the presence of other ingredients in the solvents abused. This is particularly so in the case of aerosols and gasoline. Metal particles in these solvents can affect the functioning of the lungs (Barnes 1979:5).

In their article about gasoline sniffing and tetraethyl poisoning in children, Boecks, Postl and Coodin (1977) comment that lead poisoning caused by leaded gasoline must be treated separately as the symptoms of organic lead poisoning such as nervous irritability, anorexia, pallor, tremor, nausea, vomiting and acute delirium differ from the effects of inorganic lead ingestion such as abdominal colic and anemia (pp. 140-145).

Damage done by these solvents has to be identified because gasoline sniffing is the major form of solvent abuse in Attawapiskat among the youth. Symptoms of sniffing

appear rapidly due to fast absorption through the lungs, ...initially, fresh air or oxygen is sufficient to alleviate the overt signs of sniffing.
(Seidlitz 1987:30)

The first medical treatment will thus be oxygen treatment. Treatment of other physical damages includes a chemo-therapy with **ethylene diamine tetraacetic acid (EDTA)** that transports lead from bone to muscle tissue and ultimately removes lead from the body (Seidlitz 1987:31/32).

Physical damage is caused by the high presence of lead that gets into the blood. Brain damage is possible, however, as research shows, different people react differently to solvents so that in reported cases some patients who had been inhaling organic solvents for several years had developed cerebellar degeneration while one patient who had inhaled for ten years did not show any apparent clinical anomalies (Faillace & Guynn, 1976:188). In any case, physical damage has to be treated medically by the hospital before or during treatment in the healing lodge.

Although in the above cases healing does not necessarily come before education, it can be done at the same time. In other cases, where the brain and perception of reality is affected, a certain amount of healing necessarily has to come before education offered in a healing centre in order to bring the client to a state in which s/he can respond to education and

counselling at all.

Seidlitz (1987) states that

the most predominant feature of the intoxication in chronic cases is the hallucinatory experiences that are, presumably, what the sniffer is attempting to create. (Seidlitz 1987:30)

As described by Faillance and Gynn (1976), a patient who is hallucinating has to be treated with certain medication in order to bring him to a state of cooperation and to enable him to respond to psychological treatment (p. 188). Thus, it will depend on the individual case if education will have the desired healing effect, or if the client has to heal to a certain degree first until education can be started.

Education and the Role of the Healing Lodge.

After the medical treatment has been completed, others, as it is expressed by Seidlitz (1987), must assure that:

1. the actual use of the solvents is stopped,
 2. the reasons for the abuse are addressed and dealt with through psychological counselling and other methods, and
 3. the relevance of the social context is assessed, since the environment frequently initiates or perpetuates the abuse.
- (Seidlitz 1987:33)

This would be the task of the treatment centre. The first objective as described by Seidlitz can be met by either denying access to the solvents, by removing the solvents from children and youths, or by removing the children from the solvents, which is done by admitting them to the treatment centre. The second objective, addressing the reasons for the abuse, can "be dealt

with using education and counselling" (Seidlitz 1987:35).

However, education as it is offered in the healing lodge has to be defined in order to set it apart from what is usually referred to as 'formal' education. Education, as defined in this program, helps the person to find her/himself. It is a form of soul searching, a form of searching for one's place in life, rather than the accumulation of knowledge. The goal is strengthening self-esteem in the clients and for this it is important that the clients get to know themselves and acquire the ability to relate positively to the environment and people around them. It will also help the clients to understand the causes for their solvent abuse and to understand the chemical and physical changes in their bodies that come with the solvent abuse. Other forms of 'formal' education and training, like the suggested business skills, academic skills etc., though they are included in the curriculum, are not the priority in the healing process. These skills are indeed acquired well **after** the healing process has started already, **after** the clients are well on their way to find themselves. Acquired skills that cannot be related to one's own life will not help 'to stay out of trouble', which can be analyzed by the fact that almost all the expected clients for the healing lodge are abusing solvents **even though** they have acquired a certain amount of formal education. If the clients did not respond to *formal* education outside the treatment centre, they cannot be healed by it in the treatment centre.

That the problem does not necessarily lie in the lack of

education the clients received, but most probably in personal problems they experienced has been thoroughly researched in the 1960's already. Various methods used to stop sniffing, including probation, foster homes, and local training schools, proved unsuccessful, as shown in the case study of Ackerly and Gibson (1964). I want to particularly point out that in this case study training in a training school was included. This shows that training alone will not help if the real problem the client has is not identified. Barnes (1979) therefore concludes that

success in treatment of individual cases may depend on the resourcefulness of the therapist and the sniffer's home environment. (Barnes 1979:19)

I would add that the problem most probably will be found in the inability of the clients to deal with problems in their environment (or home environment) and that healing has to start with enabling the clients to deal with these problems. What has to be treated foremost is the poor self-image of the clients. Training can only contribute positively when the clients can respond to it **after** having been enabled to deal with their problems. The conclusion that this enabling can only be done in a safe environment,

counteracting peer influences that may be supporting the solvent abuse practices (Barnes 1979:19)

has led to the choice of the site of the healing lodge in the bush, away from the community.

Consistant with the above analysis, a treatment cannot be based on formal education but must be based on giving the clients the strength to find solutions to their personal problems.

Formal education offered in the treatment centre can therefore not be the means by which healing occurs, but is offered to healing clients to help them to continue their path and to enable them to catch on in the school program after they leave the healing lodge. Formal education is still a matter for schools. In summary, although the goal of the healing lodge is healing the whole person, this goal can only be reached in cooperation with the hospital, which manages the physical healing and the monitoring of necessary medication in the healing process. Healing, education and training are connected. Their place in the healing lodge is explained in the following definitions:

HEALING - to restore harmony in the client (physically and mentally) and between client and her/his social and physical environment. This will be reached in close cooperation with the hospital.

EDUCATION - to enable the client to find her/himself and to relate the 'ego' positively to the environment. A big part of this program is spirituality.

TRAINING - formal education offered in the healing lodge in order to help her/him to keep up-to-date for the time after graduation from the lodge. Training is an addition to the healing program but not the basis of it.

The basis for the healing program would thus be healing by a kind of client centred education which helps the clients to find

themselves. The way it will be done will be based on love and care rather than punishment, as

love, care, affection, support, and fun are some of the most powerful reinforcers that can be used in dealing with children. Punishment is known to be less effective in creating a behaviour change than is positive reinforcement (Seidlitz 1987:36).

This kind of education, based on love and affection, would also be close to the educational approach of most of the Native peoples in Canada. As almost all the clients will be Native, this philosophy is consistent with the Native cultural and spiritual roots that the clients are to be reintroduced into.

The Cultural Basis

One conflict in the proposals presented itself in the cultural approach that should be chosen for program and delivery modes, and in the confusion about how culture would be defined. Although the importance of cultural contents in the program was emphasized, the proposed cultural contents were never described as going beyond physical activities like hunting and gathering. Having in mind the failure of previous programs that were offered to Attawapiskat youths, and the analysis by Faries (1995) that the failure was due to the inability of the clients to come to terms with the 'other' cultural environment (p. 31), I saw the need to look into the concept of culture and how it was used in the proposals. When the youths' inability to come to terms with the other cultural environment was the cause for the failure, we

would have to define what the clients were lacking and what they were unable to adapt to, before we just add some contents we think derive from Native culture. We have to be clear about which concepts we have to base our analysis for the basis of a program on when we talk about a cultural basis or cultural contents.

A Definition of Culture

It is not enough to identify local culture on the basis of what is usually presumed to represent Native cultural activities, that of hunting and gathering, and then conclude that *going back* to a hunting and gathering society is not desirable because this would turn the *wheel of history* and cast the people back into the stone ages. Homi Bhabha's (1988) discussion of cultural difference which can be read and interpreted in the "meanings and values" (p. 206) already shifts the understanding of culture beyond mere physical activities. Hawthorne's definition of culture as the

...totality of behaviour, values, attitudes of a given group (Hawthorne 1967:102)

also shows that *culture* goes far beyond activities like hunting and gathering and cannot be confined to these activities.

Yet, hunting is still part of life in Attawapiskat. Much of the diet of people in the community is country food. The two goose hunts in spring and fall are still the major events of the year with almost all people involved. Even people with employment take time off for these hunts (Hookimaw 1992). The 'meanings and

values, behaviour and attitudes' mentioned in the above definition were certainly influenced by and are connected to the activities of hunting and gathering. One often mentioned value in Native culture is connected to the way goods circulate in the community and is based on "reciprocity and mutual sharing" (Ash 1988:16). The value of sharing, here referred to Dene culture, also appears in descriptions of other Native groups like the Micmacs whose society is described as one of mutual charity (Gonzales 1981). Gonzales refers to reports of French explorers who were impressed by the Micmacs' concern and generosity to each other (p. 15). Ash (1988) also says about the Mistassini Cree that:

Production and sharing of food, and economic interdependence among Cree themselves, remain central to Cree economic and social life. Although hunting and wage employment provide roughly equal contributions in dollar value to the total economic outputs at community level, hunting is the more valued activity, it is the more stable activity and it remains more closely and reticulately linked to the local social and cultural structures that are central to Cree life and that the communities clearly desire to maintain.
(Ash 1988:20)

The value of sharing among people of Native groups is usually referred to in the past tense, but the above quote indicates that these traits are still present. Dene elders of today also refer to the present when they say that the value of sharing derives from the concern of Dene society for the welfare of the whole group (N.W.T. Education 1993:xxiii). This example already shows that 'culture' has to do with the organizing of society. The Dene elders expand on that by also pointing out the way decisions

are made and conflicts are solved, which is based on consensus in the group. Decisions are also never seen as final because they will have to be changed when they turn out to be not workable. The way Dene society is organized aims at survival, not only of the individual but also of the group and the whole world (N.W.T. Education 1993:xxiii). The concern about the survival of the world, the ecological system, is an indication to the Natives' relations to the environment and to spirituality. In Native culture

spirituality is a part of life. It is not separated from everyday life and is not confined to daily or weekly church visits. The elders in the communities are respected as sources of wisdom. Grandparents play a major part in the education of their grand children (Witt 1994:33).

This spirituality is connected to the responsibility the people have to the land and life in general, which is summarized in the four relations the Dene Kede curriculum centres around - the land, the spiritual world, other people and oneself (N.W.T. Education 1993:xxv). Spirituality born out of the concern of survival and the welfare of the whole group, which materializes in the value of sharing, would also not leave too much space for economic differences among the people because each individual is needed for the survival of the whole. This is also true for gender relations in that society. Stasilius and Jhappan (1995) see Native societies as

egalitarian societies where women exercised considerable autonomy and power in sexual, political and economic matters (Stasilius and Jhappan 1995:102).

This would be interpreted as an absence of gender discrimination

in Native society. As Turpel (1991) points out, the dominant society "introduced the norm of discrimination on the basis of sex" (p. 181) as a means to assimilate Native people. Although the concept of the egalitarian society is again presented in past tense, Voyageur (1996) points out that the traditional role women play in Native communities has not entirely disappeared:

Despite all changes endured by indigenous peoples, many aspects of the traditional woman's role have remained constant. Indian women are still responsible for maintaining culture, stabilizing the community, and caring for future generations. They still play an influential...role (Voyageur 1996:94).

All the above discussed concepts might have originated in what is called a hunters and gatherers culture, but they cannot be confined to only that activity. Ash (1988) states that hunting is not the only activity culture of the Natives can be identified with, and that, when people stop hunting, they did not necessarily lose their culture:

Clearly, hunting itself is essential mainly in that it provides the best opportunity for traditional value to be practised within contemporary settings. However, other settings can be used and I am certain that production of any sort can be used in the same way. The difficulty is that often they are not. Yet, this is not to say that when hunting is lost, so are traditional institutions and values. (Ash 1988:21)

That means that *cultural behaviour* can be transmitted to any activity or technology no matter what age we live in. Culture is *how* people organize their lives. What is important for the creation of a culturally based curriculum is the part of culture that deals with *how* the people relate to each other and their environment, *how* children are educated and *how* they learn, what

place *punishment* has in educating children, *how discipline* is implemented in the relations between young and old, *how men and women* relate to each other and their roles, and *how people* see the world secularly and spiritually. It should become clear in this description that culture is not a question of the age we live in or if we are hunters and gatherers, but a question of *how* our lives are organized.

Why a Cultural Basis is Necessary

Howard Gardner (1991) defines

humans as creatures of the brain, but not solely so. Unlike all other organisms, we participate in a rich culture, one that has had its own evolution over many thousands...of years. Indeed, we have no choice; we are as much creatures of our culture as we are creatures of our brains (Gardner 1991:38).

He therefore thinks that culture is central to any consideration of human development (Gardner 1991:39), which would, of course, also include the design of a treatment program that gears to healing and human development of the clients. Gardner refers to Geertz (1973) who indicates how important culture is for human development:

A cultural human being would probably turn out to be not an intrinsically talented though unfulfilled ape, but a wholly mindless and consequently unworkable monstrosity. (Geertz 1974:68)

He also points to the centrality of culture in human development when he states that

rather than culture acting only to supplement, develop, and extend organically based capacities logically and genetically prior to it, it would seem to be ingredient to those capacities themselves (Geertz 1974:76).

This suggests that education without cultural context is impossible and that therefore a cultural basis is needed in the design of any program that includes education and human development. Faries' (1995) indication of the failure of programs based in other cultures points towards the fact that although Native children are also educated in western educational institutions, there are still cultural differences. Looking at Native people today, cultural differences may not be so easily identified as, on first sight, it seems that Native Americans have adopted the way of life of Euroamericans, which, according to Vogt (1972) is visible in the appropriation of technique, clothing, shelter (material culture) and the adoption of Euroamerican socio-cultural systems, including religion, economy and the education system (Vogt 1972:2-13).

However, despite these adaptations, cultural differences still exist, detectable in personality structures. A.I. Hallowell (1976) in Culture and Experience was studying Ojibway bands with different degrees of acculturation and he concludes that no matter how acculturated, the Ojibways all share the same personality structure and hold the same values:

There is a persistent core of generic traits which can be identified as Ojibwa. Thus even highly acculturated Indians at Flambeau are still Ojibwa in a psychological sense whatever their clothes, their houses, or their occupations, whether they speak English or not, and regardless of race mixture. While culturally speaking they appear like whites in many respects, there is no evidence at all of a fundamental, psychological transformation. (Hallowell 1976:351)

With regard to the cultural basis for the treatment program in

Attawapiskat, one point is of utmost importance:

Hallowell concluded that the most acculturated groups, those whose reserves are near white settlements, had most of the emotional/spiritual problems, because their way of life did not correspond to the value system they were still holding up.

(Hallowell 1976:351-366).

Spindler and Spindler (1974) come to the same conclusion in their research of the Menominee, saying that those among the Menominee who *have made it*, those who became successfully *white*, show more signs of stress and tension than the traditional Menominee (Spindler & Spindler 1974:189). A similar conclusion is that an assimilative approach to Native people can lead to loss of personal integrity (Hendrey 1969:31-37). This problem of loss of personal integrity is also commented on by the Ojibway artist Blake Debassige in an interview he gave in Germany in February 1996. Referring to the assimilatory policies of the Canadian Government, Debassige comments:

From the 1920's all the way through to the 1960's we were made to feel less human, because of who we were, whether we were considered pagans, ignorant or uneducated. Our grandparents and parents went through the residential school system, in which they were punished for who they were, when they spoke their language or did their ceremonies. (Glaap 1996:11)

All the above comments suggest that many problems in Native communities may derive from the confusion between western way of life and Native values, and the forced assimilation into western way of life. This would attest to the importance of grounding a healing program in local, cultural values in order to establish

self-esteem. The conclusion I drew with regard to education that we have to try to understand the difference in the personality structure and form the education system around it (Witt 1994:65)

can also be applied to a healing program for people in Native communities.

As identified by the Attawapiskat Solvent Abuse Committee (July 21, 1994), the success rate of treatment programs to which the Attawapiskat youths were sent had been 0%. Aside from the problems in the community which led to the increasing number of solvent abuse by the local youth, there is a need to understand why the programs failed in order to create a treatment program that works for the local youth and their relatives in the wider Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) area, the region that covers most of northern Ontario. From the analysis provided so far, it appears that clients cannot be healed without the healing of their wider environment (family, community). The failure of existing treatment programs to address this wider context may account for their negative success rate. This interpretation is consistent with Emily Faries' findings that the high drop-out rate from treatment programs can be attributed to "culture shock and the inability to function in a white society" (Faries, 1995:31) as discussed in the previous chapter.

Perhaps, one solution to this problem could be found in Gregory Kells' (1995) suggestion of a bi-cultural process. He has proposed a process of bi-cultural education which would involve giving the clients the skills that enable them to survive

in *both worlds*. This notion is consistent with the goals of the Assembly of First Nations to reinforce Indian identity and to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society (National Indian Brotherhood 1972:3).

Hanson (1985) in Dual Realities - Dual Strategies comes to the same conclusion when he writes:

Ideally, the educational process must provide the student to remain a functional member of his/her own group, yet satisfactorily fit into the dominant society if he/she so wishes.
(Hanson 1985:74)

However, this suggestion does require further thought regarding how to teach and heal biculturally and to understand the implications of this education/healing model with respect to delivery modes.

As a multicultural nation, Canada is faced with the same issues that require solutions for an education that caters to the needs of students coming from a different cultures.

Understandably,

the majority of the work in the field is most extensively focussed on educational assessment, curriculum content, and teaching strategies that are related to cultural values, language and cognition. (Darder, 1991:71).

The recommendations made in the proposal for the Attawapiskat Healing Lodge (Kells 1995) was, in the field of curriculum content, to *include* some Native contents and teaching strategies (like the wilderness camp) into the curriculum in order to reflect the cultural values discussed above. However, the way the services offered are delivered and the structure of the institution in which the services are offered would still reflect

the cultural context of a non-Native society and as such may not be accepted by the clients. This will make the goal of *reintegration of the healed client into family and community* (see goals above) difficult because the structure of the community is based in a different cultural context, and the goal of *developing a sense of community and ownership of treatment centre and program* could only be reached if the community as a whole would transform its social and cultural structures into a *western way*. This is not the intention of the treatment program; rather, the intention is to reestablish a connection to the community's local culture. The approach of just adding Native context to an altogether non-Native curriculum could also fail because it

does not necessarily guarantee that students (or clients) will participate in a process of social empowerment, nor that they develop their bicultural voice or become critically discursive with respect to their economic and sociopolitical reality. (Darder, 1991:73)

Although, as Darder (1991) continues her analysis of this, *western centred approach of bicultural education, the student/client*

may develop a stronger sense of cultural identity (p.74), the development of critical skills and questions of human agency, voice and empowerment are ignored (Darder, 1993:74) and this fact might just work contrary to the goal of giving the clients the life skills (empowerment) that enable them to survive in *both worlds*.

Hanson (1985) differentiates between assimilated Native

people who live in the modern, industrial-oriented reality, and Native people who live in subsistence-oriented reality. The isolation of Attawapiskat and the importance of hunting in this community would be consistent with this latter group. The curriculum for a group oriented to subsistence has to be based on this reality in order to be successful. As Hanson points out,

For many Indian/Native people within this reality, the current educational process is a continuation of the earlier indoctrination process of civilization, christianization and colonization (Hanson 1985:74).

Commenting on the results of an approach where western culture is made the basis of the curriculum, Hanson (1985) states:

As their "way of life" has been considered irrelevant within modern industrial times, a sense of detachment serves as a defense from all outsiders (Hanson 1985:74).

This would mean that education in this form was not accepted by the people it is directed to. Hanson therefore points out in regards to the basis of the curriculum:

For the more traditional, the method, process and curriculum must reflect the historical process of development undertaken by their hunting-gathering ancestors. . . . The educational process must provide an opportunity for the student from this subsistence oriented reality to make comparisons between the two legitimate but contrasting life-styles, and choose those elements within each which he/she believes is essential for success. If this cannot be accomplished, the Indian/Native people within this reality will continue to reject the dominant society, its values, its methods and its goals (Hanson 1985:74).

Considering the research of Hallowell (1976:351), which was discussed above, this would be valid not only for the more traditional group, as Hanson states, but for all people of a given group or tribe as they as a group all share a personality

structure that is different from other peoples' personality structure. Leaving aside the problematic of Hallowell's conclusions that obscures differences among Native people, the Attawapiskat people could nevertheless be placed in the more traditional group Hanson referred to.

Hendrey (1969) also points out the importance of a cultural basis when he concludes that survival in both worlds, as mentioned above, may depend on the revival and revitalization of the traditional Native values and their application to the contemporary context (Hendrey 1969:31-37). This means that cultural values can be applied to contemporary context, that Native culture is not outdated, but that any Native program has to be based on local culture when it is to be successful.

This is also stated by Emerson (1987) who concludes that those Native groups who maintain a connection to cultural values and heritage stand a better chance of developing a strong and positive self-concept and increasing their degree of self-determination, control and potential development (Emerson 1987:46-51). Emerson also suggests that if Native children are educated in their own culture and language, they learn the white culture from a Native point of view and thus are enabled to understand it better and to handle it (Emerson 1987:55-57).

In a similar view Gayle High Pine (1973) emphasises that culture and the old ways (life ways) are for Native people the means for their survival, their resistance to assimilation, and their way to understanding the *white world*. By understanding it,

they can participate in this world. Native people can only understand the alien, non-Native culture when they can look at it from their own (High Pine 1973:38/39).

There, Native culture is the reference point for understanding the *other world around*, or, as it was continually stated by the Attawapiskat Social Director, what is going on in the world.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), follows the same argument of Native culture being the reference point for Native youths. The commissioners conclude that an education of Native children

must develop children and youth as Aboriginal citizens, linguistically and culturally competent to assume the responsibilities of their nations... Youth that emerge from school must be grounded in a strong positive Aboriginal identity (Canada 1996: 5. Education)

And the recommendation to establish

a curriculum that instills a proud Aboriginal identity and competence as an Aboriginal person (Canada 1996: Education, 3.5. the child in the formal education system),

points out how important culture and identity for human development. Both conclusions of the commissioners seem to support the necessity to base the curriculum for the Attawapiskat healing lodge on local culture.

In considering the causes that led to the abusive behaviour of the youth, it is also important to understand and acknowledge the role of cultural violence. Barnes' (1979) causal model includes:

1. Low social assets
2. Acculturative stress

3. Parental drug use
4. Peer and sibling influence (Barnes 1979:16)

Significant in articulating the cultural basis of the healing program is the second point of 'acculturative stress'. Barnes defines it as

transition pressure because of minority group or adolescent status (Barnes 1979:17).

In dealing with Native youths we have to acknowledge that both factions, minority status **and** adolescent status are in effect. Another, entirely Native problem is the contradiction inherent in being a minority group within one's own country. Native peoples did not immigrate to a different cultural context with the suspicion that they might have to change their ways in order to fit into the society of a foreign country. They did not go to a *foreign* country; the country became foreign to them by the people who came into it, and they had to deal with the forced assimilation into the new, alien society that was forming in their own country. Whereas other minority groups are tolerated and accepted as *modern* people despite their cultural difference, this difference, although it is clearly there, is still widely denied to Native people. They are still told that their culture is something that belongs in the past and that the difference between them and mainstream culture is that Native people are hunters and gatherers living in the stone ages, and mainstream society is *modern*: the logical development out of the ancient hunters and gatherers society. The detrimental results of this kind of opinion has been mentioned in the discussion above.

The fact that nowadays Native people themselves are working out education plans they base on 'western' values does not make education of Native people more successful. The results will still be the same. The tendency to devalue Native culture by grounding the education within a framework that privileges western values will weaken self-esteem instead of strengthening it. This violence done to Native people is now merely continued by Native people themselves who were raised to fit into 'western' society. Blake Debassige comments on this vicious circle, pointing out that the problems in Native communities are inherent in this kind of education of Native people by assimilated Natives:

What's happening, although they [Natives who had undergone 'western' education] don't really realize it, is that they're applying what they learned from the priests to Native people, and sometimes that's a real serious problem. They are doing to Native people what was done to them without them really realizing, thinking that's how it's done. You see a lot of social problems happening because of that (Glaap 1996:11).

Debassige clearly states that many social problems in the communities derive from choosing an 'alien' basis and 'alien' values for actions and decisions in Native communities. Native people, basing their actions on what they have learned from 'western' educators, will prevent the building of self-esteem, even in themselves, because they focus on what they have to become rather than on what they are. The primary instrument for healing is, however, the building of self-esteem in the client, and self-esteem can only be built on the basis of what or who a

person is. The decision of who or what a person wants to become, which is supported by education, has to be left to the individual him/herself and only works, when the individual has a strong awareness of his/her own self.

Developing self-esteem in the potential clients of the healing lodge will involve having the people develop pride in who they are. This involves developing pride in their own culture, accepting it as a culture existing in the present. Basing a treatment program on a different culture by saying that Native culture and spirituality is not enough (Kells 1995), and merely adding some Native components to the contents of an altogether non-Native curriculum will add more acculturative stress on the clients. To the extent that acculturative stress is defined as one of the causes for solvent abuse, it would undermine the goal of the healing program.

Kells' response to the task of providing a curriculum to survive in both worlds could be analyzed on the basis of JanMohamed's (1985) suggestion that

if faced with an incomprehensible and multifaceted alterity, the European theoretically has the option of responding to the Other in terms of identity and difference. If he assumes that he and the Other are essentially identical, then he would tend to ignore the significant divergences and to judge the Other according to his own cultural values (JanMohamed 1985:18)

This is done in the proposal by basing the program altogether on western structures. The Other is seen as identical in the assessment of the needs of the clients for this altogether western treatment program. But Kells also responds in terms of

difference with the inclusion of Native cultural contents in the program. However, he again responds in a way that JanMohamed describes:

If, on the other hand, he assumes that the Other is irremediably different, then he would have little incentive to adopt the viewpoint of that alterity: He would again tend to turn to the security of his own cultural perspective (JanMohamed 1985:18).

Kells returns to the security of his own cultural perspective when he declares Native culture alone being not enough for survival. There seems to be a lack of trust in the ability of the other culture to solve its own societal problems.

By definition, Kells' remark would also be ethnocentric, as it makes believe that Native culture alone is not enough for survival and by that saying that

one's own way of life (the western one) is to be preferred to all others (Herskovitz 1973:66).

This ethnocentrism alone could not be seen as negative because as Herskovitz continues,

...these thoughts characterize the way most individuals feel about their own culture, whether or not they verbalize their feelings (Herskovitz 1973:66).

Agnes Heller (1984) supports this thought when she says that

what is now called 'ethnocentrism' is the natural attitude of all cultures toward alien ones (Heller 1984:271),

and in this way is even a means to enhance self-esteem in the people of a given cultural group. However,

it is when, as in Euroamerican culture, ethnocentrism is rationalized and made the basis of action, detrimental to the well-being of other peoples that ethnocentrism gives rise to serious problems (Herskovitz 1973:66).

Herskovitz's statement is relevant to the proposed treatment

program in that the statement that Native culture is not enough would necessarily lead to the conclusion that the treatment program has to be based on western culture. This would lead to DeChiara's (1996) analysis that

westernization (is) desired to extend over the entire planet (DeChiara 1996:231),

which would make the European or Euroamerican, who is in this case the consultant, the programmer and the researcher in Attawapiskat,

the unquestioned source of power, the cosmopolitan, compared to the 'savage', the 'native' who neither travels nor explores but remains firmly in one place, almost as if wanting to be 'discovered' and dissected according to the cultural standards of a Western elsewhere (DeChiara 1996:231).

Although Kells seems to articulate a 'Dual Strategy' approach in education, as it was suggested by Hanson (1985) and by the National Indian Brotherhood (1972), the way he seems to understand this approach would have a negative effect on the program. The detrimental effect in this case would be that this approach works against the building of belonging and self-esteem in the clients who will be taught, indirectly but nonetheless so, that their own culture is obsolete and that therefore they have to borrow from a different, superior culture in order to survive in this world. This is not the intention of the curriculum project. The intention is rather to support self-esteem based on the people's identity. Native people have been victimized by assimilationis attempts which tried to deny them their own identity. The recommendation of the Royal Commission on

Aboriginal People that Native education has to take a course that ensures that

Aboriginal youth are solidly grounded in their Aboriginal identity (Canada 1996: Education 4. Youth)

points towards the

need in nations or groups which have been victims of imperialism, to achieve an identity uncontaminated by universalist or Eurocentric concepts or images (Durig 1987:125).

Indeed, the forced assimilation attempt on Native people is part of the problems prevailing in Native communities today. The aggressive introduction of western culture into Native communities and the denial of the existence of a valid, *modern* Native culture has contributed to the causes of solvent abuse in the communities. A correction of this problem now cannot be reached by introducing yet another western solution. The fact that guidelines to be followed for treatment and education were developed within the western cultural context does not exclude the creation of a new cultural basis for the treatment program and even the program structure.

The necessity of a cultural basis for the treatment program refers to the acknowledgement of cultural difference rather than cultural diversity. As Bhabha (1988) states:

The revision of the history of critical theory rests on the notion of cultural difference, not cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is an epistemological object - culture as an object of empirical knowledge - whereas cultural difference is the process of the emunciation of culture as 'knowledgable', authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification (Bhabha 1988:206)

The indication to the ability, authority and adequacy of the

other culture to the construction of systems of identification is the important realization in regard to the basis for the treatment program in Attawapiskat. There would be no need for referring to western culture in the design of a program. The design of the program has to be left in the hands of local people, the 'native intellectuals' as they are referred to by Fanon (1967). I want to point out that I place the elders in the community in that group. Fanon's (1967) reference to "the zone of occult instability where the people dwell" (p. 168) and where the battle has to be fought is interpreted by Bhabha (1988) as "culture-as-political-struggle" (p.207), a concept that helps explain the nature of colonial struggle. This struggle of Native people against the results of colonialism is important for the healing process because, as mentioned above, colonization, assimilation and acculturative stress are a contributing factor to the social problems in Native communities today. The search of the Native youths for identity should be supported by basing the programs on local culture. We as western people will have

to be able to listen to that other constituency
(people from the other culture) [and]...learn to
speak in such a way that one will be taken seriously
by that other constituency (Spivac 1990:42),

when we want to be able to help in the design of the desired treatment program. In other words, we have to listen to the people we help in the design of the program and then interpret the existing guidelines and requirements for a treatment program into the new cultural context. Only then will the program be community based and successful.

How to Include Academic Content

Having tried to follow these suggestions as to listen to the people in the community, the first outlines of what and how to research aimed towards the locals' view to the world and a program that would be based on that. When I handed this to the health director I was immediately faced with his question "where are the 'academics'", meaning academic contents. This question bases in the assumption that so-called academic knowledge is not contained in Native knowledge. Even if that was so, an inclusion of academic knowledge in a program could still be possible by

providing the grounds for forms of self-representation and collective knowledge in which the subject and object of European culture are problematized, though in ways radically different from those taken up by western radicals and conservatives. (Giroux 1992:27)

What this means for the curriculum in the Jules Mattinas Healing Lodge is that western contents can be included, but have to be seen and evaluated through the eyes of Native culture rather than including and evaluating Native contents through the eyes of western culture. The same is true for the structure of the whole program of the healing lodge. Necessary guidelines for treatment centres in general will have to be integrated and interpreted **after** the basis for the program is found.

The basis to be found for developing curriculum and program for a Native, community-based treatment centre and for the bi-cultural education that will enable people to survive in *both worlds* will thus be the local (or regional, Native) culture with the integration of non-Native context into it, rather than the

other way around of integrating Native context into the non-Native culture. A parallel teaching of both cultural contexts, as suggested by Kells (1995), particularly the suggestion that Native culture is not enough, lacks a basis. The other culture can only be understood in reference to a cultural basis that is already understood, and that is one's own culture.

The kind of curriculum developed on this basis will look different than the usual western curriculum and similarities of teaching contents might not be recognized so easily, as different terms and methods are used to teach these contents. That is why stubborn westerners might still ask for academic content. This question can be answered by the following quote on the academic value of rabbit snaring, one example of traditional activity clients in Attawapiskat will do on the land:

The school can use the snaring experience as a departure point for many areas of learning:

Mathematics: measurement, averaging catch, counting, measuring time and distance, estimating wire needed....

Language: discussion of the experience and skills, journal writing, reading about rabbits and hunting experiences, creative stories, research papers on rabbits.

Science: study of vegetation, soil, topography, study of animal habitat, study of anatomy, reproduction, predators and food chains, seasonal changes of animals and habitat.
(Kirkness 1992:9)

I would add that all this is not only done at school but is, of course, also included in the teaching of the elders who, naturally, have to know the animal and its habitat when they want to snare it. The knowledge on snaring techniques transmitted to the clients by the elders they go on the land with will

necessarily contain all these *academic* contents. Making them academic in the western sense, by writing them down and giving a written analysis, will depend on the imagination and creativity of the teachers and policy makers involved. Factually, however, the academics are there already. This fact can be made understood by the following, clarifying explanation of how traditional teaching transmits the so-called academic contents:

As I see it, if a child can learn from the land FIRST - learning from the land, the animals, the birds, the fish, the trees, the wind, the stars, the sun, the rocks, the grass, the frogs, the snakes, the berries, the insects and all the plants, and if the child can understand and accept what these creations have to offer, the child will develop skills that are also required by the white man's education system. (Harper & Singleterry 1989:14)

The very last part of this statement that the skills are also required by the white man's education system should be a clear indicator that the learning contents are really not that different. The contents themselves are not different. What is different is the way how these contents are interpreted and transmitted.

The above examples refer to what is called 'the ecological knowledge' of Native people. Naturally, the people living and depending on the land have to know the land and how the ecological system works. They have to know the natural cycles and the interdependency of all the parts in this cycle, and they understand it in a holistic way, always referring to how the whole system works rather than just looking into parts of it. It is therefore suggested that, rather than the other way around of emphasising the importance of western academic contents, western

scientists should learn from the approach of the Natives because

linear approaches to analysis cannot be applied to cyclical systems, and, as everyone now realizes, ecosystems are in fact complex cycles. . . . Nowhere does the Cartesian model of modern science fail so completely and utterly as in trying to explain the workings of natural ecosystems (Freeman 1992:10).

Brody (1976) analyses the problem of understanding the ecosystem in a similar way when he says that western scientists are ill-equipped to understand detailed environmental information because the frameworks for viewing ecology are too narrow (Brody 1976:216). Cruikshank (1981) therefore suggests that

despite the difficulties involved, it is worth pursuing a comparison of such diverse frameworks (in Native environmental knowledge) with a view to learning something about the perspectives rather than simply accumulating isolated pieces of information (Cruikshank 1981:74)

And Freeman (1992) suggests that traditional ecologic Knowledge should be taken seriously and that

scientists and philosophers working at the frontiers of knowledge increasingly find the world view of many ancient cultures have a great deal to offer (Freeman 1992:11).

He concludes that we would benefit from including this traditional knowledge in our assessment of environmental damage and how we can reverse it.

These assessments of traditional ecological knowledge show that at least in terms of explaining the natural environment, a western approach of teaching natural sciences would have less to offer than the holistic understanding Native people themselves have of their environment. It is rather suggested that western scientists try to include the Natives' understanding of the environment in their assessment of the ecosystem. In reference

to the question where the academic contents are I want to conclude that not only are academic contents present in the Natives' understanding of the world, the holistic understanding of the ecosystem proves to be more effective in assessing the system and in trying to find ways of reversing the damage that was already done to it. For people who still do not understand, the Natives' understanding of the world can be explained to us westerners in terms of academic subjects in school like biology, meteorology etc. Other subjects which seem not present in Native life, subjects like mathematics or some technological subjects, can easily be integrated into a culturally based program in the way Kirkness (1992:9) explained it above.

Altogether, it is not necessary to teach parallel, but rather to explain natural phenomena and survival skills on the basis of one's own culture and then compare to the explanations of another culture, which in this context would be the greater Canadian culture. Thus the child will be prepared to survive in *both worlds*. For the healing context in the Jules Mattinas Healing Lodge this approach will be particularly important because for the building of self-esteem, which is the basis for healing, the clients have to be shown the way to themselves. In other words they have to find out who they are in order to make sense of their place in the environment and the reality around them.

The Role of the Elders

One institution which is always quoted in connection with Native cultures is the wisdom of the elders. What is then immediately important from the view of any aboriginal culture is a definition of the role of elders in the treatment program. Elders will play the major role throughout the treatment program. Based on the discussion before about the cultural basis, it can be concluded that although it is agreed on that the treatment centre needs qualified staff (counsellors), the relationship between staff and elders is not that the elders assist the staff but rather that the staff assist the elders, using their formal qualifications and expertise to interpret the elders' wisdom, integrating their, the experts' western knowledge into the elders' knowledge. At this point it is important to give a definition of what an elder is:

The elders are those who possess...knowledge. They are the primary source of all knowledge which has been accumulated, generation after generation. Because of their life experience, they have the wisdom to advice new generations as to how to deal with life and its problems. (N.W.T. Education 1993:175)

This definition is from a Dene curriculum, yet it is valid for all the aboriginal cultures in Canada and can therefore also be used for the Cree in Attawapiskat or Ojibways, Cree and Oji-Cree throughout NAN territory. There ought to be no doubt that the elders with their experience are the carriers of culture. The important sentence that interprets the philosophy of the treatment program, which is to be community-based, is the last sentence: that elders advise new generations as to how to deal

with life and its problems. Being the link to the past, only the elders know an original Cree/Ojibway solution to the problems.

The statement in the proposal for the treatment centre that

an understanding and appreciation of Native culture, spirituality, life-skills etc. alone is not, however, enough (Kells 1995:21)

has to be modified because it leads to the wrong conclusion that the understanding and appreciation of other cultures and the interrelationships among them is not part of the elders' knowledge or the culture of any Native nation.

The Israeli psychologist Feuerstein, when faced with the task to reintegrate the lost generation of children who suffered from loss of identity by what was done to their parents by the Nazi regime, based his therapy on the reintroduction of Jewish culture to the children, stating that every culture provides all means for survival. Although the elders are the link to traditions, they also live in our times, and their dealing with the problems that came through intercultural relationships reflects the way the people (Cree or Ojibway) understand and appreciate other cultures and the 'modern' world. A "capacity for adaptability ...to integrate into [these] various cultures" (Kells 1995:21) can only be developed on the basis of the clients' cultures. For the sake of the clients' self-esteem it is important that they start to see and evaluate the world through Cree/Ojibway eyes. This can only be done based on the wisdom and skills of the elders; and Native spirituality, culture, life-skills etc. certainly include an understanding of

other cultures. The understanding of the non-Native world(s) therefore does not run parallel to the teachings of the elders, it is already included in it. In the words of the Attawapiskat elder John Mattinas (Attawapiskat, Dec.4, 1995) this parallel teaching does not work out because

people try too hard to be white and Indian at the same time. This is not possible. (John Mattinas 1995)

What is possible, however, is to learn about other cultures, even how to live within a different cultural context **in reference to** one's own cultural basis. In other words, I can only pretend to be somebody else when I know myself. This does not preclude using western experts; however, the priority is the integration of this knowledge into the Cree/Ojibway way of life, rather than the other way around -- an alteration of the Cree/Ojibway way of life for a *superior, modern* knowledge.

Following up on the previous paragraph about the importance of the cultural basis and the conclusions at the end of the paragraph of the contents transmitted in a locally based curriculum, it is important to mention that the elders will transmit *their* knowledge during their teachings on the land. As they are the carriers of their culture, not us, the non-Native education experts, the suggestion that the elders have to be trained and have to stick to the curriculum we have worked out is inappropriate. This will be tough for government *guideliners* who might fear chaos in the set-up of a Native healing program, yet, there are ways to interpret original teaching methods and contents of the elders in a way that any academic education

guidelines are satisfied. A diary written by the clients will show the formal educator what was learned on the land and anything that needs some more explanation or needs to be added from the point of view of formal education can be added in the formal setting of lectures in the treatment centre. The elders should, however, not be totalized into a system which is foreign to their culture. This would, indeed, work against the goal of the program to strengthen the cultural ties of the client. We have to get used to the thought that the elders of any given culture are more the experts in transmitting that particular culture than any education experts who have their roots and their point of reference in a different culture. Our role in this project will primarily be to provide the point of reference in the comparison to a different culture, in this context the greater Canadian culture, and not to dictate and fixate the contents of the elders' teachings. The proposed curriculum for the Healing Lodge will thus be an attempt to summarize the elders' teachings and to fit them into a format that satisfies the educational guidelines of *the system*, which here means the educational guidelines of the province.

An important question the programmers of the healing lodge will have to ask themselves will be which elders to recruit for the program considering the different communities the clients will come from.

The 'Wilderness Camp'

In the proposal by Steven Hannah (1996) Attawapiskat is identified as a wilderness centre due to its isolated location. (p.11). The treatment centre will be located 5km up-river from Attawapiskat (on the Monument Channel), thus enhancing the land-base aspect of the centre. Hannah identifies the establishment of

...an awareness of the abuser of his/her history, culture, spiritual background and the values associated with such an association, and to achieve pride in being Native Indian
(Hannah 1996:12)

as one of the objectives, pointing out that the spending of some time in the wilderness, away from the centre, with an elder will further enhance the cultural aspects of the program for the recovering abuser. On page 22, Hannah (1996) concludes that

the entire program of activities is developed around culture and spirituality, (Hannah 1996:22)

continuing that this is evidenced by the structuring of activities around spiritual meetings and ceremonies, and elder-led activities.

The prominent place of the wilderness camp in the program is emphasised by the facts that (a.) Attawapiskat is an isolated community (accessible year round only by air), that (b.) the treatment centre will be built even outside the community, further in the bush, and that (c.) part of the program, the wilderness camp with an elder, will connect to traditional life in the bush. This indicates the importance of the 'wilderness' aspect in the treatment program. The timeframe for the

wilderness camp is not directly mentioned, but the fact that the experience should strengthen the recovering solvent abuser indicates that it is not planned (at least for the moment) for the very start of the program. This will have to be discussed further.

Although the statement that the entire program is developed around culture and spirituality indicates what the period of time spent away from the healing lodge with an elder in the bush should ultimately lead to, the value of the wilderness camp for the healing program needs some further explanation, which will follow below.

The wilderness camp is a major component of the treatment program, in fact, it could easily be used as the delivery mode for the services offered.

The role land (the bush) plays in the social life of Native people and its positive effects are described in the following quote:

The effects of colonial pressure, of the frontier, and of the very presence of the white man are escaped in the bush. All of the indicators - poor health, accidents and injuries, violence, and, of course, drunkenness - very rarely occur in the bush. That is why many...hunters or trappers like to take their families to the bush when there are disruptive intrusions in the everyday life of the Reserve. That is why environmental effects feed directly and frighteningly into all adverse social disruptions in Indian life. That is why a resident of a northern British Columbia reserve said at a public hearing in 1979: 'The answer to the alcohol problem is to be found in the bush.'

(Brody 1988:253)

This would support the suggestion to base the treatment program

on *local culture*. The original cultural behaviour is most visible in the bush. This underlines the importance of the so-called wilderness camp for the re-connection to the clients' culture. The terminology culture when connected to Native people usually triggers an imagination of hunting, trapping etc. However, culture is not confined to that alone. As I mentioned, cultural behaviour is most visible in the bush, yet, it is not confined to that location. Culture has to do with how things are done, not merely with what activities are done. I want to remind the reader, that non-Native people hunt as well, some are even trappers, yet, this would not make them Native. However, all the behaviours during the hunt, the interaction between people and environment, the involvement of the whole family (or interaction between different generations), make the event a cultural experience and bring forth the difference among cultural groups. Brody (1988) explains the changes in Native people while in the bush:

When they set out in the bush, to hunt and trap, they do not drink, are not violent. They are, instead, supportive of one another, attentive, and more cautious. Tense people relax: the uncertain and shy become more confident (Brody 1988:253).

Culture has to do with values, and one of the values usually connected to Native cultures is *caring*. Brody's statement that people become supportive of each other emphasises caring. The fact that tense people relax and that the uncertain and shy become more confident shows that tension, shyness and violence are not cultural traits but an expression that the person does

not feel good in an alien cultural environment which prevails outside the bush.

Yet, that is how many non-Native people see Natives, because the *Indian* is judged by his life on the reserve or by contact of Natives and non-Natives in the cities. This leads to the common conclusion that Natives have to *catch-up* to western life, that solutions to their problems have to come from outside. This conclusion makes the outsider believe

that the Indians have lost their self-reliance and self-respect and...that all traditional strengths and skills are things of the past. (Brody 1988:252)

As shown above in the description of behaviour in the bush, this conclusion is wrong. Although traditional cultural behaviour as sharing, caring, respect etc. have not entirely disappeared even on the reserves, the problems in the communities suggest that Native people are still exposed to acculturative stress. This stress is caused by organising life on the reserve on the basis of an alien culture. In order to find their roots, to feel self-confident in what they are doing, to identify behaviours acceptable to their own culture, to internalize traditional values, the people living in northern Native communities have to go to the bush.

That is why the wilderness camp is so central to the healing program of the Jules Mattinas Healing Lodge. The wilderness camp is more than a trip, it is a way of life. While out in the bush the clients will learn to respect the elders they are with, because the elders will be the experts. They will learn about

interdependence of people among themselves and to the environment and by this will learn to care. Much of the wilderness camp will also enhance *academic* contents of the curriculum because, naturally, when you depend on the land and the elements, you have to accumulate knowledge about every aspect of land and elements. This will include animal habitat and behaviour (Biology), weather and climate etc. The way these academic contents are transmitted is traditional to the regional Native culture, a combination of observation and friendly, unintrusive instruction. Usually, the Native person does not use many words for instructions but just does the activity with the 'students' watching. Knowledge about the land and the elements is casually talked about while doing the activities. This gives the learner the responsibility to listen and watch. The teacher teaches by example rather than by instruction. Unlike in a classroom setting, the learners decide themselves what to learn, based on the individual gifts they have. This responsibility will strengthen self-esteem and will bring out responsibility, because the clients will realize that the group depends on each of its members. It will also lead to the discovery of special talents of the individual client, a fact that further enhances self-esteem of the individual.

Spirituality is also taught through the wilderness camp. Being dependent on what nature supplies, a prayer before a hunt and thanksgiving after a successful kill make the clients understand that their life is connected to the spiritual world. Spirituality is part of life as a whole. It is not detached from

secular life.

The wilderness camp also teaches respect for each other and the whole creation in the appreciation of food that was given to us by the animal we had to kill and the fruit and plants we find in the bush. The wilderness camp will strengthen self-esteem by the role everybody has to play. Each individual will eventually take certain responsibilities, depending on the individual talents, to ensure success for the whole group.

Considering the acculturative stress the individual is exposed to in the communities, the wilderness camp is the main driving force towards reconnection to the individual's culture because cultural contents are not only taught, disconnected from daily life, but culture is lived. Spiritual ceremonies make sense because they are directly connected to the daily routine. Referring to Brody's (1988:253) observations about the transformation of the Native person in the 'wilderness' environment, I conclude that the wilderness camp should be the main healing component for the solvent abuser. Skills and cultural behaviour learned and/or rediscovered during the wilderness camp will help the clients to find themselves and will lead to a drug free life because by being on the land and reconnecting to their own culture, the clients can release acculturative stress and stress in general. This exercise can be repeated any time the individual feels that s/he needs to recover, like during spare time after school or after work. In order to minimize acculturative stress in the life of the client

after treatment, the other skills taught in the treatment centre, like academic skills, business skills, gardening etc., if there is a necessity to teach them in the centre at all rather than at school, have to be taught in a way that they fit into the cultural context the client has reconnected to during the wilderness camp. Coupled with the culturally integrated contents taught in the treatment program, the experience in the wilderness camp will hopefully lead to the complete transformation of life in the communities and towards the abolition of acculturative stress altogether by integrating alien, western structures into local culture. Only with this integration, with using *modern* life skills in a Native way, will the learned skills help the client to stay away from solvents and drugs.

The curriculum for the treatment program is to be developed on this basis, the culture prevailing in the communities. There is little difference in the contents of a curriculum based on Native or non-Native culture. The difference lies within the interpretation of the contents. This means that any subject or contents can be taught in different ways. In order to make a curriculum community-based it is not enough to add some *Native subjects* (defined as hunting, gathering etc.) to the *regular, western subjects* (defined as math, science etc.), defining that in order for the Native person to survive in the *modern* world these teachings have to run parallel with the other. Math, science, language and all the other *academic* subjects are as much part of the *modern* Native world as our world. There is, in fact,

only one world, and there is only one century we all live in. Making a curriculum or program community based means that defining how the contents will be taught (or passed on) is the central concern rather than which contents should be taught. The question of *which contents* will be dictated by the needs of the community and the individuals in it who have to make their lives within the reality of this country. That, of course, includes the interaction with other cultures and the learning about how non-Native peoples run their affairs, yet, it is all seen through the screen of the particular culture in the community as a point of reference.

In order to make the treatment program in Attawapiskat more successful than the programs Attawapiskat and NAN youths have been sent to so far, a change of locality, that the clients are closer to *home*, will not be enough. *Home* for the Native client is not only close to their community but also, and particularly, close to their own cultural context. This will especially be true for those clients who come to Attawapiskat from the other NAN communities. They will be still far away from home. However, they will feel at 'home' in a cultural environment that is comparable to that of their community. That is why the treatment program, including structure of the program itself and the delivery modes, has to be based on the cultural context prevailing in the communities that send the clients to the healing lodge. The so-called wilderness camp would provide the cultural structure for this.

Delivering the Services - Learning and Teaching Styles

The high drop-out rate of Native students from Canadian schools has been researched thoroughly already. Emily Faries' (1995) conclusion on the drop-out rate from treatment programs by Attawapiskat youths as inability to function in a white society certainly includes the different learning and teaching styles in that society. I will therefore present a discussion on learning styles and try to explain why delivery modes of the services have to be based on local culture as well.

Different learning styles of Native people and problems in a school environment deriving from it is thoroughly discussed in literature, where it is pointed out that

successful teachers of Native children display certain teaching methods that are culturally appropriate.
(Barman, Hebert & McCaskill 1987:13)

Behavioral patterns like

motionless alertness, learning by observation,
withdrawal from controversy and confrontation,
avoidance of provocation and embarrassment
(Wax 1961:305)

are often misinterpreted by non-Native educators in regards to the intelligence and willingness to learn and are referred to as "the Indian problem". (Wax 1961:305)

Values like cooperation are usually connected to Native cultures. What comes in conflict with western values, especially in business terms, are values like

group harmony, generosity, moderation in speech,
respect for nature, view of time as relative,
spirituality, importance of family, importance of

cultural pluralism and holistic approach
(Morris 1991:2-16).

These values have an impact on the style of learning of Native youth.

The reason to learn is explained by Renaud (1964):

Indian communities or societies are still functioning in a pre-scientific and empirical way... It was the accumulated observation of centuries of hunting and food gathering. It has been tested thoroughly, but only in relation to the satisfaction of human needs..., and not in order to discover the basic laws of life itself as in contemporary science (Renaud 1964:7).

This statement indicates that the Native style of learning is more pragmatic than abstract.

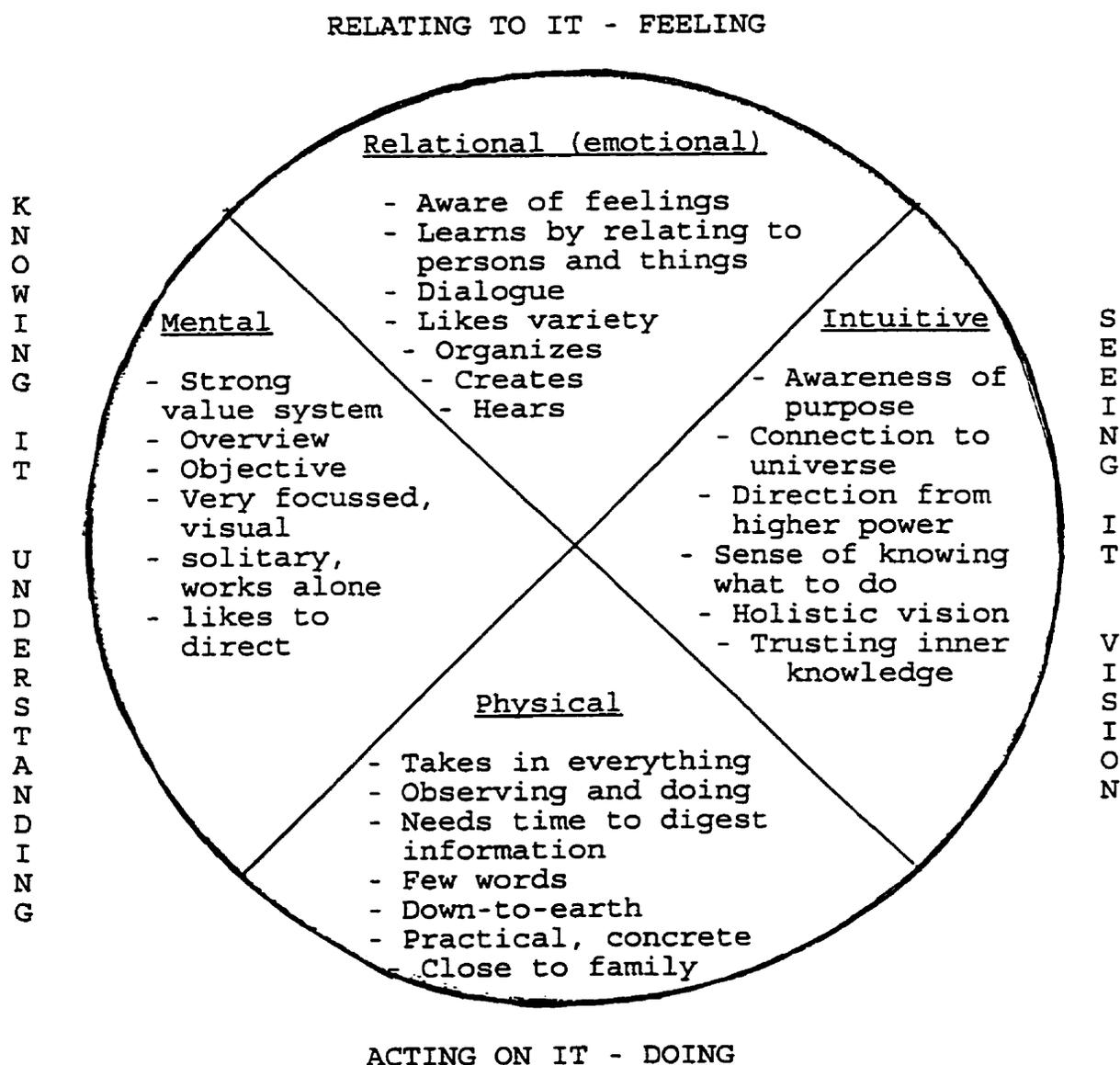
McKinley (1970) summarizes:

Our own field of data indicate that Indian children prefer the style of learning characteristic to their culture. Generally, the learner initiates an extended period of observation and attempts are met with teasing, and successful attempts with quiet acceptance.
(McKinley 1970:14/15)

The model below summarizes this way of learning, referring it to Native culture by explainig it in a medicine wheel model.

fig. 1

THE ABORIGINAL APPROACH TO LEARNING
(Learning Styles)



(adopted from the model of First Nation Technical Institute)

On first view, all of the readers, Native or non-Native, might be able to identify with at least some of the learning styles presented above and an identification of this particular style as Native may seem hair-splitting and even labelling. My intention is not to say that only Native people would learn in this way. Western education, however, overemphasises the logical abilities of the human being and neglects the intuitive abilities. In Native cultures spirituality and intuitive abilities are as important as logical ones, and children are brought up in this. For survival in the bush a human being has to rely as much on his/her 'feel' as on logic. The overall tendency in the above model is the inclusion of spirituality, emotion and intuition in the learning styles. Examples are connection to universe, direction from higher power (spiritual), trusting inner knowledge, sense of knowing what to do (intuitive, spiritual), and awareness of feelings, learning by relating to persons and things (emotional).

Other characteristics like using few words, down to earth, practical, concrete and visual are also an indicator that learning styles as they used in western institutions (theoretical, abstract, rational to name but a few) are altogether different.

How can these differences be explained?

First of all I have to emphasize again that the learning styles cannot be fully interpreted as being present only in certain cultural groups, but the presence of certain styles in

the majority of people within cultural groups can be explained by the way children are brought up in that particular culture.

The Cree-Metis psychologist Joe Couture (1978) explains these differences by the training and use of the two sides of the brain in different cultures by pointing out that the 'western' educational system has done

little else but developing the left side of the brain, the seat of intellectual analysis, linear thinking and language (p.129).

With this statement Couture brings into the discussion the fact that we indeed have two sides of the brain, with the right side being the centre of intuition and emotions (Couture 1978:129). Although there is no explanation why, at one point in history 'western' society must have decided that the emotional/intuitive side of the brain was less important and therefore based the educational system more on the logical/intellectual side.

According to Couture (1978) the traditional, Native

process of education has addressed both skills of the brain, not consciously but nonetheless so, which enabled a Native person to move into different thinking patterns. (Couture 1978:129)

The model of aboriginal learning styles above seems to support this statement, in particular with the statements of 'holistic vision' and 'overview' that clearly includes the whole (both sides of the) brain. It is now imaginable that children or youth who have been brought up using logic/intellect as well as intuition will find it hard to all of a sudden only concentrate on one aspect of life, the scientific/logical one. The argument probably being raised now that Native people also went through a

western education system leaves out the fact that before entering school and during the time out of school the Native child is raised at home where traditional forms of behaviour and learning are still present, even though there might be only fragments of it in some cases. The time before entering school, usually the first five years of one's life, is long enough to condition a child into certain learning patterns. Assuming that the model of the First Nation Technical Institute is based on research I will take the learning style presented in the model as the factual Native learning style. And I suggest that any Native educational institution, including a healing lodge, should base their teaching style on it. This is particularly true with institutions operating in a region like the NAN region of northern Ontario where, due to the late influence of and contact to western culture, traditional culture is still strong. Thus, delivery modes of the services of the Jules Mattinas Healing Lodge should be developed following the basis of this learning model.

How can this theory be explained in 'western' academic terms and tied into a workable treatment program?

In order to explain the differences in teaching and learning style in western terms I will tie the above into a discussion of learning styles by two western academics. Kathleen A. Butler (1985 / 1988) discussed the original research done by Anthony F. Gregorc (1982).

Anthony F. Gregorc (1982) based his model on the individual

learner, isolating four styles of thinking patterns the individual uses more or less, meaning that everybody has the ability to learn within all learning styles. The difference between the individuals shows in the dominance of style characteristics, random or sequential, within the four mediation channels, as they are called by Gregorc. The four mediation channels are (a.) **concrete sequential**, (b.) **abstract sequential**, (c.) **abstract random**, and (d.) **concrete random**. In order to explain the four mediation channels in reference to the above Native learning model I will present the first four of eighteen frames of reference of style characteristics by Gregorc:

(fig. 2 Characteristics by Gregorc, 1982)

Frames of Reference	CS (Concrete Sequential)	AS (Abstract Sequential)	AR (Abstract Random)	CR (Concrete Random)
KEY WORDS	Practical	Probable	Potential	Possible
WORLD OF REALITY	Concrete world of physical senses	Abstract world of intellect based on concrete world	Abstract world of feelings/emotions	Concrete world of activity and abstract world of intuition
ORDERING ABILITY	Sequential, step by step,	Two-dimensional tree-like	Random, web-like and multi-linear dimensional progression	Random, three-dimensional patterns
VIEW OF TIME	Discrete units of past, future and present	Present, historical past, and projected future	The moment; time is artificial and restrictive	Now: total of the past, interactive present, and seed for the future

Butler (1988) similarly defined characteristics for these learning styles:

(fig. 3, *Characteristics by Butler, 1988*)

STYLES	CHARACTERISTICS
CONCRETE SEQUENTIAL	organized, factual efficient, detailed, task-oriented
ABSTRACT SEQUENTIAL	intellectual, critical analytical, theoretical convergent
ABSTRACT RANDOM	imaginative, emotional interpretive, holistic, flexible
CONCRETE RANDOM	divergent, experimental inventive, independent risk-taking

(Butler 1988:38)

Comparing these characteristics with the model of the First Nation Technical Institute, most of the characteristics in that model would fit into the ABSTRACT RANDOM and CONCRETE RANDOM mediation channels with only a few characteristics, like organizes, objective, very focused, on the CONCRETE SEQUENTIAL and ABSTRACT SEQUENTIAL side.

This fact would indicate the necessity to provide styles in the delivery modes in the healing lodge that are responded to by people whose prominent thinking patterns are on the random/intuitive rather the sequential/analytical side of learning patterns.

Based on Gregorc's graphic representation of these *mind styles* (Gregorc 1982) the graph of many Native learners could look similar to the figure below:

Native Concepts of Education

Before writing a curriculum for a Native project, there have to be some concepts of education discussed, concepts that might differ from those in western culture. These concepts will be presented as soon as the questionnaires are analyzed. Expecting that these concepts are similar to those of other Native peoples I will quote the Dene concepts in order to draw a picture of the basis of the curriculum that will be worked out.

Concepts:

The Child (Youth) is our Future

The child becomes the community and the community is the future of the people. The child is therefore the future.

The Child is Born with Integrity

In the spring, nature inevitably comes to life, providing that the nurturing winds and rains are there. The things of nature have in their smallest seeds, the forms that they will become. Elders say that a child is like a seed, born with all that is meant to be born, born with integrity. Recognizing this integrity in a child enables the child to remain true to itself as it grows.

Each Child (Person) is Unique

If the appropriate experiences are given to the child, the child will develop the basic skills required for survival, as well as those special gifts that make him or her unique. It must be remembered that the gifts come in many forms. For some it may be the gift of special skills on the land, and for another it may be the gift of laughter.

Trust in the child

Because there was a belief in the inherent integrity of the child, from the time it could walk the child was given the respect of being its own person. This respect took the form of trust in the child's natural curiosity to learn and the child's need to learn. The [Dene] child responded to this trust by constantly challenging and motivating itself to new levels of accomplishment. In any experience, the child could be trusted to learn what it was ready for. Rather than focusing on what the child

had not learned or mastered, attention was given to what the child had accomplished. ...

Self Motivation

In this kind of education, the children were always aware of why they were learning something. This was fundamental to their self-motivation. Very rarely was motivation to learn based on simple interest or pleasure. Most often it was based on an acute sense of the importance of learning any one thing.

In some cases, decisions are made for the child to ensure survival. In the end, however, it is left to the child to choose what is right for itself.

Education for Survival

Education consists of providing the skills, knowledge and perspectives that will enable survival. The educational content has come down to us from generation to generation through our elders in the oral tradition. Our elders are the primary source for any real [Dene] education.

Learning through Experience

Traditionally, education was not schooling. Learning for survival happened during all the waking hours, each and every day, and all life long. Learning occurred through life experience, not in abstraction or set apart from on-going life activities.

Cyclical Learning

Also, learning occurred in a cyclical fashion. Through repeated exposure to experiences, children began to learn at their own rate of readiness. Reality was not hidden from the child because it was thought they were not ready for it. Children were constantly learning as they lived life.

Community Participation

The whole community (traditionally, the community was the band or family group) participated in the education of the child. People understood that if they educated the child well, the child would grow to give back to the community, thus ensuring the future of generations to come.

The Role of Parents

When a child fails to grow with the integrity it was meant to have, elders will evaluate the parents, not the child. It is seen as the responsibility of the parents to ensure that the conditions for growth in the child are provided. Observations and evaluations are not to be taken as criticism but rather as suggestions that will enable survival.

(N.W.T. Education 1993:xxv-xxvii)

What can be added to that list is:

The Role of an Educational Institution

School is a healing place which nurtures the mind, body, and soul of its students (Kirkness 1992:123).

The Mandate of an Educational Institution

Recognizing the growth and personal development of the student.

The students will be able to develop their talents and skills, gain appreciation of the worth and joy of learning, achieve academically, gain a feeling of self-worth, and understand the responsibilities the society places upon the individual (Kirkness 1992:121).

The Role of educational Staff

The staff will be caring (Kirkness 1992:121).

Emphasis is laid on the importance of children and youth for the future of the community and the respect one has to have for the individual's talents and abilities. We can learn as much from our children as they can learn from us. An important factor in these concepts is that education is child-centred and that the adults have to help the child develop its own personality, not try to totalize the child into acquiring skills deemed necessary by a given educational body. The same concepts will apply for any educational or healing institution.

Speaking in western academic terms the basis of this kind of education is "child centred learning" (John Dewey 1963), a concept applied in some private schools, and a concept which is indirectly discussed in the proposal of the Attawapiskat treatment centre (Kells 1995:19-52). The same concept is discussed in literature about cognitive learning as in Gardner's (1991) The Unschooled Mind: How Children Learn and how Schools

should teach. Particularly the subtitle should be an indication for the necessity of child-centred learning. In regard to the above discussed learning styles Gardner dedicates a whole chapter to the intuitive understanding of life by the pre-schooler (Gardner 1991:84-112). The proposed program is client-centred. Following through with this concept one has to be aware, that this client-centred learning/healing will put some stress on the time frame of the treatment, meaning that some clients will finish the program earlier than others and that features like a feast for graduates, as suggested by Kells (1995:31), will be difficult to be carried through as each individual will graduate at a different time.

The above concepts and what was said before concerning the culture base of the program will also force the program makers to think about how to teach skills like 'business' and 'prospecting' (Kells 1995:43) in a way that is appropriate for the cultural values of the community. As mentioned before, these skills cannot be taught in a parallel way with *the other* skills but only from a position within a cultural basis. This basis has to be the cultural environment of the clients. Even if certain skills were originally developed outside the local cultural context, they have to be fitted into the cultural basis and cannot stand alone as *parallel* teachings.

Post Colonial Theory - The Position of this Thesis

The two proposals for the healing lodge for the Attawapiskat First Nation centred around one major theme - the inclusion of local cultural concepts in the healing process. To give the appropriate consideration to local culture in a healing program there are two avenues that can be taken:

The first one, the emphasis on *cultural diversity*, was taken by the authors of both proposals (Kells 1995, Hannah 1996). Referring to the Assembly of First Nation's policy paper for education (National Indian Brotherhood 1972), an emphasis on cultural diversity seems the right choice because, as it is stressed in the policy paper, the Native youth should be enabled to survive in both worlds, the Native and the non-Native one. This led to Kell's suggestion of a parallel teaching with a vision that the youths should be equipped with the skills that enable them to function in both cultural environments.

The other avenue that can be taken is that of emphasizing *cultural difference*, based on the thought that people from any cultural environment are equipped with skills that enable them to survive in their own way and to find their own solutions to their problems.

Considering the suggestion that lack of self-esteem is a major contributing factor for the solvent abuse problem in Attawapiskat (Farries 1995) the question comes to mind how to enhance self-esteem in clients coming from a cultural environment

that is different than that of the programmers of the treatment program. Self-esteem depends on the identity of the person. As I tried to establish in my introductory words already, identity cannot be given to a person. Identity is formed by the environment a person is born into and grows up in. That means that the clients we are dealing with do have an identity already; an identity that formed during the time they grew up. What a healing program has to do then is help the clients to see this identity in a positive way, and by that strengthening their self-image. For that the program for the healing lodge would need a basis on which the clients could turn their negative self-image into a positive one. This basis is not provided by parallel teaching in the sense it was presented in the two proposals. The suggestion by Kells that parallel teaching is necessary because the culture the clients would refer to, their Native culture, is not enough can only be interpreted in two ways: Either, the basis for the program would be western culture with some inclusion of Native cultural content, or the basis would actually be a parallel or bi-cultural content. Neither solution would be favourable for enhancing self-esteem in clients who draw their self-image from their Native identity. That is how I developed the theme of the thesis, finding the cultural basis for the program, very early in the process, right after the first two meetings with the agencies involved and after having reviewed the two proposals. The avenue I chose for analysing the basis of the program was therefore the one that emphasises *cultural*

difference. The clients should recognise their distinct Cree/Ojibway culture, make sense of their life through a screen of their own culture, and by that get a positive self-image of who they are - Cree and Ojibway. It would be necessary to find original solutions for the problems they are dealing with, solutions that are not imported but based on their own culture. This would make the clients proud of who they are. The skills to survive in the *other* environment can be learned on this basis. The definitions I used above for cultural diversity and cultural difference were provided by Homi Bhabha (1988:206) who makes the notion of cultural difference the basis for post-colonial critique.

The central theme of the literature review is the ability of Native people to find their own solutions, which is presented in the references to the Dene Kede curriculum (NWT education 1993), the adaptability of Native culture to the modern age and technology (Brody 1988, Ash 1988), and some indication of the importance of Native environmental knowledge (Brody 1976, Cruikshank 1981, Freeman 1992). The whole thesis is based on that theme. The thought behind this theme is again the acknowledgement of the cultural difference of the people and the refusal "to turn the other into the same" (Durig 1987:125), a thought that Durig places into the context of post-modernism.

The discussion goes, however, beyond this thought that defines that by trying to make the other into the same during colonialism indigenous cultures were destroyed. Although

tactics have changed since the colonial times, and indigenous cultures are no longer (overtly) destroyed (Minh-Ha 1989:265),

they are destroyed nonetheless by the solutions *the other* offers to problems in indigenous societies. These solutions are still based on the definitions of the problem by *the other*. Minh-Ha (1989) equals that with other acts of destruction like

removal-relocation-reeducation-redefinition, the humiliation of having to falsify your own reality, your own voice (Minh-Ha 1989:265).

In Attawapiskat this is reality by a school system that was introduced by the Department of Indian Affairs and by the attempt to introduce a healing program based on western concepts in both the definition of causes for solvent abuse and the suggested solution of a parallel teaching. The thought behind the establishment of a cultural basis for that program goes

beyond the post-modern limits of deconstructing existing orthodoxies into the realms of social and political action (Hutcheon 1989:130)

by the attempt to find the cultural basis through the people and not by an analysis based on a western definition what Native culture is supposed to be. It is the people of the community who should become active in finding a solution to the problem at hand and who should find their own definitions. This should be accomplished by the research which is discussed in the next chapter.

There will be difficulties in finding one's own definitions of what one's culture should be, which Franz Fanon describes as "the zone of instability" (Fanon 1967:168). He nevertheless

concludes that that is the starting point of the action, that that is the place "where we must come" (Fanon 1967:168). It does not really matter if, the identity to be found by the people can be an absolute 'pure' one, one that is "uncontaminated by universalist or Eurocentric concepts" (Duric 1987:125) or if its impossible that identity is ever uncontaminated (Hutcheon 1989:133). The importance lies in the people finding their own identity, their own definition of what their culture is rather than following concepts that are suggested by *the other*, which in the case of the Attawapiskat healing lodge are the western experts.

With the point of view dominating in this paper that the people themselves have to find their own definitions and solutions, the thesis can be positioned into a discussion of post-colonial critique.

CHAPTER 2

Research in Attawapiskat

Research in a Native Community

As I mentioned in the introduction, Native peoples are in a particular situation, which has to be considered when the research is not to be influenced too much by our own, the *westerner's* perception of reality. The research I intended should concentrate on the perspectives of the people to be researched, what Bogdan and Biklen (1992) describe as *participant perspective*, which would show "the ways...people make sense out of their lives" (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:32). This would also be consistent with the above discussed post-colonial critique. The perception of *the other*, or the westerner, does not only creep in through the researcher's own mind set but also through the situation on the reserves and the assimilation pressure Native people were exposed to since their dealings with our society, by the above discussed contamination by eurocentric concepts. Marlene Brant Castellano discusses the dependence of Native communities on non-Native institutions in her article "Collective Wisdom: Participatory Research and Canada's Native People":

The people lost the power to make decisions affecting their communities. They were conditioned to believe that they were backward and to accept the judgement of administrators, teachers, doctors, police etc. (1986:52)

Knowing the community, I was aware that this is also true for Attawapiskat. Put into a simple model, there are the people of the community on one side, and there are the official people in the band office and the educational facility on the other side. It is particularly the officials who fall prey to the conditioning to believe that they are backwards and to accept the judgement of other officials and professionals who are usually white, while the population of the community at large does show quite a bit of resistance towards the reality that politically and educationally their lives are largely determined by outsiders. This phenomenon is easy to be explained in the fact that Native administrators and educators work in institutions (band-office and school) whose structures are imported. The *whiteman* is indeed the expert in these institutions because they are traditionally his. In Attawapiskat this shows in the fact that, although these institutions are officially operated by the local people themselves, the people in key positions and particularly the advisors (consultants) are non-Native. In the school in Attawapiskat, the associate director/principal who executes the policies, and the consultant who designs the policies are non-Natives, and in the band office, the social director who is responsible for social and health programs, who now also takes care of economic development, staffing etc., the manager of technical services at that time, and all the consultants are non-Native people. This fact makes it self-evident that a development of Native structures in the political

and economic life of the community is rather difficult and can only be found in a massive involvement of the people in the community, rather than having the officials decide what structures are appropriate.

When I looked through the first initiatives for the establishment of a healing centre, I got the impression that the officials seemed to have been aware of this fact, because not only was there mention of the necessity of the involvement of the people, the deputy chief of that time, who was involved in the solvent abuse prevention committee, had based his initiative for the healing centre on community consultations. However, as soon as non-Native 'experts' were involved, they not only put the proposal together but also tried to design the program according to their own view to what was Native and in how far the Native way had to be included. I was discussing this problem in the literature review. The reality was that although there was mention of community involvement and the importance of *Native contents* in the proposals, these contents were not determined by the local people themselves but by the non-Native 'experts' as well as the decision of how these contents had to be integrated. In a word, things were no longer discussed with the people of the community, and when there were discussions at all about how the program was to be put together, as in the meetings of the institutions involved in the project, the community was largely kept out or only permitted as audience. A real involvement of the audience was impossible due to the intimidating set-up of

these meetings with all the officials sitting at the table, another non-Native official chairing the meeting and having put the agenda together, and the audience sitting in the back of the room. As mentioned above, the leaders of the community were leaning towards the advice of the 'experts'. The leaders are in the definition by Ted Jackson (1993) also members of the

...new middle class, or new *petite bourgeoisie*, [which] is dominated in terms of occupational categories by managers, administrators, professionals, and technicians (Jackson 1993:55).

In the design of the research it is important to consider that

Canada's pattern of capitalist development, particularly since the Second World War has elaborated this class and the classifications within it (Jackson 1993:55).

According to this definition, the Native leaders as administrators are part of this new middle class and therefore promote structures in the communities that refer to western, capitalist society. Original Native structures can therefore not be researched within this group of Native new middle class.

Due to this gap between the people and their leaders in many Native communities, any non-Native researcher who wants to research original cultural structures walks a thin line because on the one hand s/he will get the permission for the research by the political leaders of the community, and on the other hand, the contents of the research will have to be found through the population. The administrators lean too much towards 'alien' advice and interpretations, and therefore the trust of the population in their political leadership is sometimes not too high. And an indication that the researcher works for this

leadership might get him/her into the situation that nobody really cooperates. When, on the other hand, the researcher obviously relies on and has the trust of the community, the leadership might fail to recognize the value of that research because in their opinion the *Native way* might be seen as backward.

Fortunately for my thesis project, this was not entirely the case in Attawapiskat. Although the presence and the influence of the institutions and their officials was overpowering, and the non-Native 'experts' were more or less only discussing their visions, not that of the community, some of the leaders (chief and deputy chief, former deputy, and a couple of councillors), although they might have been intimidated by the experts as well and were listening to their advice, were supporting the notion of community-based research. Additionally, the tribal organization of Northern Ontario, Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN), was represented in the project as well, and the Deputy Grand Chief who was responsible for social programs was particularly supportive of an approach to base the whole project on *Native culture*, rather than just fitting some aspects of it into the program. This made it easier for me to get the community research around a health director who had originally hired me for the design of a curriculum, not considering that for the design of a community-based program there would be intensive research in the community necessary.

To illustrate the struggle for the 'appropriate' contents in

the curriculum I can mention a little example: When I presented my research project in one of the meetings, emphasising that the basis for the program had to be found in the community, the NAN Deputy Grand Chief told the health director that he was in full support of this approach. The health director, however, told me outright afterwards that I had obviously impressed the Deputy Grand Chief with this presentation, but that he, the health director, did not like the approach I had presented. He later repeatedly asked the question of where the academic content was in the reports about the contents for a program I had researched in the community and had handed to his office, showing his opinion that the program cannot be based on local culture. The surveys I did reflect a bit of that situation because I included Native and non-Native officials comparing their visions. According to the proposals, at least part of the program was to be based on local culture. I discussed that in the literature review. By my contact to the former deputy chief, the initiator of the project, I knew that the wish of the community was the design of a program with a Native basis, which was related to the former deputy chief in the community meetings he held prior to the completion of the first proposal. My objectives were, beside finding the cultural basis for a curriculum for the treatment centre, to assist the whole community in the start of a healing process that is based on the believe in the people's own abilities, and to empower the community to take over their own problem solving. This was done by involving local people in the

planning and designing of the survey, and by active participation of the researcher in activities and work involving solvent abusers. After all, the ambitious goal of the planning group was the healing of the whole community. This is particularly important for the after care program, where patients who leave the treatment centre will be placed in homes in the community. By involving the community, particularly elders, in the process of planning, I made the attempt to help the people who are aware of the problem to voice their concerns and to identify their own solutions. With that goal, the research I did in the community can be identified as participatory research, which "fundamentally is about the right to speak" (Hall 1993: xvii). I refer to the right of the people in the community to speak about their own visions towards a solution of the problems that were researched in the community. The supposed goal of the planning group to heal the entire community was redefined as *empowerment* of the community by the kind of research I did which is

a self-conscious way of empowering people to take effective action toward improving conditions in their lives (Park 1993:1).

The conditions to be improved were, of course, the solvent abuse by the local youths. As a researcher I put myself into a position of "participating in the struggle of the people" (Park 1993:9) by not only researching the people's vision of a treatment program but also actively working with the local committee on the solvent abuse problem.

Wanting to find the cultural basis for a treatment program,

I had to be aware, of course, that the cultural difference would also have an impact on the way the survey had to be carried through.

The consideration of the cultural basis I wanted to find turned my focus on the elders first, because they are the ones who, with their connection to life in the past, could give the most accurate interpretation of the original culture. I was aware that the elders as well had been exposed to the assimilation attempt by the dominant society, which materialized particularly in the acceptance of the Christian religion by Native peoples and in an education in residential schools that had the goal to eradicate Native culture and condition the people towards a life in the dominant society. Knowing the community very well as I was teaching up there since 1989 and had married a local woman, I knew that the first issue that made a quest for finding the original culture difficult, the acceptance of the Christian religion that bases in the dominant culture, was widely present in the community. I was, however, not sure how much influence that fact had on a possible loss of the original culture by the elders, as I was introduced to traditional ceremonies like the sweatlodge in 1989. The builders of the sweatlodge and the advisors for the medicine man who conducted it were the local elders. Some of them also participated in the ceremonies. The elders would not talk about the ceremony and would not promote it in public, but that fact could also be due to their personality that bases first in respect for the other

and second in humbleness. They would just not be loud about what they believed or knew. Their building the lodge and even participating in some of the ceremonies allowed the hope that the elders did actually still live the original culture and, although they had accepted Christianity, they had not given up their original spirituality.

The second issue, the residential school which might have had a deep effect on the perception of cultural reality, was not so relevant with the elders of Attawapiskat because the majority of them either never went to school or only had a school education of three years maximum, as their parents had taken them out of school again when they realized that their children would lose their skills on the land. It has to be considered in this regard that it was as late as the beginning of this century that a Christian mission established in that region, and as late as 1930 that a treaty was signed. School had a much greater effect on the generation that followed the elders.

Combining two Research Projects

One problem I was faced with, due to the fact that the assimilation attempt started relatively late and that most of the elders did not have a thorough school education, favourable as this fact was for the contents I tried to research, was that I could not communicate directly with the elders. They only speak Cree, a language I am not able to master yet. I needed a local

researcher who could do the interviews, which meant that s/he would be able to interpret the questions and fit in the answers. Another problem was the focus of the research. Considering every aspect of life, a cultural basis for a healing program is rather wide, and one issue in particular, the relations to the land, would have to be thoroughly researched because much of the difference of Native people to us can be explained by their relationship to the land. A thorough research of the relations to the land would not only have blown up my thesis, it would also have interfered in another thesis project, that of Jackie, my wife, who was working on her M.A. thesis with the topic of Native interpretations of treaty #9 with Attawapiskat elders (Hookimaw-Witt 1997).

The fact that there were two surveys to be conducted at the same time would have created yet another problem. The people to be surveyed might have been overwhelmed by two researchers working on different projects, which would influence the quality of the data, particularly for that researcher who goes to the persons the other researcher had interviewed already. We had therefore decided very early in the process, actually it was when we were still at the university getting our proposals together, to combine our two projects. For me, this solved the problem of the language barrier. I had a local person who could talk to all the non-English speaking respondents. Although we did most of the interviews together, with Jackie translating when there was a need to, when we got into time pressure, Jackie could interview

all the people who only spoke Cree, while I could interview those who also spoke English.

We had designed one questionnaire that covered the research questions of both our projects, with some of them, like the relations to the land, being important for both projects. In the end we both profited from this set-up. Jackie analysed in depth every issue that had to do with the relations of the people to the land, which would explain her hypothesis that the people have never given up their land although treaties are usually interpreted as the Indians having surrendered their lands. The questions for Jackie's part of the research involved how the 'Indian' people got 'possession' of the land, how their identity is connected to the land, what responsibilities they have to the land and if any of these responsibilities would have been affected at all by the treaty signing, the concept of land ownership, the land as basis of the people's spirituality, the authority any government would have over the land (if any government would have authority at all), how the land is still used today, and the Natives understanding of 'the Law'.

My part of the research were the local interpretation of causes of the solvent abuse problem and the local interpretations of how the problems can be solved, as I have already discussed in the introductions and the literature review. Of course, the key issue in these questions is the people's relation to the land they get their identity from, they get their spirituality from and they get their 'laws' from, which was part of Jackie's

research.

This division of labour in an altogether combined research was helpful in the analysis of the data. We both needed the results of each other's research data in order to make sense of the responses to our research questions. While I could tap into Jackie's research on the relations of the people to their lands and on that basis analyse the people's responses to my research questions, she could tap into my research being able to explain the negative effects a one-sided interpretation of the treaty had on the society of her people, and that on that grounds her people would not have been able signing their lands away in a treaty knowing what effects this fact would have on their children. This method of analysing the data could be described as holistic because beside analysing the collected data it includes the search for the reason why people answer to the questions in the way they do. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) call this kind of analysis descriptive and define it as one of the characters of qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen 1992: 31-32).

The 'Appropriate' Research Method

The approach of combining the two research projects was also more appropriate in a Native community altogether, because people tend to think holistically, interpreting life as a whole, not in broken down parts.

This fact also had an impact on the design of the

questionnaires. First of all, we put our questions together into one questionnaire rather than having two. The appendix of this thesis therefore shows the whole data we collected for both surveys, with some questions we both used for our analysis. The analysis itself, however, focussed on the research project of the individual. Secondly, we involved the elders we were in steady contact with (James Carpenter, John Mattinas and John Hookimaw) in the design of the questionnaire by making them the first 'victims' of our questions. What came out of it was a questionnaire with mostly open ended questions, which, strictly speaking was more an interview schedule than a questionnaire, a research tool Bryman and Burgess (1994) define as "semi-structured interviews" (Bryman and Burgess 1994:90). It gives the informants "an opportunity to develop their answers outside a structured format" (Burgess 1984:102), and makes the interview appear more like a conversation. This conversation as survey method turned out to be the kind of interview the elders preferred. Every researcher coming to a traditional, Native community should know that it is actually not appropriate to approach elders with a note book and a pen. Some even would not like the interviewer have a tape recorder with her/him. This was directly told to Jackie when she interviewed one of the elders (David Tookate). He pointed out that she came to listen, and she could only listen when she was not distracted by noting words down or operating a tape recorder. Coming from an oral tradition, Native people have the ability to listen to and to

remember detail accounts. They expect the same from the researcher. As it turned out, this also means that some elders did not exactly stick to the interview schedule but were talking whatever came to their minds in connection with the first question asked. It would be absolutely inappropriate to interrupt an elder when s/he is sharing wisdom with you. Thinking holistically, most of them nevertheless talked about everything we had put on the interview schedule, without even having heard the questions. What we merely had to do was to order the statements to the questions we had in mind. It might also be difficult for the interviewer who has to remember which questions were answered already so that the unanswered questions could be asked again. For a scenario like this it is advisable to have a Native interviewer who was still brought up using her/his brains in this way. When you interrupt an elder too often, s/he will either stop talking at all or, as s/he thinks you want to hear certain responses and s/he does not want to embarrass you, will only tell you what you want to hear. This would lead to completely different results.

It is also inappropriate to keep repeating a question if the question is not answered. The Native interviewee has to be given the choice not to answer questions s/he does not want to answer. That is why some of the questions were not answered by all the respondents.

Unfortunately there are some requirements in data collection that also do not correspond with the code of behaviour in a

Native community. One of them is asking the age of the respondent, which is irrelevant for the elders. Asking for the age, however, looks like checking up on the respondent if his/her knowledge is actually relevant for you. Knowing the people of the community we got around this point because we knew most of the people's age.

The most appropriate way for interviews, as it turned out, was that of taping the interview with a video camera. The camera was operated by a camera man so that the interviewer herself was able to just listen what the interviewee said. There are only seconds lost in the case when a tape had to be changed. We ran into this kind of data collecting by chance, as at the time of our surveys, a documentary film maker came to the community asking us to write the script for the documentary and to do the interviews. We could combine this with both our theses. The video interviews are identified as such in the appendix. Another character that made the video interview most appropriate for research in a Native community was that there were only few questions asked and the interviewee could talk freely, not being restricted by a schedule, what, of course, comes closest to the above mentioned method of conversation as survey tool. We used this kind of survey technique with some of the elders, and with the rest of the respondents being professionals in the community, like the chief and people dealing with education and the treatment centre, and the solvent abusers themselves. The other surveys with the schedules had been completed meanwhile.

Another research method that developed out of the whole project of setting up a healing program was that of observation. Burgess (1984) describes participant observation as one of the methods of field research, which he equates with qualitative research (Burgess 1984:78). It happened that the Attawapiskat First Nation established a *Safe House* for solvent abusers, where the youth could be brought to instead of being thrown in a jail cell, and where they could be counselled. We were hired for operating that House. That gave me the chance to work with and observe the youths "on situations as they occur rather than on artificial situations" (Burgess 1984:79). Observations are a good method of research in a Native community because they do not interfere with the respondents' actions.

Another delicate issue with research in a Native community is the ethical review that demands written consent from the interviewees. In regards to elders with traditional background, meaning the oral tradition, the researcher is walking a narrow line. Asking written consent from somebody who agreed to share his knowledge with you is almost an insult. It is, as my wife had interpreted it to me, and as the elders we were in steady contact with told me, almost an insult, because you indicate that you do not trust the word that was given to you. In regards to the treaty my wife was researching it can be pointed out that Native people did not have the best experiences with things they signed. If the researcher is honest or not will not be changed by the signature on a consent form. The elders see the fact that

they do talk to you at all as evidence enough that they consented to the interview. They also trust that the researcher does not use their wisdom 'in a bad way'. One elder told me that he would not give us an interview if he didn't trust us (John Mattinas). It is really a responsibility of the researcher to be honest, which cannot be controlled by a signature on a piece of paper. The fact of the fraud in the treaties with Native peoples is evidence enough for this. The bad experience with signatures that were given refers to the fact that only with these signatures on the treaties could the Native peoples be cheated out of their lands. The practice of written consent was actually used against them. Dishonest approach towards using the data cannot be prevented by it. As we could get the signatures nevertheless, this little account is just something people who go to research Native communities should think about.

The time frame I set for myself for the whole research project, which included beside interviewing the elders, interviews with community members, solvent abusers and work at the Solvent Abusers Safe House, was one year. There were two incidences that expanded the time for half a year: First, the unexpected event of working on a documentary, and second the fact that some elders still live out on the land. We had to go out to one camp (Shano Fireman) to get our interview there, and the elders interviewed that were videotaped took place at the 'natural environment' of the elders' 'work place' like smoking teepee or out in a hunting camp during fall goose hunt.

The chief's interview was also done during goose hunt in his hunting camp. This was important for the authenticity of the data with "the natural setting as the direct source of the data" (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:29), but it also stretched the time frame. The research took 1 1/2 years altogether.

Defining the Methods Used

In accordance with the discussion on post-colonial critique and the goal I had in mind, to present the understanding the local people had of the solvent abuse problem and its solution, there was not much sense in using quantitative research methods with short, closed ended questions in a thoroughly structured questionnaire. This method is used in large scale surveys which focus on public statements and general levels of agreement (Bryman and Burgess 1994:90). It is easier to be analysed because the data can be "reduced to numerical symbols" (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:30). Preparing quantitative research also requires the development of hypotheses, a method I had to avoid because there would be the danger that I make assumptions about the cultural basis I was supposed to find. In interviews with the community members the problems of using structured interviews would also be a short concentration span of the people who are not used to this kind of 'conversation', a phenomenon I experienced during my survey for my M.A, thesis in the same community (Witt 1993). In the elders' interview schedules I

included only two short questions which could be used for quantitative analysis, with answers already written on the questionnaire for the people to choose. The interviewer could handle this even in situations where people objected to notebook or tape recorder.

The above description of our research would define it as qualitative research. The research was done 'in the field', meaning away from the university setting. Coffey and Atkinson (1996:92-98) and Burgess (1984) would see this fact alone as a definition for the research to be qualitative as they equal qualitative research with field research. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) follow the same definition when they define that

qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:29).

Other characters described in the above discussion of the research in Attawapiskat like the concern of the researcher with process rather than simply with outcome. The inductive character of the analysis (using research questions rather than hypotheses), the concern with "meaning", how the people make sense of their lives, are also attributed to qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:31-32).

The research was also participatory in the way that first, some of the elders who we were in steady contact with participated in the planning of the research, and second the researchers themselves participated in work that centred around the solvent abuse problem, which meant for us that we sat on the Solvent Abuse Committee and we worked with clients in the Safe

House that was established from January through July (finding a basis, mission and vision statement etc.) and was open to clients from August through October. Also,

locally determined and controlled action (was) a planned consequence of inquiry (Hall 1993: xiv),

which in the case of our research in Attawapiskat was directed towards the local people taking action in the solving of the solvent abuse problem. Rather than merely recording observable facts, by involving local people in the design of the research and sharing the results with them, we also had

the explicit intention of collectively investigating reality in order to transform it (Maguire 1987:3),

which meant in our research that the local people should take over once the treatment centre was in place. In discussing research and results of the research, the participants also produced knowledge (Maguire 1987:10). After all, the intention of the thesis was to produce "interpretive knowledge", where "the understanding of the meanings (is) given to social interactions by those involved" (Maguire 1987:14), who were the local people.

Data collection tools were the mentioned scheduled interviews for the elders, video taped interviews for elders, video taped interviews with professionals in the community, video taped interviews with solvent abusers, a questionnaire for solvent abusers, observations in the Safe House, counselling sessions in the Safe House, and the journal of the Safe House.

Using a combination of these tools allows a study "in more depth"

(Bryman and Burgess 1994:91) than only using strictly structured questionnaires. The difficulty in this method is to make the data manageable once they should be analyzed. We did that by fitting the conversation with the elders into the schedule that was originally planned. For the interviews on tape we used a similar method as described by Bryman and Burgess (1994) who made a list of

discriptive categories and used them to index...transcripts and field notes (Bryman and Burgess 1994:91).

Our categories were the numbered headings in the interview schedules. When the tapes were transcribed, we ordered these numbers to the corresponding responses of the taped interviews.

Subjects of the Research

The overall subject of the research was the cultural basis for the healing program. This was broken down into:

- traditional life skills, survival techniques
- philosophy of life (holistic; individualistic etc.?)
- traditional healing and teaching methods
- spirituality in the community (in how far is traditional spirituality still present, and how does it blend with the dominant religion?)
- spirituality as concept of healing
- relations to the land
- the presence of local culture in everyday life
- concepts of healing (land and culture)

- concepts of discipline
- relations among generations
- evaluation of outside influence
- use of symbols (circle, drum etc.)
- causes for solvent abuse in the community

With these research subjects some concepts that were discussed in the literature review in the previous chapter could also be tested, like the concepts of education (N.W.T. Education 1993:xxv-xxvii), the four relations in life as defined by the Dene Kede curriculum (N.W.T. Education 1993), the way of learning and teaching, and the relevance of a cultural basis for a healing program in Attawapiskat. This is all discussed in the following chapter.

Respondents

In the interview schedules: 8 persons in the community that are identified as elders

In questionnaires: 5 solvent abusers (randomly chosen)

In video taped interviews: 3 elders (randomly chosen)

13 community members

- the chief
- the former deputy chief
- an elementary school teacher
- a secondary school teacher (non-Native)
- one parent
- school principal (non-Native)
- director of education
- health director (Non-Native)
- the priest (non-Native)
- 3 drummers
- a female university student

3 solvent abusers

By observation: 20 solvent abusers in the Safe House

Research Questions

I mentioned the focus for the research questions that should be tested by the research above in the objects for the research.

Summarizing it again, the focus was:

- Testing the four relationships borrowed from the Dene Kede Curriculum (NWT education, 1993): (1) the spiritual world, (2) oneself, (3) the people, (4) the land in their relevance for the Cree in Attawapiskat.
- How important is culture in the healing process?
- How is discipline imposed on children and people? The role of punishment.
- Learning and teaching styles of local people.
- Definition of education and healing. What comes first?
- Causes for the problems (inhaling solvents) in Attawapiskat.

The basis for the analysis, the research questions, that developed out of this focus were:

1. Causes for solvent abuse in Attawapiskat
2. The role of elders in the healing process
3. The role of academics
4. How to learn /teach
5. Punishment and disciplining
6. The significance of land in Native culture
7. The cultural basis for a healing program

As mentioned above, the method of analysis was inductive, based on the research questions rather than on hypotheses. The inductive analysis is also a character of qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:31). Considering that the subject of the

research was the cultural basis that was to be found in the evaluation of the problem by the local people rather than by the outside experts, qualitative research with an inductive analysis is more appropriate than a method using deductive analysis. In reference to the discussion on post-colonial critique, the use of deductive analysis would contain the danger that the cultural basis to be found is already presented in the assumptions of what *the other*, the western expert thinks this basis would look like. This was done in the proposals where Native culture alone was defined as inadequate.

CHAPTER 3

The Attawapiskat Interpretation -

Analysis of Data

Causes for Solvent Abuse in Attawapiskat

In order to make a treatment program work in the emotional realm, one has to know what should be treated, or which problems the clients are struggling with. Of course, much of it might be found in the assessment of the individual client, but a basis has to be created before that, in order to determine a general direction for the treatment program. Naturally, the programmers start on the basis of their own perceptions, the most contrary parts of which I presented in the discussion about the relations of healing and education. Following the statements in the discussion about post-colonialism, the basis for the assessment of the problem has to be established in the community. After all, Attawapiskat is a Native community. However, the bulk of the people creating the program in Attawapiskat and holding the key positions in the facility (like the treatment director who was hired) are non-Native people. In order to get a community base, the data analyzed in this paragraph are therefore based on the community people's own interpretations of the problems which I collected by interviewing elders and some other community

members, and interviewing and observing the solvent abusers I worked with in the Safe House.

The Elders' Interpretation

As the elders are the link to the 'past', the ones who pass on the culture, the responses of the elders should give some insight into the cultural interpretation of the problem. The cultural basis and the appropriate delivery modes for the healing program can be researched from the elders' perceptions. Their interpretation should also give some insight into the question in how far culture, or the struggle with an alien culture that is forced on the people, is a factor in the creation of the problem. The two extreme positions in this scenario would be that it is either the alien culture that causes the problem, or, as expressed in the interview with the health director who stated that the problems surface particularly 'during culture leave' (goose hunt) (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 316), that it is the Native culture itself that is part of the problem.

To get to the core of this, I asked the question about the changes since the people tried to adjust to 'modern' society (App.1, item 2., pp. 249/250):

What changed when you moved to the community and why?

Some of the responses hint directly to the move from the bush to the reserve being the cause of the social problems:

(e6): Yes, there had been many changes. There seems to be an epidemic increase of social problems. It was not like that before. Life was harmonious and calm in those better days.

(e7): Life was good and peaceful on the land. There are many problems now that were unknown before. There are lots of people here. We are dying slowly in the village. There are so many social problems and no harmony. (App.1, item 2., pp. 249/250)

The other responses confirm the opinion that the problems came with the attempt to adjust to the 'other' culture, with the elder (e1) referring directly to the dilemma of trying to be two different personalities at the same time and what this does to one's self esteem:

(e1): We were always adopting white men's way, but this doesn't work. You cannot be half white and half Indian. There is no faith in ourselves anymore. People are always doing as the white man does, but we cannot do that. (App.1, item 2., p. 249)

The reference of having no faith in themselves anymore can be directly applied to the situation of the youths going to school and being educated in an institution that teaches the other way, without establishing a cultural basis first. The dilemma discussed by the elder lies in the attempt to be 'white' and Native at the same time.

A similar response is given by the elder (e3) who suggests that people should have resisted to the alien society:

(e3): When someone came, he was listened to like a father figure who grew us up. People then did not resist and were not political. Then we were paternalized. We were like dogs tied in chains. (App.1, item 2., p. 249)

The problem here is referred to the Native people having been robbed their independence and responsibility for themselves. The elder who still lives a traditional life on the land up to this day (e5) expresses her resistance to the 'system' when she

points out that her son did not go to school, which meant some time back that she had not received any social assistance due to that fact (App.1, item 2., p. 249).

The direct connection to the gasoline inhaling problem becomes evident in the responses to the question about changes

In terms of family life and child rearing (item 2.3.)

All the responses refer to neglect of the children as a cause for them to turn to solvent abuse:

- (e1): When the sun was down in the bush, the kids had to be home. They obeyed their parents, because they respected them. The kids were also breastfed. There was a bond with the child. In the 60's people started to use the baby bottles. The parents (now) can take off any time. That is why the kids don't respect their parents too much any more.
- (e2): It was the parents and grand parents that taught the children and took care of them. Nowadays in school, they are only taught the white man's way. Parents do not take care of their children any more.
- (e3): In the land there were not many problems. Our parents trained us in traditional activities.
- (e4):There was calmness in the families and a lot of harmony. We also prayed together. Children listened to their parents. They could not go about their activities if they didn't. The parents were still attached to older children (over legal age).
- (e5):Long ago, when a child had a problem, parents would just talk to and counsel the child. Nowadays kids harm themselves by sniffing gasoline. There is no guidance by the parents and no relationship with the parents.
- (e6): There was disruption and family break-up. Alcohol was one of the contributing factors to our breaking social structure.
- (e7): Parents looked after their kids well. When the sun had gone down, children were at home. Nowadays children are not looked after any more. They are on their own. (App.1, item 2.3., pp. 251/252)

All the elders mention that children nowadays are neglected, that parents do not take care of them properly any more, again connecting this fact to having adapted to the alien culture. In the bush this was different, according to the statements of the elders. The lack of obedience to the parents is analyzed as lack of respect towards the parents by the children (e1). It is worth noting that the elder (e1) also refers to traditional roles and the bond to the child which was created by breast feeding. This fact at least made sure that the mother had to be with the child. The elder (e1) refers to the baby bottle which is used nowadays giving the parents the opportunity 'to take off' and leave the child (with a baby sitter). The traditional roles of men and women should be kept in mind. What this has to do with the problem will be discussed in the responses of one younger, female community member below.

Another role the parents had was taken away by the school. Having been the 'teachers' of the children, as elder (e2) says, parents and grand parents had a close relationship to the children. The disruption of this social structure came from outside with the introduction of a new education system, and with the introduction of alcohol as coping mechanism, which brought break-up of families (e6). The elder (e5) connects the missing bond between parents and children directly to the solvent abuse problem. All the responses can be interpreted as part of the problem lying in the fact that family life had changed since the people had moved to the community. The relations between

children and parents had deteriorated.

The elders interviewed on video confirm the opinion that the loss of their traditional life marks the beginning of the youths' problems:

- (e8): Life was very peaceful on the land. Nobody bothered with booze and such. It was very peaceful. We only prayed all the time.
(App.1, tape 49/Red, pp. 282/283)
- (e9): ...youth get in contact with other damaging things when they go down south....
Before residential school, kids were taught how to live a traditional life.
(App.1, tape 22/Red, p. 289)
- (e1): I am eventually forgetting about my traditional way of life, and I am sure that many of us are going through the same.
Now, youth is suffering because of that, and they are more interested in the so-called progress instead of looking for their roots.
(App.1, tape 27/Red, pp. 291/292)

The responses of the elders (e4) and (e8) mentioning prayer as part of daily life also hint towards another problem that came with the move to the reserve, that of loss of spirituality.

The elders responses to the question of changes

In terms of spirituality (item 2.6.)

all pointed towards the phenomenon that spirituality has been lost, but that it was present before the move to the community.

Elder (e2) makes the connection to the youth who lost their spirituality and values:

- (e2): Kids are not taught enough spirituality. They only learn from T.V. When they grow up, they lose the connection. The kids are losing their values.
(App.1, item 2.6., p. 254)

And elder (e7) also hints towards a balanced life in nature

when he says:

(e7): ... We could connect to the spirits (App.1, p. 254)

This loss of spirituality can be connected to the youths having lost their way and by that turn to solvent abuse.

Similar to the changes in family life, the changes

in terms of relationship among generations (item 2.8.)

had a negative effect on the youth. The elder (e1) again refers to the bond between children and particularly the mother that was lost.

(e1): People lose their values; their respect for parents and elders. It was lost, when parents lost their bond to their children. When you breast feed, you have to be around the child all the time. When you use the bottle, you can take off. Kids feel that. That's why they lose their bond. (App.1, item 2.8., p. 255)

Elder (e3) makes the same statement about the bond between the child and particularly the mother, seeing the causes for the problems the youth has today in the breakdown of this bond, and in the loss of a loving and caring relationship:

(e3): ...There was love and we were strong. We were breastfed, which made a strong bond to your mother. Then this was destroyed, it was broken down. The sky was clear in my time. Then these terrible clouds came and lives were ruined. (App.1, item 2.8., p. 255)

Referring to the clear skies during his youth, this elders also makes the loss of culture responsible for the problems today.

Elder (e2) also sees the reason for this deterioration of relationship in cultural loss with the separation of generations in the alien culture that creeps into their lives on reserve:

(e2): Relations deteriorated, because generations were separated. They do not work together any more. Children are educated in a way that they do not understand the elders any more. (App.1, 2.8., p. 255)

It is worth while mentioning that this elder, although he has an 'old age apartment' in the village, still lives on the land together with one of his grandsons, still practising the cooperation among generations he is missing in the community.

The loss of a loving and caring relationship between parents and children is also the subject of the other elders' responses:

(e6): There is not much of a relationship nowadays. You see little children run around outside. They will have a hard life when their ways of life are not taught to them.

(e7): We were close when we lived on the land. Everybody contributed to the whole and we respected each other. Now, the children are on their own.

(App.1, item 2.8., p. 255)

The elder (e5) brings in even another perspective, which will also be discussed in the research question about the role of punishment:

(e5): Long ago, when a child had problems, parents would just talk to and counsel the child. There was no form of corporal punishment, like the whip, which was brought by the priest.
(App.1, item 2.8., p. 255)

Of course, this kind of handling children could also be a sign for the loss of culture and a loving relationship between child and parent. It will be interesting to compare that with the responses of solvent abusing youth which will follow shortly below.

Altogether, all elders are complaining about the separation

of generations which was introduced by the alien culture, and the loss of a caring relationship between parents and children. In their opinion, children are neglected nowadays, which shows that little children are running around alone. The reason for all these problems arising in the families is the loss of culture and the different structure within the families, which was introduced since the people moved to the community. Generations do not cooperate anymore, due to them being separated. Children go to school, their parents might go to work and the grand parents are pushed away into old age homes, whereas in Native culture the family did everything together. Considering this, families nowadays are not only breaking apart by separation of parents, but also by losing their strong bond and support they had for each other. Elder (e4) summarizes this difference to the 'modern' family:

(e4): We hunted and fished together. When we came to town to shop, we came as families. And we returned as families when spring came.
(App.1, item 2.8., p. 255)

As a back-up to the above discussed I asked another question during the interviews, connecting directly to the solvent abuse problem:

**Interpret the youths' solvent abuse problem
in relations with**

Life in their homes

The responses confirm the analysis made above that the deterioration of relationship between children and parents and the neglect of children by their parents are the major causes for

the children to turn to abuse of solvents, which shows in the following responses:

- (e3): These kids feel that nobody cares for their actions. They feel abandoned, and there is a lack of caring, hugs and kisses. They are also treated too harsh, and they become resentful and self-destructive. As the years went by, the kids were not hugged, loved, and this created an attitude to suicide. It is a combination of abandonment, family break-up, and alcohol.
- (e5): Parents are not around their children any more. The children are free to roam around. The problem is around only now. There has not been a problem before.
- (e7): Parents are not really looking after their children. Parents do not show their children the traditional way of life, and kids have nothing to do.

(App.1, item 5.1., pp. 267/268)

The elder (e3) made the clearest statement about the lack of love and caring that drives the children to solvent abuse and self-destruction. In connection with discipline, as mentioned by elder (e5) above, this elder is also of the opinion that the children's self-destructive behaviour is also due to the too harsh treatment (punishment), which was not traditional. Elder (e7) also mentions another factor, boredom, that drives children to solvent abuse. And the mention of the problem only being around nowadays (e6) again hints to the responsibility of the alien culture which is imposed on Native people.

Elder (e3) also brings in another factor, that of the parents having problems themselves, which is interpreted as family break-up and alcoholism. This is also observed by the other elders who responded:

- (e2): There were also adults sniffing. When parents

drink, their children turn to sniffing.
(App.1, item 5.1., p. 267)

(e6): Alcohol is one contributor. Also gambling.
Parents are not home to take care of their children.
Children are left alone. (App.1, item 5.1., p. 268)

The problems the parents have are thus passed on to their children. These problems can also be seen as being imported, particularly alcohol. It would be another question why the people turned to alcohol.

Almost the same responses were given to the question of

Family life style and child rearing (item 5.1.)

A new component to the above mentioned that children are neglected is the materialism that came with the adaption to the alien society, brought to the people by T.V. and education. This shows in responses like:

(e1): ...The kids say they sniff because they were not given money for buying material things, like jackets they see.

(e2): ...Children are not properly brought up. There is too much love for material things. When they see too much T.V. about things they are supposed to have, or when they see their parents play cards or bingo, they only want money.

(e3): There is no guidance, no counselling, no values. ...

(App.1, item 5.1., p. 268)

The response of elder (e5) that

(e5): ...Before welfare came, we had control of the basic necessities. Now people depend too much on it
(App.1, item 5.1, p. 268),

makes a connection to the loss of independence, the lack of being able to care for the family without help from the government as one contributing factor to the problems the parents pass on to

their children. This is directly connected to the loss of culture the elders were stating above, which is also underlined by elder (e6), who again points to the loss of the teacher role the parents had traditionally:

(e6): Due to abandonment of children and not teaching the children our ways, children start to sniff and join peer groups who do the same.
(App.1, item 5.1., p. 268)

This statement also points towards education, the form of education that was introduced by non-Native people, as part of the problem, which was discussed in the following responses to the question asking for the solvent abuse problem in relations to **school and education** (item 5.1., pp. 268/269).

The core of the responses points towards the lack of traditional education in the school (App.1, item 5.1., p. 268/269) expressed in responses like:

(e2): They only teach the white ways.

(e5): It used to be the parents that educated their children. At school they do not learn our traditional life style.

(e6): ...There is too much depending on the western world, which does not contain Native knowledge. ...

(e7): The school takes too much of our Indianness.

(App.1, item 5.1., p. 268/269)

The elders confirm here that part of the problem are the alien ways that are forced on Native people, which are contained in the education the children receive at home. Traditional teaching is not done in the school, and the time children spend in school is so long that there is not much time for traditional teaching at

home.

The references made to materialism and T.V. as part of the problem in the responses to solvent abuse problem in relation to

Influences from outside (item 5.1., pp. 269/270)

again point towards imposing the alien culture on the Native as a major cause for the problem of solvent abuse (App.1, item 5.1., p. 269/270). This is summarized by elder (e2) who sees the problem of the youth in Attawapiskat in

(e2): ...T.V., commercials and institutions that are not based on our philosophy. (App.1, item 5.1., p. 269)

Also, as in the bulk of questions in item 2, the loss of spirituality is made responsible for the problems of the youth, which is expressed in responses like

(e2): Children have lost their spirituality. They are not taught spirituality by their parents,
and

(e7): Spirituality is lacking. Parents do not really teach their children spirituality any more.

(App.1, item 5.1., spirituality, p. 269)

All the elders do make a clear statement that the problems found in the community today did not derive from their own culture, but were imported by the alien culture, with the breakdown of the traditional family structure as the major contributor to the problems the children have today. Children are not cared for, they themselves feel neglected, people have become too materialistic and passed that on to their children, and a loving relationship to the children is lacking.

What was also mentioned is the loss of the traditional roles, particularly that of a mother, which contributes to the problem. Education as it is done in the community, by the school, is still an alien form of education which contributes to the loss of culture, although, as the elder (e9) states "the school we now have is different, compared to what I heard about Fort Albany (the residential school)" (App.1, tape 21/Red, p. 288). In the opinion of the elders, the school still neglects Native culture. All this drives the children into self-destruction by solvent abuse.

The Attawapiskat Professionals' Interpretation

All the persons from that group were interviewed on video. Among them is the chief, the former deputy chief, a female university student, a teacher from the local school, one parent of solvent abusers I was working with, the drummers (all Native), and two non-Native community members with one being the priest of the community and the other the health director who coordinates building and design of treatment centre and program. Their responses should be compared to those of the elders.

Let me start with the two non-Native community members to also point out some differences in the perception of the problem.

The roman catholic **priest** of the community did not directly refer to the solvent abuse problem, but he confirms the elders' opinion that the Native people have been a very spiritual people, even before the missionaries came, when he says that

...God was part of their lives. (App.2, tape 33/Red, p. 309) and that this spirituality was

...passed down from their ancestors into them. (p. 309). He also confirms the elders' opinion that spirituality has gone back, partly due to T.V., and, obviously referring to the problems in the community, he states that there is a need for spirituality in the community (App.2, tape 33/Red, p. 310).

The non-Native **health director** refers more directly to the solvent abuse problem, speaking about the necessity of the treatment centre in the community. As opposed to the elders' opinion, who blame the alien culture for the problems, the health director sees the Native culture as partly responsible for the problem. I have mentioned already that he sees a rise in solvent abuse during cultural leave (Spring and Fall hunt):

During cultural leave in Spring and Fall, a lot of problems show with the abuse of solvents, triggered by violence in the family, and the other things that are widespread in this community. That is pretty serious, as people do something, and they do something they want to do, that at the same time takes away the stress and pressure from the family environment.
(App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 316)

This interpretation is the complete opposite to that of the elders, as he says that the problems show during cultural activities, while the elders say that the problems would not arise if people would still live their own culture.

The other statement he makes at the end of his interview underlines his perception of the problem lying within Native culture, as he emphasizes the importance of education, of course meaning western education which was partly blamed for the problem

by the elders:

Education is by far the most important component in a lot of cases. These young people feel useless, and we can give them something that makes them useful citizens of their community, and in some families.
(App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 318)

Other than the elders, who think that the young people's problems derive from their having lost touch with their own culture by adapting too much from the alien culture and by that they feel lost, the health director sees the problems in the youth not having accumulated enough 'western' knowledge and therefore they feel useless. This, of course, would ask for a completely different basis for the program. This will be discussed in the analysis of research question on the cultural basis of the program. In this paragraph I will just state what the people consider the causes for the solvent abuse problem in Attawapiskat.

Although he contradicts the elders' opinion about the causes for solvent abuse so completely in the above issues, the health director agrees in the other issues, such as the abusers being those "who have very little to do in the community" (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 315) referring to the boredom of some youths. He also refers to problems within the families (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 316), which would point towards the neglect of the children the elders were talking about. He, however, is not so clear on this subject as he states that the abuse at home might only be "what the youths think is abuse" (p.316), which would mean they have imaginary problems.

With his indication to T.V. he partly confirms the elders' opinion that might have a bad influence on the children, but he also brings in another component. When T.V. is used educationally it "maybe the best that can happen" (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317). This only makes sense when it is compared to his statement on the importance of education, western education that is, which can be promoted by T.V.

With his reference to the lack of decent housing that is provided for the Native people by the government as part of the solvent abuse problem (App.2, p. 316), he raises another problem.

The overall interpretation of the causes for solvent abuse shows, however, an opposite position towards the problem as compared to the elders' statements.

The other Native members of the community that were interviewed were much more in agreement with their elders' statements.

The **former deputy chief** speaks from his own experience with solvents when he was a high school student. One of the causes he mentions is his being torn away from the community for receiving his education 'down south' (App.2, tape 15, p. 311), which hints at his missing the loving and caring relationship to his family the elders were referring to. One important point he brings to the discussion is self-esteem. He states that down south he

...somehow was ashamed being an Indian (App.2, p. 311)

The elders did not mention this issue directly, yet by

referring to education as "taking away our Indianness" they speak about the same problem.

The former deputy chief also confirms the elders' opinion about the responsibility of the alien culture for the solvent abuse problem which

...caused a lot of emotional harm in our ancestors,
(he) can still feel the pain of (his) ancestors.
(App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 311)

This means, as the elders said, that the problems were passed down by the parents of the solvent abusers, due to them having their own problems with dealing with the alien culture.

The **Native teacher** interviewed refers to the same problem when he blames the non-Natives' attempt to change the Native people. He refers directly to the education system, connecting the problems to residential school:

So, what we did that came out of Residential School is taking up substance abuse, substance abuse to hide our problems.

A lot of problems that Native people have today came out of residential school; psychological problems. And we passed on our problems to our children. We are losing focus on traditional values

(App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 303)

Like the elders, these two Native people clearly state that it is the non-Native culture, and the forced adaptation to it, that causes the problems in Native communities.

The **former deputy chief** also agrees with the elders on the negative effect the break-down of families and the neglect of the children had on the behaviour of the youth:

I remember when first I came back from the south where I went to school. I came back, and I saw that children went without food, and I saw parents drunk.

I saw marriages breaking apart, and I saw people not being able to work. I saw pain in the community, and I saw it was not our fault. That was passed on from generation to generation. (App.2, tape 15/Red, pp. 311/312)

The **female university student** also makes the statement that the problems in the communities started with the Native people's adapting to foreign values stating that

That's how these problems are showing now in our homes, because our ways are not respected.
(App.2, tape 48/Green, p. 326)

That these 'ways' go far beyond the perception that people usually have about Native culture, that of hunting and gathering, can be seen in her interpretation of Native society in the past:

In our society, men and women, they had relations, and they shared responsibilities with each other. Native women were valued as powerful, as they have babies, and that's sacred.
They were respected for this gift they have.
(App.2, tape 49/Green, p. 327)

Like the elders above, she is referring to the roles of the genders, which have an impact on the upbringing of the children. Culture, as Native people refer to it, does not stop at things like hunting and gathering. An important part of culture are the relations between men and women, with which we 'white' people still struggle, wondering which sex should have 'the power'. With Native people, there was no difference in status between men and women. Although there were different roles for the two sexes, responsibilities were shared, and no gender had power over the other. That is the environment in which Native children had grown up before the people moved to the reserves. That changed with the adaption to modern times, and the interviewee draws her

own conclusion about the cause for solvent abuse and break-down of families saying that nowadays women get abused being subjected to their husbands which

...creates a situation where a man may think he has control over his wife. And perhaps that explains why there are so many problems in the communities.
(App.2, tape 49/Green, p. 327)

Her conclusions are to go back to her own culture, being proud for being a woman who likes her woman role in that culture, which would not interfere in the education she received at university (p. 328/329). She as well agrees with the elders that the root of the problem is that Native people try too hard to be somebody else, and that the problems derive from this attitude.

The parent of solvent abusers who agreed to a short interview also agrees with the elders, stating that the problem with solvent abuse derives from broken families and child neglect:

These are the things that are hard in the community, with the fact also that youth are into drinking and gas-sniffing. That's very difficult. And parents don't sleep at night, as they are playing poker. The kids are not looked after. These are the problems you cannot really control and stop, as there is a tendency to resist (deny). And things cannot work if we do not cooperate with each other.
(App.2, tape 31/Green, p. 329)

With the exception of the health director, all interviewees agree to the statements of the elders that the cause for solvent abuse in the community can be referred to the alien culture or to the fact that the own culture is being lost. This fact shows in the relations between the generations, which in many cases shows in the fact that the children are neglected.

The Affected Youths

Although there was research done on the youth already, the one by Emily Faries (1995) I discussed in the introduction, I will add some more information based on the observations during my own research in 1996 while working in the Safe House. In the meeting of the Attawapiskat Solvent Abuse Intervention Committee (July 21, 1994), 29 chronic solvent abusers (22 male, 7 female) were identified that year. I did not have access to the latest statistics, if there was ever a new one done already. The solvent abusers we worked with at the Safe House for three months (August, September, October 1996) amounted to 20 (13 male, 7 female). Although I only interviewed 5 of them with questionnaires, I could produce data on all 20 based on observations in the Safe House and counselling sessions.

In order to keep the clients' name confident, I just numbered them according to their first appearance in the Safe House. The number in brackets (1) represents the individual client. The list is in the Appendix (App.3, p. 330)

Living with Both or a Single Parent

The statistics on the observed solvent abusers concerning the situation at home would not allow too many conclusions at first glance as the distribution of the youths who live with both parents and the ones who only live with one parent or in a broken family is almost 50/50 with 11 youths out of 20 coming from a broken family (ratio 11/9). Almost half of the youths live with

both parents (App.3, p. 330).

However, looking at the nine parents that are still together, there are only two who have no history of gambling or drinking, causes that were named by the elders and the other interviewees. This fact allows the conclusion that there is indeed child neglect.

The other cause that can be concluded from the fact that there are broken families is emotional stress among the youth. The 20 solvent abusers do not come from 20 different families. The youths (7), (10), and (11) are brothers coming from a broken home. (2) and (9) are siblings from a home with both parents. There is another brother who is also a solvent abuser, but he was never brought to the Safe House at that time, nor did he come voluntarily. (13) and (17) are also brothers who live with both their parents. (App.3, p. 330)

Home Environment

All respondents in the questionnaire gave a positive response to the question

Do you frequently feel that people close to you do not understand you? (App.3, item 2.2., p. 333)

with client (3) stating that his mother had sold all his outdoors gear to be able to go to poker games and client (5) stating that he sometimes gets physically abused by his mother. He, (5), also mentions that fact again in the next question

What made you start sniffing? (App.3, item 2.4., p. 333)

The four clients responding to this question all had boredom

as one of the reasons with three of them also mentioning peer pressure as reason for starting. (5) again mentioned having problems with his mother. These problems also showed in the Safe House, where the client, who was accompanied by his father several times, took off when he had to face his mother (App.4, journal, Oct. 28, p. 412). He also made the statement that he would like to go hunting more often. He was the only client who stated that he took other drugs beside gasoline inhaling. (5) also mentioned in the same question that he was sad about his cousin having died from inhaling gasoline.

This painful experience is shared also by (8) who mentioned in a counselling session that she was grieving for her brother who had committed suicide after gas sniffing. While she was still sniffing, she used to see him as a 'white figure' and talk to him. (App.3, p. 369)

The client (10) also seeks contact with his dead brother, who passed away while he was sniffing. He feels lonely because his parents are separated, the mother living with another man. He lives with his grand parents with his two other brothers (7) and (11) who were clients as well. Violence is a reason for him to sniff as well. He does not talk about violence at home, like (5) but about violence by his peers. (App.3, p. 371)

Another form of violence towards the solvent abusing youth is mentioned by client (8) in an interview on video tape mentioning that jail is not the right place to bring a solvent abuser:

What I like to say about the kids that are picked up is to please bring them to the Safe House; not to lock them up, as it is too harsh.
Those kids said they did more sniffing after they had been locked up. (App.3, tape 50/Green, p. 367)

Boredom

As mentioned above, all the clients interviewed with the questionnaire were complaining that there was nothing to do (App.3, item 2.4., p. 333). The same is confirmed by client (8) in two of her video interviews. She says:

We would like to play in the gym on Thursday night. I have 12 youth signed up for volley ball, and we would like to see more activities.
(App.3, tape 46/Green, pp. 365/366)

and

Also, we would like to have a gym to play where we can have activities. This would surely help a lot when they (the sniffers) have activities to do. And also, it would be good to see crafts or traditional things done in respect to our Native culture.
(App.3, tape 50/Green, p. 366)

This seems to confirm the health director's statement that the youths do solvent abuse because there is nothing to do, as (8) is asking for more activities.

Lack of Cultural Activities

But she also mentions traditional activities in respect to their Native culture, which points towards the elders' statements that one of the problems is the loss of culture.

That lack of cultural activities is a problem is also confirmed in the questionnaire (App.3, item 3.7., p. 335) where

all clients stated that they were doing traditional activities. Two of the five clients who answered the question were complaining that they would like to do more of this (item 3.7., pp. 335/336) and three out of five would like to know more about outdoors activities (item 3.8., p. 336). The strong connection to their culture shows in the fact that all of the interviewees preferred the Cree language to English with two of them emphasising that Cree is their Native language and they speak English only in school or to non-Native people (App.3, item 3.3., p. 334).

The longing for cultural activities is also expressed in the video interview of client (11):

It's fun to live in Attawapiskat. It's fun to do many things, but not to sniff. And on the land, I like to hunt geese. It's fun to do that. I like it, and I don't mind going to school in Attawapiskat. I don't mind it. It's fun here in Attawapiskat. I think it's not boring. (App.3, tape 31/Green, p. 364)

With the last sentence he seems to contradict all the other statements who indicate that people do solvent abuse because there is nothing to do. Yet, it can also be interpreted in a different way. The possibility for doing these activities is present in Attawapiskat. This youth likes to go hunting, and when somebody goes with him, he could also do this. What is lacking seems to be time when to do these activities, or time of adults who would take him. This would again confirm that the problems of the youths originate in their losing their culture.

That solvent abuse is an act of desperation, not a social activity is also stated by this youth when he says that

everything is fun but sniffing. Yet, he is still sniffing.

School

The statistics of 14 out of 20 youths not being at school (App.3, p. 338) seems to confirm the statement of the health director that the lack of formal education might be the problem for the solvent abusers. However, these statistics do not show that the solvent abusers turn to solvents because they did not get enough education. It could also be the other way around that they are not in school, because they do solvents. As client (10) said in his counselling session, he considered himself very sensitive and he had trouble keeping his temper. This temper actually got him out of school as he was suspended for kicking a garbage can. And his anger makes him turn to gasoline (App.3, counselling, Sept 29, p. 372).

The Role of the Elders

As outlined in the first proposal for the program, elders are to play a role in the healing centre (Kells 1995:21). In the literature review I tried to establish this role of the elders as being the focus of the whole program because the program is to be based on local culture. How this role is based in the local culture and that it is not only restricted to activities on the land, but includes all life, pimaatisiwin, should be explained by the responses in the survey I did among elders and community

members.

Teaching, Loving, and Caring

One observation I could make in the Safe House was the genuine caring attitude of one elder who was so pleased to see so many youths sitting and playing together that he went over to them shaking each individual's hand (App.4, Journal, October 5, 1996, p. 386).

That the relationship between the elder and the child was educational **and** loving shows in the following accounts:

- (e1): When I wanted to know something, I went to older people to go back and back, instead of always looking to the future. You have to be patient and have time with the education of the children. Always trust your relationship first. When I hugged my grandmother I was asked by the priest: 'What are you doing?' After that this (hugging) stopped. (App.1, item 2.4., p. 252)
- (e3): In my youth days, elders were gentle and caring when we lived on the land. There was love and we were strong. There were no distractions, and we lived a humble life. (App.1, item 2.8., p. 255)

The different perception that progress is being sought in the past rather than in the future, in order to know how the circle of life should complete, makes aware of the important role of the elder in Native life. Life also means something else than in our perception of 'progress' and success, which is indicated in the quote on the 'humble life'. Teaching is therefore done by the older people who have the connection to life in the past and have experience in how to follow the circle of life, also in present times. Beside the experience they also have the time and

patience to teach. This teaching by the elders does not only include what we think Native culture merely consists of, hunting and gathering, which is expressed by elder (6) in the following quote, but the whole view towards life, which should explain why the elders are not only important for teaching the 'skills' for survival on the land, but have to be included in the whole program.

(e6): We used to have traditional education, taught by our parents and elders, about philosophy, hunting etc.. (App.1, item 2.4., p. 252)

That the teachings of the elders do not hinder a person to take positions which are considered only possible when one goes through a non-Native education shows in the example of the teacher I interviewed who obviously could complete a university education although, in his own words he

...grew up with the elders. (App.2, tape 33/Green, p. 300)

As he explained in his session with solvent abusers in the Safe House, where this interview was taped, it was the teaching of the elders, the teaching of the medicine wheel that

...was the basis of their (the Natives') surroundings. The medicine wheel was the one that brought families together. The medicine wheel is based on the teachings of the Seven Grandfathers. The Seven Grandfathers consisted of **wisdom, bravery, trust, honesty, humility, truth, and to do the best you can.** (App.2, tape 34/Green, pp. 301/302)

This quote indicates how the whole life, how culture, is the basis for life and the organization of it, and that everything has to be built on this basis. This is part of Native life and important for healing, because

the person has to find himself. (App.2, tape 34/Green, p.304)

The elders are the ones who can pass on these teachings. The problems started in this Native teacher's opinion when they

...began to lose focus on the teachings of the elders.
(App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 302)

That the elders are the ones to learn from is also expressed in some responses to the question

Who and what can youth learn from?
(App.1, item 5.12., p. 280)

(e1): Somebody who is knowledgeable about philosophy and healing. They can share and teach to people who are lacking awareness.

(e6): You can learn from older, experienced people,....
(App.1, item 5.12., p. 280)

Both elders speak about the elders being the teachers because knowledge about philosophy and healing and awareness comes with experience. Awareness can also be interpreted as cultural awareness, and the people who can be taught this awareness would thus be the ones working in the treatment centre. The elders would in this way also be important for the training of the staff, rather than the other way around, that elders need training as suggested by Kells (1995). This awareness also points towards another important role of the elders.

The Keepers of Culture

The teacher interviewed in the Safe House also makes aware of another important part of culture and identity that is passed on by the elders, that of language. He refers part of the problem to the fact that

...the young people do not understand the language of the elders and the old traditional values before technology came. (App.2, tape 33/Green, p. 300)

and complains that by this fact the traditional values are disappearing. The elders make aware of the same problem also pointing out the importance of language in their responses to the question what changed

In terms of language (App.1, item 2.9., p. 255/256)

- (e1): The use of our language goes down dramatically. We were given a language by the Creator. Even the geese still communicate the same as before....
- (e2): ...Children get frustrated sometimes because they do not understand us anymore. They speak a different kind of Cree, which is too English.
(App.1, item 2.9., p. 255)
- (e4): Long time ago, people could speak proper Cree, even the young. Nowadays, due to school, the young are losing their language slowly.
- (e5): The children are losing their language, because they go to school at an early age.
- (e6): We have a sacred language given to us by God. God had given many languages to people, and we were given our own. I am dismayed when officials do not respect the sacredness of our language. ...
- (e7): We spoke our language. It is God's gift and we have to respect that. People nowadays are losing our language. They do not live as we lived before.

(App.1, item 2.9., p. 256)

The importance of language is mentioned by elder (e1) who says that even the animals have their own language. The role of the elders in this respect would be to pass the language on to the young people. However, as elder (e7) points out, people do not live as they lived before, which cannot only be interpreted as not living on the land anymore, but also as not learning from

the elders anymore. The interference in that life comes through school, as expressed by elders (e3) and (e5). This means for the healing program that it cannot be organized like a school based on the other culture, and that elders have to be a major part of it, if this kind of cultural loss is to be stopped. To avoid misunderstandings, I have to point out here that the elders do not say that the youths do not speak Cree at all anymore. They speak a Cree with too much English in it, not knowing many original Cree words anymore that the elders still use.

The elders' role in teaching so called traditional skills is not doubted, even by the non-Native planners of the program (Kells 1995:21 and Hannah 1996:12). The elder (e1) points out that

(e1): ...there is education needed for skills on the land.
(App.1, item 3.3., pp. 257/258)

And the elder (e2) makes the connection to the healing effect of life on the land when he refers to his grandson living with him. Although he, the grandson, did not go to school

(e2): ...he healed out here by living with me.
(App.1, item 3.3., p. 258)

This, by the way, is also an indicator that is not the lack of formal education which makes the young people turn to solvents. One of the elders' roles is still to teach the traditional skills on the land because, as elder (e2) (item 3.2.) points out that

(e2): Nobody in the village teaches them. (App.1, p. 258)

The role of the elders in the healing program is also made aware of by the elders themselves in their responses to the

question to

interpret the youths' solvent abuse problems
(item 5.1., pp. 267 - 270)

(e1): ...Nowadays there is only school to teach the children not their homes anymore. The elders' input would be important.
(App.1, item 5.1. school and education, p. 268)

(e6): I did not go to school. I had a different kind of education.
I have learned so much. It is unfortunate that we do not consistently go to our elders for knowledge but always to western institutions.
This contributes to the problem. There is too much depending on the western world, which does not contain Native knowledge. ...
(App.1, item 5.1., school and education, p. 269)

There are several things to discuss within these statements.

First, both elders complain that the elders' knowledge is not used by 'western' institutions in the communities any more, and that this is a contributor to the problems the youth has today.

The second statement is that people did learn much, even if they did not go to school. They learned from nature and their elders, by consistently going to the elders. Nowadays there is too much dependence on the western world. This means, of course, that going to the elders would also mean finding solutions to the problems instead of depending on outside solutions. The role of the elders thus should not be to get fitted into an institution that is based on western knowledge, but, having the knowledge, they should be the ones to design the program. This notion of traditional knowledge compared to academic knowledge will also be discussed below in the analysis of the question on the role of

academic subjects.

The importance of reconnection to the past for building a future is emphasized by the female university student whose interview was also taped in the Safe House. She says:

When I talk to elders, I also want to know what life was in the past. And they say it was peaceful. They were strong, and there were not so many social problems that are now here today in our homes.
(App.2, tape 48/Green, p. 326)

She states then that part of Native culture was the relation between men and women based on mutual respect as opposed to the imported relationship that women are subdued to their husbands, and she makes this fact partly responsible for the problems on the reserves today (App.2, tape 48/Green, p. 327) , as I already discussed in the causes for solvent abuse. Her conclusion points towards the elders as the ones who would be able to help solving the present problems with what is taught in the medicine wheel when she says that what needs to be done

...is for Native women to reinstate their position, how life was like in the past, and how they had relations to their husbands. Also, in order for this to happen, our society must reorganize. We must reconnect to what we were given by Creator. That we must reconnect to our culture, our philosophy and apply the in our programs we want to run in our community.
(App.2, tape 49/Green, p. 328)

The important role of the elders is that they are the ones who can reconnect to the culture of the people, because they still lived it before they moved to the community and before the social problems started. Within this culture, there are solutions for the problems of the youth. As the elders are the connection to the past, which is the important link to culture and to knowing

how the circle of life should be completed, it is them who should be involved in the design of the program for a healing centre.

Counselling and Guidance

The role of the elders does not end with teaching, however. Having life experience, they are also important for passing down life skills and for counselling people in trouble. To connect to this practise, we worked with elders in the Safe House, and one elder was brought into the Safe House when a situation came up with tension between a mother of a client with her son (App.4, journal, Oct. 28, 1996, p. 412/413).

The practice of elders being counsellors is referred to in the responses to the question

What did grandparents do when there were youth having problems? (App.1, item 5.2., p. 270/271)

- (e1): We had guidance from our elders. Elders or community members would talk to the children and take of them. (App.1, item 5.2., p. 270)
- (e5): They did just talk to the child. They would counsel the child. ... Elders also played a role in counselling.
- (e6): The children were just talked to by their parents or elders.

(App.1, item 5.2., p. 271)

Not only have the elders always played a role in counselling the children, the responses also show that problems could be handled by the Native people themselves. They did not need imported solutions from alien institutions. The persons who would still know what these solutions were are again the elders. The

response of elder (e7) that

(e7): ...there were not these problems. The children were cared for, and they were talked to. (p. 271)

allows the conclusion that the problems on the reserve nowadays are due to the people losing their own cultural values. In a caring environment, based on Native culture these problems might not even come up, and if they do, they can be dealt with in a Native way. The importance is to find this way, and that can be done when the elders are asked.

In regard to healing, this counselling by the elders is important for the young substance abusers because they are trying to find themselves, and get the self-esteem that enables them to face problems in life. This is testified by the former deputy chief who said that he was a gas-sniffer himself, but he had stopped after talking to elders:

And then I started to talk to some people, elders, about these things that happened down south and in my community. After I had received knowledge from them I realized that the Creator had made me a Mushkegowuk, a Cree-Indian. So, that's why I'm not ashamed any more to be Native.
(App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 311)

That this self-esteem is important in the treatment program is also mentioned by the health director who refers to the part of the program where clients go out on the land:

That is part of their cultural sensitisation or resensitisation because we want them to build pride in what their ancestors were, and that they understand at the same time that there is a global village out there, and they have their place in that global village as themselves.
(App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317)

Both statements refer to self-esteem as basis for the

healing program. It is significant, however, that the Native person who got healed by the elders' knowledge refers to the present of being a Cree-Indian by following the path of the elders, because it was meant to be like this by the Creator (circle of life, medicine wheel), the non-Native person talks about what the Native ancestors **were** and then points towards the future and the global village where the Native person would have to find his place. For the Native person, this place can be found not in the future, but by reconnecting to the past and the circle of life. This connection can be found in the wisdom of the elders. It is up to the programmers for the treatment centre to realize the fundamental difference in the perception of reality, based on past or future, and then decide which one should be the basis for the program. It should be considered, however, that the Native person above made the statement that he found himself in the knowledge he received from his elders. This is confirmed by all the statements of Native persons who were discussed in regards to the role of elders.

The Role of Academic Content

The Direction of Education

As discussed in the literature review, there was some disagreement among the people setting up the program about the role of education in healing, and there was frequently the question of where the academic content was in the program.

In the opinion of the health director,

...education is by far the most important component in a lot of cases. These young people feel useless, and we can give them something that makes them into useful citizens of their community, and in some families. (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 318)

Looking at this statement and comparing it to the responses of the community people, there does not seem any disagreement on the attempt to give the solvent abusers self-esteem. Leaving out the question about the definition of education and healing, or what role education plays in healing, one question still remains, that of what should be educated into the youth. What would give them the feeling of worth so that they can heal?

Education is also understood as forming the character of a person, or, as the school principal in Attawapiskat puts it

...you want to mould your son or daughter into something you would like them to become.
(App.2, tape 46/Red, p. 321)

The use of the analogy of sons and daughters points already into the direction of who to ask for the basis of the program. That was done by the Solvent Abuse Committee and the original group that put the idea of a treatment centre into the first proposal, with the deputy chief taking the leading role in this process.

He says:

We had public meetings to hear what the community wanted. The community wanted a healing centre. They had a vision that we could teach our young people how to be hunters, trappers, to use their language and spirituality. To get that back through our elders. To be proud as a people (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 312).

The direction of the program, how to give the youth back the self-esteem they need for healing was already decided on by the

community. The emphasis is laid on culture, and the teachers to be chosen are the elders. The statement gives an almost complete picture of culture as it is understood by the people of the community as, beside the usual perception of Native culture, that of hunting and trapping, language and spirituality are included. Summarized in a sentence, when the goal is to make the person proud to be an 'Indian', s/he has to be educated as an 'Indian', and, in the opinion of the people in the community, that has to be the basis of the treatment program.

This could be verified by the elders who complain about the lack of cultural education in their response to the question of what changed

in terms of survival skills (App.1, item 2.7., pp. 254/255)

- (e1): The longer we stayed in the village, the more children forgot how to live off the land. These skills should be taught to the children and also to the white people living here. There would be less accidents.
- (e2): Children do not learn how to live on the land anymore. People lost these skills.
- (e3): In school you are not taught how to survive on the land.
- (e4): Out on the land, older people were still hunting and trapping.
- (e5): These skills are not taught in school
- (e6): We were taught survival skills long ago. Now I worry about our youth for the future. We have cuts by the government. How will we survive if we do not receive any assistance in the future?
- (e7): We lived in close harmony with nature. There is so much to learn from the land. God gave us life within this land, and we are to deeply respect it and take good care of it.

All the respondents agree that cultural teachings are missing in the community. Elder (e1) refers to the importance to know the land when you live on it and even suggests that White people living here should receive the same education. Elder (e7) refers to the same issue of learning from the land when you live on it, and connects it to the spiritual duty of the people to educate their children in this way when he reminds us that God has put the (Cree) people on this land for the purpose to live in a certain way and to take care of the land.

Elder (e9) who was recorded on video tape also agrees that this kind of education should be offered:

(e9): It is important to offer this kind of education to the kids in school. I am aware that kids here also learn Cree at school. I am sure they would be interested (in Native way of life) if they were shown. We learned traditional life in the past.
(App.1, Tape 22/Red, p. 289)

That the spiritual part of life is missing is expressed by elder (2) in his interpretation of the youths' solvent abuse problem (item 5.1., school and education, p. 268) when he says:

(e2): They only teach the white ways. There is not enough spiritual teaching.

Elder (e7) summarizes the problem of the basis of education in his statement that

(e7): ...the school takes too much of our Indianness.
(App.1, item 5.1., school and education, p. 269)

That education as it is done in school should not be the basis of a healing program in the opinion of the people of Attawapiskat can be concluded from the responses to the following questions. There was not one completely positive response to the

follow-up question about what children mean to the community:

Is this role (goal) represented by the education offered in the community? (App.1, item 5.6., p. 272)

Only one of the elders answered "in part". The responses to the question of

which parts are missing (item 5.6., pp. 272/273)

again result in the realization that it is cultural teaching that is neglected by education. Elder (e1) indicates already that this fact has a negative effect when he says:

(e1): We must reclaim the lost youth, to aid in healing and forgiveness. We must create help for our youth to change the situation. We have to target the younger children. They are easier to reach. They should have a knowledgeable person at school that can help our youth. Children have to feel that you care for them. (App.1, item 5.6., pp. 272/273)

With the 'reclaiming' of the youth the problem of the youth being lost and the way how it should be put back on the path, by cultural teachings, is already mentioned. The way how to heal the youth, by making them feel that they are cared for, is also mentioned. This will be discussed shortly after. The conclusion that lack of self-esteem is the basis of the problem of the youth is made in the responses to the next question:

What effect does this lack have on the youth?
(item 5.6., p. 273)

(e1): That is really the issue. I once heard from a person who did not learn anything about himself at residential school. He lost himself. My father said that I have to live in harmony with the White men I would meet, but I have to keep my identity.

(e2): The children get too materialistic. They start sniffing because they do not get the things they see on T.V., or because they cannot live the way

that is taught to them at school.

(e3): This is where the social problems started. Due to the harsh treatment of the kids.

(e6): They are lost because they do not know who they are.

(e7): They don't know who they are and who we were. They cannot live like we did.

The statement that the youths are lost is made several times. They are lost, because they got educated in an education system that is based on a different culture, and the youths do not know anymore who they are. The statement that

...these young people feel useless
(App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 318)

has to be analyzed from this perspective. They feel useless because they are lost, because they do not know who they are. And when we want to give them something, it has to be self-esteem. This self-esteem can only be reinstated when the people know who they are. Only then can they be proud of being 'Indian'. The knowledge of who you are cannot be found in alien contents. In this way, 'education' is to be based on the culture of the people who are to be healed.

The Purpose of a Healing Program

Education, as it is discussed above, is a continuous process while the child is growing up. With solvent abusers it can be concluded that this process was interrupted. And the goal of any healing program therefore has to be that the youths are brought back to the point where the interruption started, to make them

capable to continue where they laid off. In how far academic subjects can help in this goal will have to be discussed. But first the purpose of a healing program has to be defined.

The elders made a clear statement on this purpose when they responded to the question

What should be the purpose of a healing program?
(App.1, item 5.7., p. 274)

This was the only question in the questionnaire where the choice given for the responses was restricted, laid out in 10 responses for the interviewees to chose from:

- [1] to punish the abuser
- [2] to lock the abuser away from peers and community
- [3] to give the abuser a safe environment to heal
- [4] to have the abuser catch up on the school program
- [5] to help the abuser to find herself/himself
- [6] to awaken or strengthen spiritual awareness
- [7] to awaken or strengthen cultural awareness
- [8] to teach survival skills
- [9] to heal body, mind and soul
- [10] to heal the community

The first two items, those about punishment and 'sorting out the bad apples' were not chosen by any of the respondents. This is a strong statement that the abuser should be still part of the community and not be punished but rather healed. In regard to the academic program, item [4], this was included by only one respondent out of six that answered this question. The other five respondents did not deem this item important in a healing program. The place of this item almost in the centre of the list should help to analyze that the respondents were aware of this item when they left it out. They did not just check numbers in a list. Five out of six respondents checked [3] and [5] to [10].

This is a clear statement that academic contents are not of utmost importance in a healing program, at least in the opinion of the elders.

What is much more important is the building of self-esteem, because the abusers have lost themselves, and the atmosphere in which healing is made possible, as expressed by the health director who says:

We will hopefully have a family atmosphere there, and we will have a so-called house couple there. Now, hopefully the house couple will create a family atmosphere in the treatment centre itself. This traditional, Native-cultural family atmosphere will also contain a bit of the world out there.
(App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317)

This atmosphere has to be a caring one, as it is expressed by elder (e1) when he point out that

(e1): ...children have to feel that you care for them.
(App.1, item 5.6., which parts...., p. 273)

This idea was also put into practice in the Safe House that was open to any client that wished to come in, and bureaucracy of admittance was kept to a minimum to make the clients welcome. How the clients responded to this kind of atmosphere, with the house couple taking care of the youth coming in, cooking meals, being there when somebody had to talk, and even playing with the group, is documented in the Safe House statistics (App. 3, pp. 338 to 363). The bulk of the 118 single day to day cases the Safe House couple was dealing with were voluntary drop-ins, altogether 92 in the three months of operation. Fourteen admittances to the Safe House were based on police actions, twice a father brought his son in and once a sniffer could be picked up

by the house couple with some of the regular clients. Nine cases were dealt with in jail. (App.3, p. 341). It is also worth mentioning that 85 out of 118 cases the clients worked with at the Safe House were 'clean', showing no sign of intoxication (pp. 344 to 346). Three clients (15, 5 and 14) came to the Safe House intoxicated. Two of these cases (clients 5 and 14) asking the police to deliver them there (pp. 357 + 359).

If the purpose of the treatment centre is to help clients stay away from solvents, this family atmosphere is a key issue. This is particularly shown by the fact that at the time of operation (from August to end of October 1996), the Safe House did not operate with a defined program, based solely on the caring environment.

The clients themselves expressed this fact in their voluntary interviews on video tape.

Client (8) comments on her going out with one of the house parents to look for other sniffers:

We were happy that this young man came to the Safe House. It seems that he did not mind coming here and to sleep over. This helps him a lot. He should come more often to visit and to hang around here. It would surely help him a lot.
(App.3, tape 46/Green, p. 365)

She also comments on the Safe House in a later interview:

That's the way to help these youths. The youths will be happy to come here, to help themselves. And we want to support (the house couple) that they can continue to help the youths. (App.3, tape 50/Green, p. 366)

The only 'help' they got was really that they were cared for by the house couple. Client (8) was the one with the most frequent

visits to the Safe House after a one time visit of the house couple in jail. Since she had come to the Safe House, she had stayed away from solvents simply based on the talk she had with the female house parent who pointed out that she would get nauseated by the gasoline smell (App.4, journal, September 20, 1996, p. 383). This shows that caring is mutual. In any case, the caring environment was the key for the success in the Safe House.

As the purpose of a healing program is to heal the clients, and the clients respond so much to caring, which is also confirmed by the elders' responses, the major component in the healing program is to be this care, particularly because one of the identified causes for solvent abuse is neglect of the children. Where does this leave the academic contents?

Academic Subjects in the Education of Native Youths

As mentioned above, cultural education will help the client to find herself/himself and to build up self-esteem. What role do academics subjects play in this process?

I think, a lot of the analysis will depend on how academic subjects are defined. I will use the definition given in the proposal for the Attawapiskat Healing Lodge as being provided in courses of business, math, and other school subjects.

The problem was that these subjects were defined as something deriving from the non-Native culture, and that they therefore could not be taught by the elders on the land in the

wilderness camp. This opinion shows in the statement of the health director that

...after a short time on the land, where they (clients) can learn simple concepts and skills for survival, like trapping, hunting and traditional kinds of skills, they now have to learn how to tan and prepare the hides. They will learn part of these skills in the treatment centre. (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 318)

Traditional skills are said to be simple. He does not directly mention academic subjects here, but he has mentioned before that there will be academic education (App.2, p. 316).

The indication of processing skills (tanning) as opposed to simple, traditional skills shows the attitude that Native culture does not include academic subjects.

To make aware of this misconception I want to show a little example of an academic subject taught at school, that of geography/meteorology. This subject is also present in Native culture and the teaching of it does not depend on being in a class-room environment.

I interviewed the secondary school teacher for computers and geography at the Vezina high school in Attawapiskat who interpreted the phenomenon how academic knowledge and 'modern' technology is helpful for Native people, even when they want to pursue traditional activities:

So, let's say that people want to go hunting, traditional activities. Before they go out in the bush, they come in here. They can log onto the internet, into 'Environment Canada'. And if they want to, they click on, and automatically there is a satellite image showing what the weather is going to be. (App.2, tape 31/Red, p. 324)

Elder (e1) talked about the same kind of knowledge in his video

interview based on Native knowledge:

(e1): People could hear from the sound of the wind how the weather would be...
 (first I did not know that, but I started to understand when I observed myself)
 ...or even by how the twigs looked like.
 This twig here, when it is soft I would say the weather will be mild. Sometimes they are so dry, even the whole tree, that they break easily. That would forecast a hard winter. ...
 (App.1, tape 28/Red, p. 294)

Who is to say, which kind of explanation on how the weather would be is the more valid one? Who is to say that Native people only have 'simple concepts' in their traditional culture? Both statements about how to forecast weather are based on observation. That the non-Native person uses technology for this observation does not make his knowledge superior or more academic. In the elder's account of foretelling weather by observation of plants there is also a lot of knowledge of chemistry and biology necessary to come to these conclusions. A plant preparing for a hard winter will for example reduce the flow of fluids in its stems to be able to survive this winter. I will not continue with this example which should merely show that academic knowledge, based on 'scientific' observation is not an invention of 'western' culture. It is present in Native culture as well. When it is deemed necessary for a healing program, it can be still taught based on Native culture, and even out on the land, which would be the logical place for example to observe the weather, because weather outside is much more real than weather shown in tables. Instead of looking on tables where ...you can see the numbers and see,

yes, it is raining. Why is it raining? There is cloud cover, (App.2, tape 31/Red, p. 325)

a person could as well look out of the window at the formation of clouds or, in case it is raining already, just go out and check if s/he gets wet.

Having the build-up of self-esteem in mind, the way to include academic subjects in the healing program is still on the basis of Native culture, which is mentioned for the general education program in Attawapiskat by the director of education who said that the community

...hopes to identify a program that will have Cree immersion from junior kindergarten right up to grade three or four. Everything is done in Cree, math science will all be done in Cree.
(App.2, tape 46/Red, p. 323)

This might mean for the beginning that it is merely based on the Native language, but a curriculum could well be developed that science is not only taught in the language Cree but also based on Cree concepts and teaching methods. The same can be true for the healing program. Academic subjects can have a place in the healing program, but, like the whole program, they will have to be based on Native concepts in order to build up self-esteem in the Native clients.

Concluded from the responses of the elders and other Native community members, the decision of how to include academic subjects in the program has to be made by Native people themselves because, as it is expressed by the health director

...only Natives themselves can see and feel what they had gone through. App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317)

Teaching Methods

Another important issue in the context of designing a healing program for Native people is the way how contents are taught, or for the healing program, as it is called in the proposal, the delivery modes.

Referring to the latest proposal for the Attawapiskat treatment centre, the program has to be

"...developed around Native culture and spirituality".
(Hannah 1996:22)

Doing this, one has to ask what this means in regards to teaching as there are different methods of teaching and learning in different cultures. This question is particularly important for finding the prominence of the wilderness camp in the program.

Who and What to Learn from

One component of learning in Native culture is learning from parents and elders. Remarks like that from the chief that

...the main thing that people understand is to keep the tradition going, to be passed on from generation to generation. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 296)

point in that direction. Native traditions were passed on by the older generations, which, of course, includes the elders. That this is still done today can be concluded from the chief's interview who emphasized the importance of this practice.

The drummers who came to the Safe House to drum for the clients refer to the same practice when they say that

(d2): This hide is caribou and was given to us by an elder. He said: 'Keep this Caribou going for us. Keep our elders' song (App.2, tape 43/Green, p. 319)

or when he says

(d2): An elder from Alberta (was) teaching me how to sing with the drum. (App.2, tape 43/Green, p. 321)

The role of the elders in the healing program was already discussed. This role is referred to in the responses to

Who and what can youth learn from?
(App.1, item 5.12., p. 280)

(e1): Somebody who is knowledgable about philosophy and healing.

(e2): From parents and the people I went with (elders).

(e6): You can learn from older, experienced people....

All the responses refer to elders as the source of knowledge. This is, however, not the only source of knowledge in Native culture. The statement of elder (e7) that

(e7): a person who went into the bush, not eating or drinking for ten days, came back with knowledge. We could connect to the spirits, (App.1, item 2.6., p. 254)

indicates that it is nature itself one can learn from. Beside that it also indicates that this knowledge from the land is based on spirituality, that it is the spirit on the land that gives those people knowledge who seek for it. This learning from nature is directly referred to in the continuation of the above quotes with the statement of elder (e2) referring to the same phenomenon, learning from the land by using spirituality and the spiritual ceremony of fasting.

(e2): ...From animals and nature and from spiritual teachings. When a child was 5 years old, s/he was placed in the bush at a clearing for 3 days to fast. In these three days s/he learned much about life so that s/he come back later and help the people.

(e6): ...from nature and from each other.

(e7): You can learn a lot by nature. The land also has a healing process. You also learn from (our) life, how to feed yourself. (App.1, item 5.12., p. 280)

The school teacher interviewed on video also refers to learning by observation of nature which includes **animals**,

Look at the animals, how they behave. They don't take anything else. They look after their young (App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 303)

plants like a cedar tree,

You see the cedar and you notice that. What is the cedar tree (telling) when it touches everything around it?... The cedar tree is telling us not to discriminate against any colour, that we are all equal. (App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 304)

and **the land** like in the example of observing a river when you want to learn about stress and how to handle it.

Dealing with stress, we use water, the river. You walk along the shore, you look at the river. The river is smooth, flowing down very slowly. And as you walk further and further down, you see the ripples. ...etc. (App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 303)

He goes on that the river gets wilder till it comes to the rapids, and after that it smoothens out again. That is how it is in life.

Beside the values of humbleness (not taking more than you need), respect (not discriminating against anybody), science (as in the account of forecasting the weather), one can learn social behaviour from nature (as in the example of the animals that care

for their young). The two examples from the elders above about learning from nature during fasting (e2 and e7) refer to that kind of learning. Seeing life holistically, spirituality is included as a source of knowledge, a kind of knowledge which is passed down not only by elders and nature itself, but by the spirit; a kind of knowledge that, in this way, has always been around and has to be sought by the individual, rather than being taught. This puts responsibility not only on the teacher, but on the learner him/herself, who is responsible to seek out this knowledge and share it with his/her community. Seeking and finding this knowledge will certainly help the individual to build up self-esteem. Learning by spiritual teachings and during spiritual ceremonies is therefore a vital part in a healing program.

How to Learn

What is contained in the above quotes is also the way to learn. Elder (e6) summarizes that Native people learn by observation:

(e6): It is hard to teach students without them experiencing and seeing the teachings. We learned by seeing and observing from our parents. (App.1, item 5.11., p. 280)

Once people are conditioned to learn like this, it is not easy for them to change the learning style. This should be explained by the quote of elder (e1):

(e1): You cannot really learn when you don't see or experience what you are taught. That's how it is with me. When I just hear something I haven't

seen myself yet, I have trouble understanding it, until I see myself. (App.1, tape 27/Red, p. 293)

This would also include academic subjects.

The learning style by observation was also defined in the responses to the question

How did you learn? (App.1, item 5.13., p. 281)

There was a choice again among three methods:

- [1] by looking/observing
- [2] by doing/imitating
- [3] by getting instructions for every single step

All the elders checked boxes [1] and [2] which included observing and imitating. None of them referred to getting instructions as a method of learning, although elder (2) included that kind of learning in his further explanation:

- (2): First we were talked to, then we started to look and see, then we started doing, becoming more and more practical. Then we had learned it good. At school we just learn theory. That is what Indian education is about. (App.1, item 5.13., p. 281)

And elder (e3) makes aware of the difference between learning in the 'western' sense and holistic learning, and the difficulty holistic learners have with the 'western' method:

- (3): In school you learn to break everything apart. It takes forever to put everything together again. (App.1, item 5.13., p. 281)

What is difficult for the Native learner is learning without context. The elder above refers to holistic thinking that makes it difficult to understand a method where only parts of the whole are discussed. There are two major components of learning in a Native way.

First, as can be concluded from the above quotes, there is little instruction in learning. Most of it is done by observing. As elder (e1) put it, without seeing the contents of the teaching, it is hard to understand what is being taught.

Second, every action or teaching contents is seen in a context. It is also difficult to understand, as elder (e3) explains, if part of the content is taken out of the context to be explained in part. The Native person has to see the whole in order to understand the steps that have to be taken.

Where to Learn

Learning in this way, by observing and imitating, would ask for a learning environment *where the action is*, where the students can actually learn by observation. In a classroom setting this can only be done with experiments in science, or with the help of films. For teaching Native culture the ideal environment for learning would be nature. For elder (e6) this is a matter of fact:

(e6): ...You cannot, however, learn so much by just sitting in the classroom. You can only learn in nature. (App.1, item 5.11., p. 280)

Some of the skills and the social part of Native culture can in fact only be learned out on the land. The chief refers to that fact in the interview when he talks about how valuable being out on the land is for the individual and for cooperation in the family:

You watch the difference you see out there.
We share the chores within our family. Everyone

contributes. Everybody does something to help. That's important, not only for sports, but to survive. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 297)

Referred to the traditional teachings, or the acclimatization of the clients to their own culture,

(e5): ...you can only learn that on the land.
(App.1, item 4.5. education of children, p. 265)

But a sharing of responsibilities is also important for the whole healing program, and it will be practised in the wilderness camp where clients are out on the land with the elders. This does contradict the evaluation by the health director who states that

...after this acclimatising to their own culture (wilderness camp) will be the longer therapy, where they learn to work better as teams or in groups, (App.2, tape 12/Green, p.318)

which seems to conclude that working in a group is not part of Native culture, which the client is acclimatised into during the short time in the bush, nor can it be taught in the bush. The statement from the chief explains it exactly in an opposite way that the difference out on the land is that people have to cooperate in order to survive.

The chief's statement is also confirmed by elder (e2) who comments about the importance of living out on the land:

(e2): Children learn how to live a healthy, good life. They learn by living with their parents and helping with their chores.
(App. 1, item 4.5. education of children, p. 264)

This statement also emphasizes the cooperation out on the land that can be learned by living on the land. The chief's reference to survival, the actions taken in the bush and cooperation is put

into a context which, as it is explained above, is important for the holistic learner to understand the concept. Cooperation taught in a classroom environment would in this way be even less effective than the teaching out on the land.

The necessity to teach solvent abusers on the land is emphasized in all the elders' responses to the question

Where and how would you teach solvent abusers?
(App.1, item 5.14., p. 281)

(e1): On the land.

(e2): I would teach them on the land. When they learn our ways, they become calm and balanced. They also have to become closer to God again.

(e3): You sit down with a child and teach him at the location where you do the activity. In school there is too much theory.

(e5): Out on the land.

(e6): I would teach them on the land. You can show them things, and they can watch and learn. It is also tranquil on the land, and they get peaceful minds. It helps to really think. There are many things you can do on the land, traditional activities.

(e7): Out on the land. (App.1, item 5.14., p. 281)

There are references to both learning by observation and holistic learning in the above statements. Holistic learning includes the spiritual side of reality which not only makes people become closer to God, but also makes them calm and balanced (e2). Elder (e6) refers to the same phenomenon when he says that the tranquility on the land gives the learner a peaceful mind.

Reference to the spiritual part of learning on the land is

also testified by the elders' responses to

**How does land relate to
spirituality and mental health?**
(App.1, item 4.5., p. 265/266)

- (e1): On the land you are strong. You feel the presence of the Creator.
- (e2): ...Children do not feel the spirit of the land anymore. You are always close to God on the land.
- (e3): There were no serious social problems on the land. We were told the sacredness of the animals, who are there to support us.
- (e5): Everything is peaceful on the land. There is calmness and clean life in the bush. Life on the reserve increases problems.
(App.1, item 4.5. spirituality, p. 265)
- (e6): You feel the goodness and the power of the spirit when you observe nature, how it comes back even from the harshness of winter. It is also provided for. Snow is covering plants etc. Even the birds feel that there is a powerful force looking after them. (App.1, item 4.5. spirituality, p. 265/266)
- (e7): Life was peaceful and we prayed a lot. People were strong, healthy and in harmony with each other. There were no extreme social problems.
(App.1, item 4.5., spirituality, p. 266)

All the responses refer to the balance people experience on the land, to peace and the closeness to God. This can only be felt on the land, not in a building. That balance is important, particularly when self-esteem has to be built up, is also pointed out by one of the drummers who says

- (d3): Balance your medicine wheel weekly.
See where you're going wrong or where you're doing right. Or if you're walking a happy walk inside or walking angrily. You have to understand the medicine wheel.
(App.2, tape 42/Green, p. 321)

This solitary introspection with the help of the medicine

wheel is another example of holistic thinking. Balance, or peace of mind, can best be found on the land, as the elders above state.

Compared to Brody's (1988) conclusion that

the answer to the alcohol problem is to be found in the bush, (Brody 1988:253)

where he refers to the Natives' different behaviour in that environment, the statements of the people interviewed in Attawapiskat about where solvent abusers are to be taught result in the same conclusions. The role of the wilderness camp would thus be central to the treatment program with the therapy in the building complementing the teaching on the land, not the other way around, or the wilderness camp just being an introduction, a short excursion into Native culture, with the main treatment and therapy followed after. The spiritual part of this learning experience, which is also connected to the land, is central for the healing program because healing means, among other things, giving the client peace of mind. It does not really matter if non-Native, 'rational' people believe in the connection of life, healing and spirituality. If the program is to be effective, it has to be geared to those people's need who are to be healed. And for those people, spirituality is a reality, it is a need. This is not only testified by elders. Beside the solvent abusers themselves who confirm that they miss going out on the land (App.3, item 3.6., p. 335), who like to go hunting, as it is testified in a video interview:

And on the land I like to go hunting geese (App.3, p. 364)

The chief emphasizes that

...it's not to hunt only, but also to renew your spirit. (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 297)

The responses to the questions of who and what to learn from, containing elders and nature, and the way how Native people learn, by observation and imitation, would also demand nature as the learning environment, at least as a major part of it.

Discipline and the Role of Punishment

When discussing the basis of a healing program, another definition is important to be made. The program has to be made in the awareness of how the solvent abuser is approached, as someone who needs help to be brought back on the path of life, or as someone who needs to be punished for her/his actions in order to help her/him to go back to the path of life. I think that in this issue there is to be an 'either or', there has to be a decision made which approach should be chosen. There is no solution in between.

Reality in Attawapiskat

Although everybody seems to have made the decision that the solvent abusers need help rather than punishment, the reality in the community is that solvent abusers are picked up by the police and thrown in jail. I did not get any statistics of how many solvent abusers were thrown in jail, but all the clients that did not come voluntarily were picked up by the police. Some of the

clients were never in the Safe House, and the house couple counselled them in jail, but only when they knew about the cases (App.3, p. 339).

The fact that most of the admittances to the Safe House, 92 out of 118 (App.3, pp. 339 to 341) were based on voluntary action by the solvent abuser at least shows that the police did not bring many clients to the Safe House. That there were clients thrown in jail who asked to be brought to the Safe House and the police refused to do so is testified in video interviews with solvent abusers:

And as to what the police are doing, that's not right. They (the solvent abusers) should be brought to the Safe House, not to jail. I know two kids who were locked up, and they told the cops they wanted to be brought to the Safe House. The cops said that the staff (of the Safe House) must be sleeping. I did not like what I saw there. (App. 3, p. 367)

The grossest case the house couple heard about was that of client (5), a thirteen year old boy of light body built who was thrown into jail instead of being brought to the Safe House, because he was charged for 'attacking a police officer'. In the account of his friend (14), who got away and was looking for 'protection' in the Safe House, (5) was held down by at least three adults (App.4, journal, p. 416) and, rather than attacking a police officer, was assaulted by the officer. The evidence for this action was pointed out by the father of the boy who said that the boy's pants was blood stained due to a bleeding nose he had got from rough treatment by the police officer (App.4, journal, p. 415). The exact circumstances are not known, but the

blood stain on the boy's pants does show a certain attitude towards solvent abusers. Even if the boy had been aggressive, this kind of treatment would not be appropriate when it is decided that he needs help rather than punishment, particularly when, as it is in this case, part of the cause for the boy to abuse solvents is physical abuse by the mother (App.3, item 2.4., p. 333).

The Role of Punishment in Local Culture

For the purpose of finding out how local people, the elders, consider punishment as part of the healing program, some questions referred directly to punishment. That this kind of harsh disciplining is considered an educational act imported into Native culture can be concluded from the fact that the elders, even before the interviewer came to the particular questions, mentioned punishment in connection with the alien education system:

(e3): There was too much harshness in penalizing our kids. Superiority also existed. We had intentions when we put our kids in these Residential Schools. I do not understand why there had to be these harsh treatments. It seems it caused a lot of damage. (App.1, item 2.4., p. 252)

This statement also contains that punishment, rather than correcting wrong behaviour, is the cause of many of the problems.

That punishment was not part of the original culture is indicated by elder (e5) when she refers to when punishment was used as means of discipline, saying that it came with the missionaries:

(e5): ...It started then that the kids were whipped when they did not listen.
(App.1, item 2.6., p. 254)

At a later point, elder (e3) mentions how solvent abusers should be treated instead of being punished:

(e3): We destroy our brains when we sniff. When someone dies, we gather. We should do this when we see our youth harming themselves. Let us not stop to be gentle to our youth. No handcuffs for sniffers.
(App.1, item 5.1., other comments, p. 270)

That youths used to be treated in a different way is indicated in the statement that the people should not stop to be gentle to the youths. The mentioning of handcuffs for sniffers is another indicator that reality in the community is as it was described above.

The original attitude towards youths that had problems is shown in the responses to the question

What did your parents/grand parents do when there were youths having problems within the community or family?
(App.1, item 5.2., p. 270/271)

(e1): We had guidance from our elders. Elders or community members would talk to the children and take care of them. (App.1, item 5.2. p. 270)

(e2): They were talking to the children. They lived in places where there were not so many problems.
(App.1, item 5.2, p. 270)

(e3): ...When I did something wrong, my Dad used to sit and talk with me and tell me: 'Do not ever do that. Respect your brother.' The value of listening is very sacred, and it will help you in your life.

(e5): They did just talk to the child. They would counsel the child. There was no punishment. We helped each other.

(e6): The children were just talked to by their parents

or elders. There was no harsh treatment of the children.

(e7): There were not these problems. The children were cared for and they were talked to.

(App.1, item 5.2., p. 271)

There is no reference that there was any punishment. On the contrary, elder (e5) and elder (e6) particularly point out that there was no punishment (harsh treatment). The methods used with children was respect and counselling. That this method actually worked can be concluded from the statement of elder (e7) who mentions that there were not these problems. This statement was also repeatedly made in the responses I have already discussed in the other research questions before. Why it worked is pointed out by elder (e3) who reminds of the value of listening that the people, and that includes the children, were practising. The fact that there are problems now and that the children are obviously not listening any more can be interpreted as due to the fact that the values were lost, not only by children who do not listen any more, but also by their parents who did not teach those values or did not practise them themselves.

The response to the next question

Was there punishment for any kind of mischief?

(App.1, item 5.3., p. 271)

was almost unanimously negative. The only elder who mentioned that there was punishment because

(e2): ...it is in the Bible that you have to discipline does not refer to the actual practice but rather to his devotion to Christianity. In the question before (see above) he only

mentioned that the children were talked to, and in the following question of

What were the alternatives and what was the purpose of these measures? (App.1, item 5.3., p. 271)

he only mentions, beside the usual counselling, a very mild kind of disciplining that should prevent him from doing mischief:

(e2): To make me think, my parents either sat down with me to talk to me, or they took my boots and toys away so that I could not go about my daily routine. (App.1, item 5.3., p. 271)

The other elders again unanimously mentioned caring and counselling as means of handling the problem.

(e1): A community member would report to the parents. The parents would talk to their kids. When damage was done, the parents took care of it. They said it would not happen again. Teaching was to respect. That's what is missing today.

(e3): Love, hugging, caring and counselling. Long time ago when kids were seen hurting, anybody, not just leaders, took initiative to help. Then the kids realized what would happen if they continued the harmful behaviour.

(e5): The parents were in contact with their children all the time. There was trust between them. There was counselling only, no abuse of the child.

(e6): Children were counselled. When they did something wrong, they had to be shown how to do it right.

(e7): The children were talked to and the parents took care of them.

(App.1, item 5.3., p. 271)

There are several points that can be concluded from these statements. First, as shown in the response of elder (e1), the important thing when something was done wrong is to repair the damages. As the parents were responsible for their children,

they took care of the damages. Second, the child's behaviour had to be corrected, which in this statement of elders (e1) was done by teaching the child respect, not by punishment, which would show disrespect towards the child. What would that teach? Third, the unfavourable behaviour was actually not the child's mistake, because it was the parents that were responsible for the child. When the children did something wrong they had to be shown how to do it right. Obviously that was not done sufficiently before. That bad behaviour did not come up if the parents did play their role right can be read out of the statements of elder (e5) who says that there was trust between parents and child, and no child abuse. And elder (7) emphasises that parents took care of their children. The way to take care of the children is shown in the response of elder (3) who mentions love, hugging, caring and counselling.

It is the parents who know how to behave, because they have learned it already by their parents, grand parents and their environment. The children still have to learn it. The degree of how well they learn it is obviously depending on how well the children's environment has passed on the 'right' behaviour. Why would the child have to be punished when this was not done completely?

This analysis shows already that this matter is much more complicated than just blaming the mischief on the last person in a chain. The statements of the elders to the absence of these kinds of problems in the past indicate that the whole system was

working well in a culture where everything is interpreted holistically. In order to make it work again, the whole community, being the environment of the child, would have to reconnect to the original values, not try to import new ones. Punishment of the last individual in the chain is not a solution. This is the conclusion that can also be drawn from the responses to the last question regarding this matter

Do you think that solvent abuse should be handled as a criminal offence? (App.1, item 5.4., p. 272)

As could be expected, all the elders' responses to this question were negative, referring again to the responsibility of the adults.

- (e1): No, talk to the child gently. Tell him what is happening to him, about the consequences.
- (e2): No, children should be talked to. They should also be given some work or learn Native ways to think about what they are doing.
- (e3): No. I feel it was handled too harsh. This will stop until we as a community work together to help our kids. We have to care when we see them cry. I see a lot of harm coming from alcohol to our young people. I lost a son. Now, sniffing is starting. It hurts me when I see kids sniffing.
- (e5): No. It is because the children do not have a relationship to their parents. You cannot blame the children. There should be counselling only.
- (e6): No. It is not the children's mistake.
- (e7): No. What did they do wrong? They are lost.

Particularly the last three responses point towards the responsibility of the children's environment for the problem. It would make no sense to punish the children for the neglect that was done to them. The responsibility lies within the whole

community. That is why elder (e3) concludes that the problem will not stop until the whole community works together. He mentioned in the question before already that this responsibility should not only lie within the leaders, meaning that merely installing a treatment centre will not be enough. What has to come back is the caring environment for the children of the community, based on Native culture. Punishing the children for the real problems they have, not imaginary ones, for the pains they have, would not do any good and should not be in a healing program. The children need help.

The Significance of Land in Native Culture

Again referring to Brody's (1988) statement about the importance of the bush for Indians, where social problems like drunkenness etc. rarely occur, and that therefore the answer to the problems is to be found in the bush (Brody 1988:253), I hoped I could confirm this statement by researching the Attawapiskat people's feelings about the land. As I have done a joint research with Jackie, who analyzed this question in regards to rights on the land and treaty rights (Hookimaw-Witt 1997:96-114) I can only recommend that her analysis of that question is also read to make the picture whole, to have a holistic view on this issue. What we found out was that relations to the land are very complex.

I will offer a summary of the significance of the land for

Native people and will then work my way through some details breaking down the whole in its parts.

Three elders' statements make aware of the vital importance of land for the people:

(e7): Land is precious, rich, and very important.
Without the land we will die. (App.1, item 4.3., p.263)

(e1): The land provides life.
(App.1, item 4.3., p. 263)

(e4): It (the land) is our life.
(App.1, item 4.1., p. 262)

Particularly the last statement that land does not only provide life, but is life itself, and by this is connected to the identity of the people is summarized in the statement of the former deputy chief who says

That is my home, the water, the birds, the animals.
That is part of me. (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 312)

What Native people include in this life, and how land refers to life should be shown in these quotes.

Spirituality

To explain the Native people's relationship to land, the origins of the land have to be considered. In the belief of Native people, land came from God, which is repeatedly expressed in the statements of the elders.

(e1): We were given the land by the creator. It is our life.

(e2): God gave us this land. ... Everything on the land was given to us by God so that we can survive. We have to honour this gift from God.

(e3): God gave us these sacred things. Life is sacred

on the land.

(e6): It is God's creation which provides us many good things. I see the beautiful creation, and it makes me think, and I feel how much sacredness we have been given by the Creator. The land is a reminder of that.

(App.1, item 4.1., p. 262)

Land is not only a gift from God, it is by that also the origin of the people's spirituality, as the sacredness can be felt on the land, on the 'Creation' (e6). Spirituality is also inseparably connected to life, as this gift of land from the creator is compared to the gift of life itself (e1). As human beings were created as well, they are part of the same creation and by this part of the land. By this the land is a steady reminder of the origins of the people.

This fact explains how

God was always part of their lives
(App.2, tape 33/Red, p. 309),

even before the missionaries came, as the catholic priest of the community testifies. He also connects this spirituality with the land, telling a story about a woman who

...was walking on a lake with her snowshoes. Beautiful, sunshine, and the lake was beautiful there, snow and so on. She felt so much the presence of God that she stopped, went down on her knees and prayed, right there.
(App.2, tape 33/Red, p. 309)

The belief that it was God who provided the land for the people is deeply rooted even in the generation that came after the elders. The chief states in his interview that the land was provided to the people by the Creator (App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 296), and the former deputy chief connects his life in

Attawapiskat also with the will of God, again referring to his identity, when he says:

That is who I am, what I think about the life I have in Attawapiskat, because it was planned like that from the Creator, there where my ancestors have lived already. (App.2, tape 16/Red, p. 315)

This statement discusses two issues. First, spirituality asks for obedience to one's destiny that was planned by the Creator, meaning for the Native person that s/he has to live her/his life where the Creator planned it. What this means in connection to the land is that, as elder (e2) puts it,

(e2): ...To live on the land and from the land is to obey God. That is why he put us here. (App.1, item 4.3., p. 263)

This statement points to the second issue what God's planning includes in relations with the land, the way how life has to go on. This indicates that land, and the spirituality that comes from it, provides the way of life for the people.

Culture and Identity

The land in its connection to spirituality, seen holistically as 'Creation' which includes all life, also determines culture and identity of the people who live on in. In the believe of the people I interviewed, it is not a coincidence that they live on the land they are. They were put on exactly that part of the earth, and their purpose is to live their way of life, which was given to them with the land. Life, and culture without the land is not possible. The cultural differences and by this the distinct identity of the people are connected to the

land they live on, and, which is important to keep their identity, the way of life that was given to them, meaning that they live off the land in a certain way.

The distinction to other cultures is based on the land, as it can be analyzed from the quote that

(e1): Every being born in this area has been set aside a piece of land by the creator. He gave land to all four races to cooperate.
(App.1, item 4.2., p. 263)

The four different races were given different parts of this earth. Their culture was determined in this gift. This is also stated by elder (e7) who says:

(e7): God gave each different race different life styles. Native people lived with nature and we are to treat the land and the animals with deep respect.
(App.1., item 4.6., p. 267)

How this makes the cultures different from each other is shown by the quote of elder (e6), who uses an example of the Bible to make his point:

(e6): It (the land) is a place where you can heal and feel the calmness of your soul. You heard the story of God's creation of the Garden (Eden). You see white people as farmers. And with us, the Creator did not give us farms or cities. He provided us our own style of garden. This 'Island' here is our garden, and it is our kind of city where we travel to gather all the necessities of life. The Creator provided us animals, and we harvest them.
(App.1, item 4.1., p. 263)

This statement suggests that in each part of the earth God planned a certain life style, a certain culture, that of the Native people He had put on that part. Land with its sacredness and way of life are the basis for the identity of the people.

This fact makes a design of a treatment program that bases on building up self-esteem and at the same time tries to provide the means to survive 'in both world' a lot more complicated than just providing 'parallel teaching', because a basis for the building of self-esteem will still be needed. According to statements of the people involved, and also expressed in the statement of the health director that the first step in a healing program is to give the client a

...feeling of wellness, a feeling of self, a feeling of pride in what they are (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317)

the build-up of self-esteem is an important component of a treatment program. Other than in the opinion of the health director, I think that it is not the first step but the step, the basis of the program, because without self-esteem the ability to learn would suffer, particularly to learn about the other culture and 'the global village'. Now, self-esteem is inseparably connected with identity, with knowing who you are, and this knowledge, following the statements above, is connected to culture, which again is connected to the land. A healing program for youths that lost themselves can thus only be based on the land, which would give the wilderness camp a prominent place in the program. The land as a place of healing is also identified in the elder's (e6) statement above, which indicates that the place for the healing program for Native people would be on the land also.

As discussed before, the values the people are following and their behaviour in a group and family also comes from the land,

as these values were learned by the observation of nature (App.2, tape 34/Green, pp. 303/304). The way to work and behave in a group is also part of the person's identity.

Survival

All respondents agreed on the part that cultural skills about living on the land are connected to survival of the people, although this kind of survival is usually connected to the past, as it is expressed in the statement that the wilderness camp is cultural sensitization or resensitization, which is important for the solvent abusers

...to build pride in what their ancestors were.
(App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317)

This would indicate that the youths of today have a different identity than their ancestors. How would that be possible, and how would that not lead to confusion rather than the build-up of self-esteem? I can only be proud of my ancestors if I still refer my being to their identity, if my identity is still the same as theirs. That means that in order to build up self-esteem in the youths, the youths have to be given a reference to their cultural being in the presence, or in other words, as the basis for a treatment program was determined by the community, the young people have to be taught

...how to be hunters, trappers, to use their language and spirituality. (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 312)

That the youths themselves have the desire for this teaching was already discussed in regards to their missing cultural

activities on the land (App.3, item 3.7., pp. 335/336) and one young man's reference to life being fun when he can go hunting (App.3, tape 31/Green, p. 364).

The way of life being hunters, living on the land etc. is not a thing of the past, and, as the chief stated

that's the only substance means to live on and to feed your family.
We want to keep our life style, and many people do that. A high majority is practising traditional activities and you can enjoy the land.
(App.2, tape 17/Green, p. 296)

And with view to the future he adds that

...no mater what the government says, trapping will always be practised. Hunting will always be practised. (App.2, tape 18/Green, p. 299)

This allows the conclusion that survival on the land by means of traditional activities like hunting and trapping will still be part of Native life in the future. The basis for this is provided by the land.

The aspect of the land being the basis for survival by providing food and all the other material needed for physical survival is extensively presented by elder (e9) in his accounts of his life on the land he still practises (App.1, tapes 20/Red, 21/Red, 22/Red, 34/Red, 36/Red and 4/Green, pp. 285 - 291) and by the responses of the elders to the question

Do you or your children still go out on the land?

(App.1, item 3.1., p. 257)

All the elders responded with 'yes'. The purpose for going on the land can be summarised by the response of elder (e2):

(e2): I live my life here. I get food, fire wood etc.
I am happy to live here. (App.1, item 3.1., p. 257)

He is saying that he gets all the necessities for life out on the land. This includes health as well, and most of the people who still go hunting and trapping prefer county food to store bought food because

(e8): ...It's good to eat wild game. It is fresh.
I feel healthy. (App.1, tape 50/Red, p. 284)

That learning how to live on the land is much more than getting acclimated to one's own culture, that it still means survival, also for the future, is pointed out by elder (e6) who worries about the youth's survival in the future when they are not taught the necessary skills to survive on the land.

(e6): We were taught survival skills long ago.
Now I worry about our youth for the future.
We have cuts by the government. How will we survive if we do not receive any assistance in the future?
(App.1, item 2.7., p. 254)

Survival as it is known by Native people is connected to the land. To teach the youth traditional skills will therefore be more than acclimating them to their own culture, it will secure their survival in the future as Indian people. By this, the wilderness camp will be much more than a mere prelude to the treatment program.

Responsibility

A major part of getting the youths back on track will be to teach them responsibility, which is understood by one respondent in a way that they have to be given tasks:

...the young people will be given tasks. They will hopefully take these tasks and find joy in their

work. (App.2, tape 12/Red, p. 317)

To be really responsible, it is, however, not enough that the individual is given those tasks and that s/he accepts the tasks as they are, the individual also has to know the purpose for them. This is again a reference to holistic thinking. Referring to Native culture, the overall task, the purpose of life is understood as the responsibility to the land, which is testified by the elders in their responses to the question

Who is responsible for the land you live off?

(App.1, item 4.3., p. 263)

- (e1): I am. It is us that have to look after it. We have to think of our future generations.
- (e2): I live on the land that was given to us by God. Everything I need I get from the land. That is what it is for. I cannot waste it....
- (e4): God gave us the land to protect and guard. The land provides life. It provides food, medicine, etc. ...
- (e5): God gave us the land to use, not to control. But we have to look after it.
- (e6): We should be responsible for the land we live on. We must show respect for Creation and we have to continue to pass it on to future generations.
- (e7): We are responsible for the land, as it is part of sovereignty given to us by God.

(App.1, item 4.3. p. 230)

Responsibility lies within the purpose of life, to complete the circle and to keep it going. Land has to be protected to enable future generations to still be able to live the way of life that was given to the people by the Creator. When a person has experienced life on the land, having depended on the land for

survival, s/he will understand this responsibility. There have to be no tasks given to any person other than the responsibility to the land that was given by the Creator, once the person is educated in a traditional Native way. This responsibility for the land gives the individual a purpose for living, and the fulfilment of this responsibility will give the individual self-esteem. What is needed for that is reconnection to culture and the land. This makes the land so important in a healing program.

Relations to the Land

The relations of Native people to the land are that land is their life. It is their identity. The land is as much part of the people as the people are part of the land. Everything that is contained in life like spirituality, culture and identity, survival, and responsibility is contained in the people's relationship to the land. Land and the people are inseparable. For a treatment program that centres around Native culture this means that the focus of the program has to be on the land, when it focusses on building self-esteem, identity and responsibility in the clients. Identity cannot be found in alien knowledge, but only in the relations of one's own identity to other beings and their identity, or, from this basis to 'the world out there', as it was repeatedly referred to. The basis for this, however, has to be the Native identity, not a parallel identity. The identity of the Native person is the land, and that is the place where a lost person can find it again.

The Cultural Basis for a Healing Program - Contents

An important question in the design of the treatment program will be what the contents taught in the program should achieve. Logically, as we are talking about a healing centre, the goal would be to heal the clients. Considering that almost all of the clients will be children and youths, the focus will be on children, what the community wants the children to be or become, and why they should be put on a certain path.

As a starting point for the analysis of these questions I refer to the education concept that the child is the future as it is described in the Dene concept:

The child becomes the community and the community is the future of the people. The child is therefore the future. (N.W.T. Education 1993:xxv)

Before starting the analysis for the meaning of this statement I wanted to test this concept's value for the Attawapiskat people. The elders responded to the question

What do children and youth mean to the community?
(App.1, item 5.4., p. 272)

- (e1): To teach them to know one another, to help one another. We grow together. That is strength.
- (e2): The children are our future.
- (e3): They are our future.
- (e5): We live on through our children. It is important that they learn the traditional ways.
- (e6): They are part of the circle. Life has to go on.
- (e7): Children should learn traditional activities. They carry on our lives.

The statement in the Dene definition that children are the future can easily be concluded from these responses, and I think nobody would object to the truth of this statement. On the contrary, some people might point out that this is not only a Native concept and discussing it in regards to finding the basis for a Native program would be a waste of time, because it is a matter of course.

However, looking deeper into some of the responses, one might detect a point of reference where the difference between the cultures shows, and where it would be important to make a definition of a concept that was taken for granted up to this point.

A Definition of the Concept 'Future'

Misunderstandings between people of 'western' culture and Native culture have their origins in the definition of the concept *future*, particularly when education is discussed as the means of building this future. I will just make a statement with which I define *future* in the western sense, taking for granted that this is how 'we' perceive it and therefore 'we' cause problems in the case when 'we' want to help others build their future:

Future for us is progress. That is why elders in modern western culture do not play a big role in building the future; they are on the lower end of this progressing line. Children are on the top, because they can still drive on progress, they can

still make changes, improvements. Our goal is to provide them with the skills that enable them to 'progress', rather than becoming able to live as we did. The emphasis is laid on progress and improvement.

Native people define this concept completely different, which I try to analyze from the data I collected in Attawapiskat. The question that might be asked after reading the whole analysis and what is contained in one elder's (5) response is why it is important that children learn traditional ways. Why is this response in a question about what children mean to the community and what is the connection to the future? The answer is in elder (6)'s response that children are part of the circle. The statement that follows, that life has to go on, points in the direction of future. However, this future looks completely different than in the model of a progressing, linear life. The Natives' concept of life is circular. The statement that children are part of the circle and that life has to go on put together with the statement that the children have to learn traditional ways contains **how** life has to go on. Seen from that perspective, future is more the eternal circle of life rather than a progressing line. If that is understood, the role of the elders becomes much clearer because they are the ones that are much closer to the completion of the circle than the children are, knowing already by their experience what the children will still have to experience in the future. In other words, there are certain facts of life that will always be the same, like the

path from being born to death. There is no 'progress' in the meaning of life, which was already discussed above in the concept of responsibility. There are certain paths to follow in order to keep this circle going, to keep the world in a state that the future generations can still follow the same path, eternally. If we had lived according to that philosophy, the world would not be in the state it is now. The statement of elder (e1) that strength menas growing together and helping one another can be interpreted in a way that we accumulate the knowledge that is passed on from generation to generation. Progress does not lie in changing life or the meaning of it, progress lies in accumulating the knowledge about the circle of life. Life itself and the meaning of it does not change. The facts that we need air to breath, that we need to be loved, that we need food etc. will not change. There will be no progress in this. The attempt to alter these facts, like the way we are born from a mother and father, which is now changed by the 'achievement' of cloning, will only shock Native people who see these attempts as blasphemy, and who warn that we cannot even imagine the consequences of these practices. By these practices the circle of life is broken.

The circular concept of future being the past, as illogical as this may sound, was also presented by the teacher who came to the Safe House. He presented this concept to the children by telling a story about a sacrifice by elders in times of starvation, which shows that the continuation of the circle of

life is more important than individual lives:

But the elders of that period, they were thinking about the young people. So, when they were given scarce food for themselves, they would give it to the children of that period. They would not eat because they felt that the young people were more important. The young people were to carry on the tradition. They (the elders) were (had been) able to teach whatever they could to the children of that time. So, a lot of elders starved. They gave all their food to the young people, so that the young would continue. At first I did not understand, but now I am really able to understand the sacrifice. The elders during that time period died for the benefit of the children, who are now elders to continue with the tradition.
(App.2, tape 33/Green, p. 301)

What we have to understand is that the elders did not sacrifice themselves for the mere reason that younger people could live, they sacrificed themselves that the circle of life would continue, that it would be completed in the future in the same way it was completed at their time. Their consideration was that they had taught the young already, that the young would be able to pass on that knowledge once they had become elders. As they did not know how long the famine would last, and how long they themselves still had to live, they considered that there had to be enough survivors among the younger generation that the eternal knowledge of the circle of life could still be passed on. They did their sacrifice not for 'progress' but for keeping the eternal truth about the circle of life alive so that the conditions would be kept for future generations to carry on the traditions.

Seen from that perspective the response to the question about the future of the community

Is this goal represented by the education offered in the community? (App.1, item 5.6., p. 272)

could only be negative, the way it actually turned out, considering that the school education system, at least when it was started in Attawapiskat, was based on the other, alien culture. Only one elder answered that it is represented only in part. The cultural basis was emphasized again in the responses to the question

Which parts are missing?
(App.1, item 5.6., pp. 272/273)

- (e1): We must reclaim the lost youth... Children have to feel that you care for them. Whatever faith (religious) people have should be accepted in school. (App.1, item 5.6., pp. 272/273)
- (e2): It is only the White ways taught in the community. The school does not teach our ways. If the children are our future, the future is taken away from us because our children do not learn our ways any more.
- (e3): At school you are not taught how to survive on the land.....
- (e5): They do not learn traditional life in school.
- (e7): Our way of life is not taught.

(App.1, item 5.6., p. 273)

The people's lost future was mentioned by elder (e2), and the lack of spirituality by elder (e1). Radically speaking one could state now that the loss of future of the people, those who still hang on to the old traditions, might not be that big of a loss at all, as, after all, we live in 'modern' times, and what concerns us is the future of the children we want to heal in the treatment centre.

Native Identity

However, the loss of future of the people is equal to the loss of identity of the young people, as it is expressed in the responses to the question

What effect does this lack have on the youth?
(App.1, item 5.6., p. 273)

- (e1): That is really the issue. I once heard from a person who did not learn anything about himself at residential school. He lost himself. My father told me that I have to live in harmony with the White men I would meet, but I have to keep my identity.
- (e2): The children get too materialistic. They start sniffing because they do not get the things they see on T.V., or because they cannot live the way that is taught to them at school.
- (e3): They are lost because they do not know who they are. (App.1, item 5.6., p. 273)

Compared to the responses to the previous question, the conclusion can be made that the loss of traditional identity for the children, the loss of their past, is equal to the loss of their future, because they have lost their identity. This does not even enable them to live in the way that is taught by 'modern' education, because a new identity was not built due to the reality in the community. In order to heal those children, their identity has to be given back to them or they have to be reinforced in keeping the identity they are about to lose, and that means that a treatment program has to be based in Native culture.

This path will also be chosen by the educational institution of the community, the school. The director of education said

that "the future of education", beside involving the whole community in the curriculum planning, will be in the identification of

a program that will have Cree immersion from junior kindergarten right up to grade 3 or 4,
(App.2, tape 46/Red, p. 323)

emphasizing the cultural basis of the program.

The principal of the local school named as one reason for having a high school in the community that students would not be forced any more to seek secondary education down south, and that here in Attawapiskat they

...would be able to live with their parents, do the traditional hunting fishing and camping, and also attend school. (App.2, tape 46/Red, p. 322)

This statement does emphasize the importance of a cultural identity for the students, although it could also be interpreted as the 'parallel teaching' that was suggested in the proposal for the Attawapiskat healing centre. Yet, the principal continues that the Local Education Authority also decided that

...the type of (school) program had to be different from the type of program at southern schools, the classroom atmosphere (App.2, tape 46/Red, p. 322),

which points towards a basis in Native culture for the school program, which would foster the Native identity of the students. This is even more important for a healing program, because one of the reasons for the young people is their loss of identity, or their confusion in this area, and what has to be reinforced is their identity with which they could build up their self-esteem. At this point I want to emphasize again that this should be the

focus of a healing program. Formal education and training, particularly in regards to learning skills and philosophy of a different culture is still a matter of the educational institution that is already established in the community, the local school and high school. Once the young persons are healed, once they know who they are, they can take on the challenge of learning about other identities and adding this knowledge to their own. A person who does not know who s/he is will have difficulties doing so, and growing frustration will certainly prevent him/her from staying away from substances.

The Four Relations

What remains for the healing program in the treatment centre is an education that makes the young people understand their own culture and reality, finding themselves in this reality.

The basis of what I wanted to test were the four relationships worked out in the Dene Kede curriculum and in how far they are used by the Cree people in Attawapiskat as well. The four relations mean balancing life and interpreting it in regards to (1) *oneself*, (2) *the spirit world*, (3) *the people*, and (4) *the land*. Put into a circle, these four relations are a reference to the medicine wheel which was mentioned by the teacher interviewed who interpreted it as having been

...the very basis of their (the people's) surroundings
(App.2, tape 33/Green, p. 301),

and one of the drummers (d3) who advised to

(d3): ...balance your medicine wheel weekly.
(App.2, tape 43/Green, p. 321).

How the elders refer to these four relations and how they think the youth of Attawapiskat can learn about themselves should be answered in the responses to the questions

What do the following have to do with finding oneself?
(App.1, item 5.8., pp. 274 + 276)

and

What is important to finding oneself?
(App.1, item 5.9., p. 276/277)

The latter question asked for the way people achieve, personally or with others. All the elders referred to cooperation as the way to achieve. The relations of oneself to the people is interpreted as a sharing relationship, which is explained in comments like

(e1): People who were gifted sometimes got arrogant.
Strength is only in doing things together.
(App.1, item 5.9., p. 276)

(e2): But you do not boast when you are better than others. When you have skills, you share.

(e5): We used to help each other.

(App.1., item 5.9., p. 277)

These statements can be used as reference to relations to oneself and the people. If you have skills, you use them. You have to find your own skills, and everyone can find skills in which s/he is better than others. However, strength only lies in doing things together, in sharing one's skills with the others, who in turn contribute with their skills. This relation to other people also involves the avoidance of prejudice. The teacher

refers to this relations of oneself, the people, and the land when he makes aware of what we can learn from the cedar tree (which is part of the land):

Do not judge a person by their looks, by their life style, by their appearance. (App.2, tape 34/Green, p. 304)

He refers to the relations to oneself and the people again in connection with the teachings of the seven grandfathers, talking about wisdom:

...listen to the elders. Look at yourself. What are you learning? What kind of experience have you learned; even when you got hurt? You pass (it) on. That's part of wisdom.
(App.2, tape 36/Green, p. 307)

Relations between oneself and the people are mutual. In this explanation of wisdom, the person (oneself) first takes from another person (the people). He is processing what he has learned by the other person and by his own experience (oneself), and he gives it back to the people by sharing it.

In regard to finding oneself, elder (e2) makes a statement that you can find yourself in your people:

(e2): When you see your relatives, how they are, that is how you are
(App.1, item 5.8. relations to other people, p. 276)

Elder (e7) also mentions the relations between oneself and one's own people:

(e7): We were caring with each other. There has to be harmony. (App.1, item 5.8. relations..., p. 276)

That the relations to the people also include other people which had a different identity is referred to by elder (e1):

(e1): You can lead and teach. We have to respect other people, but at the same time keep our

identity,

and elder (e6):

(e6): We were peaceful, and we shared with everybody we ran into. That was part of our life.

(App.1, item 5.8., relations...., p. 276)

These relations are based on the two values of respect towards oneself and others, and sharing.

Relations between oneself, the people, the land, and spirituality are best summarized by the response of elder (e1) to the question

What significance do the following have for life?

(App.1, item 5.10., pp. 277 - 279)

He says in regards to nature, which represents the land that

(e1): ...it is part of creation. We are part of it.
Animals, plants are our brothers.
(App.1, item 5.10., nature, p. 277)

The relations between oneself and the spirit world are explained by responses like:

(e2): You can only find yourself through spirituality

(e3): We come from the Creator, from God

(App.1, item 5.8., spirituality, p. 276)

And the relations between the spiritual world, the land and the people are summarized in statements like:

(e5): The spiritual world was part of life on the land.

(e6): When we lived off the land, every day was a holy day. We prayed day and night, not just once a week since we moved to the village.

(e7): We used to pray a lot to the Creator. He has given us all you see.

(App.1, item 5.8., spirituality, p. 276)

Spirituality is mentioned in almost every response the elders gave on any question. The prominence of spirituality in the lives of the Attawapiskat people was already discussed, particularly in the previous paragraph discussing the relations of the people to their land.

Examples of references to the four relations are numerous. To close this discussion I will add just some more quotes to show how the four relations are present in the lives of the people of Attawapiskat, with spirituality always being a part of it:

- (e1): Everything has a spiritual purpose.
- (e2): Life is based on it. That is where we come from and that is where we go to.
- (e3): Life is sacred. God blessed everything on earth. They (all life) are all our brothers and sisters.
- (e5): Spirit is part of life.
- (e6): It belongs to life.
- (e7): When somebody went fasting in the bush , he came back knowing.
- (e7): It (the land) was provided for us by the Creator. We also used traditional medicine provided for us. God gave us life with the land. Without land we would die.

(Appl. item 5.10., nature, p. 277)

It can be concluded that life for the Attawapiskat people is interpreted within the same four relations of oneself, the spirit world, the people, and the land, which were identified in the Dene Kede curriculum. References to the people contain people of the same culture and people from different cultures. The reference to the people of different cultures of course allows

teaching contents from alien cultures. The important point elder (e1) made, however, is that in dealing with and respecting people from different cultures we still have to keep our own identity. The basis for every Native educational program would thus always be Native culture. The other culture is not taught as 'parallel' but in reference to one's own. As I mentioned earlier, the most part of teaching the other culture should still be done in the educational institution that was established for that, the local school and high school. Looking into the future of education in the school, the focus is gradually pushed towards Native culture with an introduction of a Cree immersion program. The future will be an education based on Native culture, even in the school.

The healing centre, being established only now, does not have to go through the whole process again but can start at the point the school is aiming at, establishing a program based on Native culture to support identity and self-esteem in those youth who could not handle the acculturative stress and the confusion that came with the first one sided, only 'western' teaching, as it was done in residential school, and later with the parallel teaching that pretended that the learners had a dual identity. The basis for a healing centre in a Native community has to be Native culture in order to give the lost youth a chance to heal.

CONCLUSIONS

Causes for the Problems of the Attawapiskat Youths

For the design of a healing program, or a curriculum for it, it is necessary to define the problem first and to find out what the causes for the problem are. Referring to the above mentioned necessary basis for a healing program for the Attawapiskat youths, I have to point out that a definition or interpretation of the cause also has to be found in the people of the community, who, of course, base their interpretations of these causes as well on their perception of reality, which is also based on their cultural upbringing. For finding a cultural basis of a healing program, it is not enough to take a causal model for solvent abuse *per se*, like the one of Barnes (1979) that identifies

- Low social assets
- acculturative stress
- parental drug use
- Peer and sibling influence (Barnes 1979:16)

as the causes for solvent abuse and to try to battle these causes with a healing program based on local culture, as this model was researched within a different cultural context. Like for the program itself, local culture and local perceptions of reality has to be made the basis for the interpretation of the causes of the problem in order to find solutions for it.

Attawapiskat being a Native community, it becomes clear that the interpretation of this model is different than in a non-

Native environment, as it was analyzed from the data. For example, in the Attawapiskat interpretation, *parental drug use* as a cause for solvent abuse will have to be changed into *child neglect* with the parental drug use as one kind of how this fact shows, as the people see child neglect as the major contributor of the problem. Another cause, that of *boredom*, has to be added. Due to this different interpretation of the causes, I would also organize an interpretation of causes in a different way, defining secondary and primary causes, with the secondary causes deriving from the primary cause. Let me start with the secondary causes:

Low Social Assets

were frequently mentioned in connection with the youth starting with solvent abuse because they do not get what they want materially. The elders and the professionals interviewed refer this problem to the youth becoming too materialistic due to *outside influence* like T.V., where they see how they are supposed to live. Other than in a community of the dominant culture, this is mainly a cultural problem. When this is not understood, wrong conclusions are drawn, like the one that solvent abuse happens particularly during the week of cultural activities like the goose hunt. The basis for this misinterpretation is a concept of life deriving from our culture, where lack of material things is equalled with poverty.

In many Native cultures, and in the interpretation by Attawapiskat elders, the definition of poverty was different than

what we would define as poverty, based on *loss of spirituality* and loss of direction in one's life. Low social assets, meaning material things, play only a role when the person experiences *loss of culture and loss of identity* or the confusion of identity.

The youths in Attawapiskat, at least those who have problems with solvents, are seeking an identity outside their own cultural environment, and this identity, a 'western' identity, is connected to material assets, the lack of which would put the person into a low social stratum. Considering reality on the reserve, this 'western' identity is an illusion, and the youths soon find out that they cannot have what they are made to believe they should have. On the other hand, their Native identity is not supported by the values that are presented by the media, and that are even taught by the educational facility they, the youths, are in. Thus, they turn to solvents.

Boredom

is also a cause frequently mentioned by all the respondents, and it has to be seen in connection with the feeling of the youths that they are deprived from material things, as described above. There seems to be little to do in the community but only when activities are sought in regards to what other, non-Native Canadians do. As I mentioned already, there would be a lot to do if the children had learned how to survive on the land, how to be *Indian*. The feeling of 'being useless' does not necessarily

refer to the lack of academic success at school, as it is presented by the health director who therefore draws the conclusion that there has to be more academic training for 'these people'. On the contrary, what has to increase for the people who lost themselves is cultural education that enables them not only to find themselves but also to escape the boredom they feel in the community.

Child Neglect,

another item in the causal model in connection with the behaviour of the parents, can also be referred to the influence from outside and the introduction of values that have their origin in a different culture. It was frequently mentioned that parents themselves have problems with alcohol, with gambling, and even with solvents. This leads to sometimes physical abuse, a lack of a loving and caring relationship between parents and children, family break-up, and to abandonment or neglect of the children who, in the words of the elders, are left on their own, and therefore turn to solvents.

Now, the question has to be asked what the origins of the parents' behaviour might be, and it was pointed out by every respondent that influences from outside are responsible for the *loss of parental skills*. After all, alcohol and other drugs were brought into the communities. They did not develop there. *Loss of culture and loss of identity* was promoted by a forced assimilation, which was practised in the residential schools.

The fact that the problems showed in Attawapiskat in the 1980's, in the generation whose parents went through the residential school system, supports the hypothesis that the residential school played a major role in creating the problem. The generation before that, the elders, either did not go to school at all, or they only went up to three years. The effects were not so deep as in their own children who are the parents of the youths today. Altogether, the cause for child neglect can again be analyzed from a *loss of culture* and a *loss of identity* in the generation of the parents, due to a forced assimilation into another culture.

Peer and Sibling Influence

has to be seen in the same light. According to the responses of the solvent abusers themselves, the decision of siblings or peers to turn to solvents did play a role in their own decision to do so, yet, it did not play a major role. Some of the solvent abusers stated that they would rather try to keep their siblings out of this vicious circle of solvent abuse. One of the respondents also mentioned that *violence by peers* is a contributing factor.

Most of the solvent abusers we worked with were friends to each other, and some of them were siblings. However, it can be concluded that the major problem was not that younger siblings came to sniffing by imitating the older ones, or that sniffers started with solvent abuse because their peers did it, although

that was also mentioned. What weighs more is that the youths are either from the same family, having the same problems, or they all have similar experiences in their home environment as their friends have. A healthy home environment with loving and caring parents, and with parents who do not have identity problems themselves would, in the opinion of the interviewed people, counteract peer influence.

The experience in the home environment can be referred to the above cause of child neglect, having its origin in the forced assimilation of the people into the dominant culture. The role of the residential school was discussed already, and I would only like to add one more thought. It is a widely known fact meanwhile that there was physical and sometimes also sexual abuse in residential schools. This is also mentioned by the respondents, particularly in the presentation of the elementary school teacher. Children receiving punches instead of hugs will not treat their own children too gently, and pass on their own pains to the children. Hanging out with peers that have the same experiences will create a situation that promotes the decision to turn to solvents, but the influence of peers and siblings can only lead to regular solvent abuse, if the person has similar problems as the peer or sibling.

All the causes described above, which I called secondary causes, point into one direction when one asks for the origins of these problems, towards *loss of culture and identity*. That is why I want to define the following issue as primary cause of the

problem.

Acculturative Stress

is the root of the solvent abuse problem in the youths of Attawapiskat, because not only are the youths exposed to this stress, but also their parents, who, due to acculturative stress and reeducation in an alien education system, the residential school, lost their parental skills. Their connection to their own culture, which was presented as inferior, was weakened. And even if a *loss of identity* cannot be analyzed completely, Native identity got weakened by the introduction of different values. The confusion that followed led to a decay of *self-esteem* in the people who were looking for an identity outside their own cultural environment, and they passed this weak self-esteem on to their children. Referring to my introductions where I reflected on my own experience, the self-esteem of the people deteriorated because they were told by other people who they were, rather than having been given the chance to find out themselves. The Native 'circle of life', which is referred to as the 'medicine wheel' in many of the responses, was broken by the introduction of the alien values and philosophy of life which separates the spiritual from the material world. *Loss of spirituality* is mentioned by almost all the respondents as a major cause of the problem. The break-down of the cultural context of the people also led to another important phenomenon which is rarely mentioned in the assessment of causes, but which is an important point in the

evaluation of cultural causes of the problem: the changing respect for women by men, a phenomenon that was also imported. This was presented by the female university student who was interviewed during the survey, and by some elders who particularly emphasized the change of relationship to the mother. The confusion in the child derives from the bond of the child with a mother who has a low status in society and even in the family in cases where the wife is abused by her husband.

Acculturative stress, as referred to by Barnes, is thus a major cause for the decision to abuse solvents. The solvent abusers themselves express their desire to go out on the land. They would need somebody who takes them out. The elders stated that the youths have lost themselves. They have to be helped to find their identity again.

Lack of Self-Esteem

also connected with the loss of culture, refers not only to the youths but also to their parents. This is not only due to the residential school experience but also to the loss of their independence and, being dependent on assistance, their lack of being able to provide for the family on their own, as people did when they still lived on the land.

The Attawapiskat Interpretation of Causes

would thus be:

Primary cause: *acculturative stress,*
 which leads to confusion, loss of culture,

loss of spirituality, and low self esteem, which is passed down to the youths.

- Secondary causes:
- *low social assets*, due to the misinterpretation of poverty as lack of material goods.
 - *boredom*, connected to the above cause of low social assets. The youths try to escape from that with material things, using ideals from a different culture.
 - *child neglect* due to the problems the parents had themselves with the forced assimilation and the loss of their culture.
 - *peer and sibling influences*, based on the similarity of problems among the youths.

School drop-out cannot really be defined as one of the reasons for abusing solvents, because the majority of the solvent abusers are still at school or they were when they started sniffing. It seems more the opposite that the youths are dropping out of school **because** they are sniffing, or they are even suspended from school because of their problems with keeping their temper, which is also connected to their sniffing problem. There is a policy at the local school that students are sent home and suspended when there is a suspicion that they are sniffing.

The problems the solvent abusers have are not imaginary, a possibility which was hinted at by one of the respondents, but real. And they are not connected to the students' low academic performance, at least not according to the data analyzed from the responses of the people of Attawapiskat that participated in the survey.

The problem of solvent abuse is a cultural problem, but it cannot be defined the way it was by a non-Native community member that Native cultural activities promote the problem. It is rather the contrary, the problem lying in the denial of Native culture.

The deep influence the break-down of Native culture had on the youths of today, and how the pain and confusion was passed on by their parents can be summarised in the statement of the former deputy chief who, connecting the problems to non-Native institutions, says:

They have caused a lot of emotional harm in our ancestors. I can still feel the pain of my ancestors.
(App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 311)

The Cultural Basis in Attawapiskat

Considering the fact that every Native person in Attawapiskat still speaks Cree, and that at least half of the interviews were held in Cree, and language being a major part of culture, it can be concluded that the community is still deeply rooted in Cree culture. This is also confirmed by the interviews I did with the chief in his goose camp, and with elders in smoking teepees or out on the land. Analyzed from the data, the cultural basis in Attawapiskat can be summarized as follows:

The Land

Every reference to life can be found in the land. Brody's

(1988) conclusion that

The effects of colonial pressure, of the frontier,
and of the very presence of the white man are escaped
in the bush (Brody 1988:253)

refers to the Natives' relations to the land. The results of the interviews in Attawapiskat show that land is not only important to life, land is life. Everything needed for life can be found on the land.

Spirituality centres around the activities on the land. It can be felt on the land, and it can be observed on the land. The natural laws the traditional Native person lives by, the laws given by the Creator, can be found by observing nature.

For a healing program one fact is particularly important: The land was frequently mentioned as having a calming and healing effect on the person.

Identity is also connected with and can be found on the land, which is summarized in the statement:

That is my home, the water, the birds, the animals.
That is part of me. That is my identity. That
gives me some hope and the belief I need to be able
to live. (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 312)

The ability to live, as it is referred to in this quote, also includes the whole organization of life, the social structure, behaviour, in a word, the culture of the people. Especially in the interviews done on the land, this fact was emphasized. The land is where families 'function', where everybody has his task, and where the spirit is refreshed.

Survival is also provided by the land, which is expressed in the above quote by the ability to live. This survival does not

only include what is usually referred to as 'Native culture', activities like hunting, trapping etc.; it refers to the whole life, *pimaatisiwin* as it is called in Cree, which includes spirituality and identity. Survival does not only mean physical health, but also spiritual and mental health, which can all be found on the land.

Responsibility is also learned on the land. First of all, each person is responsible for the land and the maintenance of the balance. It was pointed out by the elders that the each person's responsibility is to keep the land in a state that it can still be used by future generations. Cooperation among people, as pointed out in the interviews as the different tasks of the family members, plays a major role in the life on the land and is a key for survival of the group. In this way, the responsibility learned on the land does not only refer to the land itself but also to the people who live on it. This responsibility shapes the character of the individual.

Education

The conclusion that the different cultural basis produces different learning and teaching methods was also confirmed by the responses collected in the interviews.

Learning Styles identified in the analysis of the responses on the interviews are similar to those identified in the model of the First Nation Technical Institute (1992) as presented in the literature review (p. 71) of this dissertation.

The core of this learning style is:

- *learning by observation and experience*
This does not only refer to observation of other people like parents and elders, but also to observation of nature.
- *holistic learning*
This includes that everything is learned with an awareness of purpose, with a connection to the universe (the whole), with relating to people and things, which includes spirituality and feelings.

It is important to make aware of the inclusion of feelings in this learning style, which would also have an effect on how the teacher has to teach. It is also important to realize that with this learning style the responsibility lies within the learner, not the teacher. The treatment method of *solitary introspection* mentioned in the proposal for the healing centre is thus included in the traditional style of learning.

Academic subjects are included in the contents of what is learned on the land. The example mentioned in the analysis bases on weather observations. Another example would be that a hunter has to know the habitat and behaviour of the animals he is hunting when he wants to be successful. Science and math is used for the techniques of the activities on the land, as discussed in the literature review (p. 53) with the example by Kirkness (1992). Academic subjects, which are usually attributed to school, are included in daily life and they are learned on the land while doing traditional activities.

Punishment does not play a role in the traditional upbringing of a child. Instead of punishment there is

counselling and a loving and caring relationship to the child. Even though there was a different kind of raising children introduced to the people, and even though one elder mentioned that 'disciplining' was mentioned in the Bible and therefore had to be practised, he himself did not practise it, and his parents did not practise it on him. The measurement mentioned by some respondents, like hiding the shoes of the child, are not meant as punishment, but rather to keep the child out of trouble and to teach responsibility.

Concepts

Particularly the latter discussed issue, that of the absence of punishment, can be explained by discussing the concepts in local culture. These concepts can be compared to the educational concepts of the Dene people discussed in the literature review (pp. 78 - 80), which were presented in the 'Dene Kede' curriculum (N.W.T. Education 1993:xxv-xxvii)

Elders are the ones that pass on culture and are important to teach the life skills and life in general. They are the link to the past and the advisors for the future. Elders are the ones who accumulated knowledge, they are the counsellors of the community, and they are the teachers.

Future is always connected to the past. The circle of life will not change in the future. Future is defined as the continuation of the circle, as continuation of life in the way it is supposed to be. Future does not mean 'new' life, with new

innovations etc., future means the continuation of life.

Although the children are the future of the people, it is the elders who level the way into the future for the children, as they are the ones who come closest to the knowledge of how life is supposed to go on, connecting to the beginning of life and their experience in the past.

The role of parents in the upbringing of children is that they are responsible for their children. In this context, the absence of punishment in the education of the child makes sense, because it is actually the parents who are held responsible for the mistakes the child makes. Why would the child be punished for their parents' lack of responsibility towards them? The elders' analysis of the causes for solvent abuse being the abandonment and neglect of children points towards this definition of the role of the parents.

The role of the community is similar to that of the parents. The elders mentioned that the whole community has to take care of the youths, that youths feel abandoned not only by their parents. After all, the children are the future of the community. That means that community members cannot look away when children are neglected, but they have to become active and help both the family and the child.

Self motivation is a concept which is connected to the style of learning. When a person learns by observation, s/he is responsible for what s/he is learning, and not the teacher. The teacher is merely the one who demonstrates how something is done.

Trust in the child is another concept that comes out of the learning style of learning by observation. The child is not forced to learn what the teacher wants him/her to learn, but can decide by him/herself what to learn. The trust shows in giving the child the choice and believing that s/he makes the choice which is right for him/her.

The uniqueness of each individual is acknowledged by giving the learner the choice what is to be learned. The elders emphasized that each person contributes to the community in his/her own unique way, that people have different gifts. The value of sharing is connected to this concept because the community will be strong when all members share their gifts with each other. Wisdom only has value, as the teacher interviewed emphasized, when it is shared.

Cooperation is the concept of how the community organizes and of how the individual learns. Individual achievement is only valid when it helps the whole group, or in the words used above, when it is shared. The feeling of worth, or self-esteem, comes with one's contribution to the community, not with personal achievement in competition with other community members. After all, the whole community works for the same goal and has the same responsibility to life and land as the individual.

Healing is understood as the recreation of balance. It is understood that youths who abuse solvents are 'off the path' or have lost themselves. The individual who needs healing has lost balance in life. The goal of healing is to enable the youths to

find back to the path and to find themselves again and to help them balancing their lives again. For that purpose, the lost youths have to be provided with what they are lacking, to add to the medicine wheel the missing parts that caused the imbalance.

The Medicine Wheel

The Medicine Wheel was mentioned by elders and other respondents during the interviews. It was also mentioned that the wheel had to be balanced. Although the parts of the wheel that have to be balanced were never directly mentioned, it became obvious that they are identical with the ones suggested in the 'Dene Kede' Curriculum (N.W.T. Education 1993).

Altogether, the medicine wheel fits into the holistic view to life, which was discussed with styles of learning and relations to the land.

What each individual has to balance is his/her relations to him/herself, to the people, to the land, and to the spirit world. Referring to the medicine wheel in the Dene Kede Curriculum, the four relations are the basis for the individuals' lives. The wheel would look like this.



The Desired Basis for the Healing Program

The responses to the interview questions, particularly by the elders, and the statement of the former deputy chief that the people of Attawapiskat

...had a vision that we could teach our young people how to be hunters, trappers, to use their language and spirituality, (and) ... to get that back through our elders (App.2, tape 15/Red, p. 312)

summarizes what kind of program the community deems necessary to heal their youth, namely to bring the youths back to their own culture. It is clear that the community would like a program that is based on their culture, that they want to reclaim their youths who are too much influenced by values from a different society. The elders clearly state that this is the major problem.

Beside this being the wish of the community, basing the program on local culture is also the logical choice if healing is to be successful and if one considers the role of *loss of culture* in creating the problem.

Altogether, this is also confirmed by the literature I reviewed with Blake Debassige directly referring to the use of 'western' methods as the cause of social problems (Glaap 1996:11), and Brody (1988) quoting a B.C. Native that the answer to the alcohol problem is to be found in the bush (Brody 1988:253).

The choice of the basis for the healing program has to be made by considering the two previously discussed issues of *causes*

for the problem and the cultural basis in the community.

The Purpose of a Healing Program

is to heal the person by correcting the imbalance caused in the client. The elders made clear that healing means to give the clients a safe environment, to help them find themselves, and that this is done through reintroduction to the clients' own culture and **not** by teaching western academic subjects.

As acculturative stress was identified as the main cause for the problem, the goal is to be to reduce this stress rather than to increase it by offering yet more foreign contents to the already confused clients. *Self-esteem* is necessarily connected to the opinion a person has about him/herself. To make this opinion a positive one, the person will have to know who s/he is, and the basis for this will be the original culture.

As mentioned in the literature review already, training schools proved unsuccessful in the treatment of solvent abusers (Ackerly & Gibson 1964), even in a non-Native environment. Combined with the respondents' advice that 'western' training is not part of the healing program, it can be concluded that 'training' is not a desirable component for the healing program. It is rather a fact that this training is provided by the schools in the community, and that many of the solvent abusers dropped out of this program. Although education in this sense is necessary for the client, it comes **after** the client is healed. By healing the client, the healing centre will enable the person

to go back to the programs offered in the local schools, rather than offering the same programs as means for healing.

The Needs of the Clients

were identified in the causes for the problem. The youths themselves stated that they miss going out on the land, which might well be the cause for their boredom. What the clients need is *cultural reinforcement*.

Another need is *love, care and affection*, which Seidlitz (1987:36) calls the most powerful reinforcers used in dealing with children. The lack of love, care and affection was frequently pointed out by the respondents in Attawapiskat, and it was defined as child neglect being one of the causes for solvent abuse in Attawapiskat, with the indication that this child neglect was caused by the loss of self-esteem and culture in the parents.

One need that was pointed out by almost all the respondents is the *need of spirituality*. Spirituality is deeply rooted in the daily life of a Native person. Although it might be practised by 'western' persons as well, the spiritual context is separated from the material world in 'western' society. In Native societies it is part of life. The best way to reconnect to the missing spirituality would be to integrate it again into daily life, as it is done by traditional Native people.

The goal to *build up self-esteem* in the client can only be reached by giving the client back what s/he lacks, by adding to

the medicine wheel what is missing in order to restore balance. What the youths are missing was defined above as *love, care and affection, as cultural reinforcement, and as spirituality*. A healing program therefore has to concentrate on these three issues to restore the balance in the client.

The Necessity of a Cultural Basis

was already discussed in introduction and literature review. Based on the data collected in Attawapiskat, the major concern is that the youths are turning to solvents because they have lost themselves. The major goal was defined as giving the client self-esteem. In the data collected, self-esteem can be found in the basis of what a person is, and this basis lies within the local culture, in the balancing of the medicine wheel.

Identity is one of the most important issues for promoting self-esteem. Rather than creating a new identity, it would be more effective to strengthen the identity of the clients, which is based on the land and the people they derive from.

The goal of a healing program also includes that the clients are taught *responsibility*. The health director emphasized a therapy where the clients learn how to function in a group, which would be defined as *cooperation*. Both are concepts in local culture, which makes the need of local culture as basis in the program obvious.

The educational concepts in the above conclusion about the cultural basis of Attawapiskat also include learning and teaching

styles. It is obvious that a distinctive Cree way of learning by observation and experience is still present in the community and is still practised by families who go out on the land. This means that the children born into this concept would best respond to teaching styles that meet their way of learning. This fact makes it necessary to base the program on local culture.

The conclusion about the major component of the healing program would thus point towards the *wilderness camp*, as the therapy in the program. All the desired effects like enhancement of self-esteem, balance of one's personal medicine wheel, cooperation, life skills, survival skills and academic subjects necessary for these skills can be extracted from the wilderness camp.

Love, care and affection, which was defined as one of the missing parts in the clients' lives, can be given back to them on the basis of a culture which does not have a concept of punishment but rather concentrates on help. Even the Native family atmosphere in the healing centre the health director is referring to asks for this cultural basis.

The distinctively different definition of *future* in the two cultures that were the basis of the proposal for the treatment centre, and which, in the opinion of the author of the proposal should be taught parallel, rules out that both cultures could be taught in a parallel way because this would lead to confusion. Instead, the identity of the client should be strengthened, and a teaching of the 'other' culture is to be based on the client's

own culture. It also rules out the possibility that a program designed on the basis of 'western' culture can be used for a Native community.

Recommendations

Any program, and particularly a healing program that should help a youth to find back to her/himself, has to be based in the culture the individual derives from in order to be effective. Too many mistakes were made in the past with the attempt to solve other people's problems on the basis of one's own assumptions. A Native healing program has to be designed by Native people themselves. 'Western' experts can only help with researching the cultural basis for the program in the community itself, as I tried to do with this dissertation.

It is necessary to make sure that the western 'experts' who design the program can actually be referred to as such, considering the education they have in this field. Unfortunately, in Attawapiskat this was not the case with the people who were 'in charge' and tried to determine the 'Native' contents of the programs themselves, rather than extracting it from the people.

A health director, for example, who at least has a thorough training himself in the field of health and related programs, would understand the health problems referred to him by the community, even if he is not a Native himself. In any case,

experts should have an understanding of the issue, yet they are not to dictate the contents of the program. The contents have to come from local resource persons. It is not up to people from other cultures to decide if the Natives' perception of life is enough or not. It is not desirable to declare a program Native only on the basis that some Native people are included in the design of it, or by finding some *brown faces* who agree on our perception of reality. Native people have to find their own reality and their own solutions, as they had done before other people interfered into their lives. The people of Attawapiskat have not only expressed their vision of a healing program having to be based on local culture, they also showed their desire of being included in the decision about the design of the program by participating in the survey and sharing their vision.

The elders proved to be the experts in the analysis of causes of the problem and in showing culturally appropriate solutions. Therefore they not only play a role in helping design the program with the 'experts', the elders are the experts. For the youths in the community the utmost importance is to find their identity. As I mentioned already in the introduction, this identity cannot be given to them by outside persons. Any healing program designed by people from a different culture will fail, as it did the Attawapiskat youths in the past. The cry for help by the Attawapiskat youths is not to be interpreted as *please tell me who I am*, but has to be interpreted in the way the elders interpreted it as *please help me find myself*. And, referring to

my own experience, this can only be done looking to one's own people, not by programs designed by outsiders or based on outsiders' visions of a global village.

What Next? - Post Project Refelections

Like with so many projects, once this project was completed, more questions came up and wanted to be dealt with. This happened particularly when the paper was discussed. I will try to wrap all this up in this additional paragraph. Although I will provide some additional information in an outlook to further steps that can be taken after the discussions of this paper, I will also limit this outlook to the most pressing questions that came up. Of course, a problem can always be looked into from many different sides, and there will always be concepts that would need to be discussed further and which could be found in a bulk of additional literature. I want to remind, however, what the thesis was about - finding a cultural basis for a treatment program through the local people. It was neither a paper on medical implications on solvent abuse, nor was it an attempt to find psychological solutions, nor was it the creation of a treatment program, although all these topics were discussed. The paper intended to show the cultural basis for a treatment program for a certain community and it discussed why this basis was necessary. A more indepth discussion of the other topics, and the actual program for treatment could follow. I will have some

suggestions below, after the short discussion about what this paper could be used for. Before that I would like to shortly point out some critical terms and concepts that were either used or not used or not 'scientifically' proven.

Some Critical Terms and Concepts

I was made aware that I used terms that are either European, not enough 'Native', or politically incorrect in a multicultural society. Although I did discuss why I used some of these terms, I will shortly explain them again here, in order to complete the whole picture.

Throughout the paper I used the term *whiteman* to describe non-Native people, including myself, who were working with the Natives. This term might be evaluated as irrelevant in our multicultural environment. Yet, I have to point out that the term used by the Crees I interviewed, *Omishtegosho*, translates into *whiteman*, be it politically correct or not in our society. However, the term 'Omistegosho' does not have the negative flair as the term 'whiteman' seems to have in our society, and the way I used the term would underline this. There might be similarly incorrect terms I used and was not made aware of yet. In this case I would suggest to just find out what context these terms appear in, instead of trying to interpret meanings into them that were not intended.

I used the word *wilderness* in the discussion of the delivery modes of the treatment program. This is the term that was

considered 'European' and I was told that the term Natives themselves use, which would be *bush*, was more appropriate. This term is also used by other non-Native scholars. As I already explained when I introduced the term, I just used the term that was used in the proposals for the treatment program which, by the way, were not written by Europeans but by Eurocanadians. The term used by the Crees I interviewed was different altogether. The Crees themselves use the term *aski* (= land). Compared to the other two terms, the one used in the proposals (wilderness) and the other suggested to me (*bush*), *aski* is the only real Cree one, no matter what term other scholars or other Native people might use. The people whose home is 'the bush', as we Eurocanadians call it, or 'wilderness', as the Europeans supposedly call it, do actually not make a difference between their home environment and 'nature'. As opposed to the reality of non-Native people, 'the bush' is still the home environment for the people I researched. That would explain why they just call it 'land' and do not specify it with a word that would describe it as 'untamed' land as the terms 'wilderness' or 'bush' would indicate. What I want to point out is that in dealing with other cultures, our politically correct terms might be as incorrect to the people we refer to as those terms that are deemed incorrect by us.

The *wilderness camp* as delivery mode for treatment was not discussed as a new, unique concept of dealing with troubled youths. Hinting to that misunderstanding of how I presented this camp, I was made aware of a certain *Project Dare* which based on

canoe trips for troubled, non-Native youths. There is no doubt that there are many similar projects out there, projects I did not discuss. As I pointed out, however, for the Cree youths this camp means more than a canoe trip because it will bring forth cultural behaviour that is oppressed in the more non-Native environment of a town or 'reserve'. The importance for the Cree youths would lie in the goal of the *wilderness camp* that was presented in the proposals. The goal of that camp is to help the Native youth reconnect to their culture. The results of similar projects, that youths learn responsibility etc. might be the same, but for Native people who try to reconnect to the lives of their forefathers there is a difference in how this camp is perceived.

Another issue that was critiqued referred to contents of what was researched. I want to say here that I presented the words and the opinions of the local people and based my analysis on their words. When, for instance, elders made the statement that breastfeeding creates a closeness between mother and child I noted that down and analyzed it as the way the local people evaluate that situation. After all, I was researching the local cultural basis for a program and the perception of local people, particularly the elders. I did not concern myself with 'scientific evidence' of the elders' statement. I trust that the people interviewed, particularly the elders, know what they base their statement on, that they have their own 'science', and I refer to post-colonial critique where it is stated that the

people are able to evaluate the situation they are in themselves. The theme of the thesis was not what we as westerners would suggest but rather how Native people themselves would evaluate the problem that was researched. This is true for all the statements made by the local elders. If we need 'evidence', it should be found in the suggestion the elders make themselves. Any further research should be done in a way that respects the way of the people, here the Cree. The 'evidence' needed should be found by asking the people who made the statement how they came to that conclusion and what they base their knowledge on. We might find that they have their own way of acquiring knowledge which is as valuable as and even comparable to 'scientific' evidence.

Some statements I made have to be seen in the context the paper was written in. As I already mentioned, I referred to an actual project in a real community. The reality I was referring to was the reality of that community. When I compared western educational concepts to the concepts the elders referred to, I referred to the western educational concepts that are used in that community and are most probably used in the majority of Native communities, which base their school system on the structures that were established by the Department of Indian Affairs. Of course I am aware that concepts like child-centred learning, cognitive learning or experimental learning are discussed in programs at the universities, and that there is a bulk of literature on this subject. I do not doubt that we non-

Natives can think of those concepts as well. However, that was neither the topic of my thesis, nor were these concepts used in the existing educational facility of the community. Comparing the elders' educational concepts with the educational concepts of western scholars and finding similarities in these concepts would be the topic of a different thesis. What I did in my thesis was presenting the reality in the community, compare it to the reality the local people would want and try to explain why the desired reality, based on the people's conception of the local culture, would provide better solutions to prevailing problems in the community. I did not intend to find other, western concepts that would be comparable to the concepts the locals suggested. I would also not suggest to the Natives that they actually had a choice between different 'western' solutions we can offer. I wanted to present local concepts and argue that the people should be empowered to use their own concepts; that it is the people themselves who make change happen.

The Use of this Paper

The research done for this paper was about finding a cultural basis for a healing program and the necessity to do so. Although this research refers to a particular community, the reference to the cultural basis can be considered in similar projects in other communities. There are cultural differences among the Native groups in Canada, yet, the reality in the communities referring to the dealings with the dominant society

and the problems resolving from this relationship are very similar. Solvent abuse, the lack of self-esteem among Native youths and the lack of pride in their own culture and society are named as prominent problems in Native communities by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (Canada 1996). It is also repeatedly mentioned that the development of the programs needed in the Native communities should be done in the communities themselves and on the basis of the local culture. This paper provides a framework for justifying this basis and gives some general directions of how the concepts researched in a Native community can be worked into a program or curriculum for healing programs. The actual programs and curriculae can be developed on that basis.

Further Research

There was one question that was not answered throughout the research done in that community and that was not completely clear in the literature about solvent abuse. While I was looking into the causes for solvent abuse, and while these causes were researched in Attawapiskat prior to my own research, boiling down to child neglect as one of the major contributing factor, there was no mention of solvent abuse, particularly gasoline sniffing as *the* solvent abuse problem in Attawapiskat, being addictive. Addictiveness to the abused solvent would change the course of the treatment and could lead to the wrong conclusions if in some cases the solvent abuser seems to respond to the treatment and

then suddenly stops it and turns back to solvents. The conclusions drawn could be that the client did not respond to the treatment altogether and that the course of treatment has to change. Addiction could then also be a factor in the evaluation of the programs that were offered to Attawapiskat youths so far. These programs were seen as a failure and I based my conclusions on this failure originating in the alien cultural basis of the programs. However, if solvent abuse leads to addiction, one cause of the client's return to solvent abuse would also be her/his inability to deal with the physical hardships of withdrawal although s/he might have responded to the kind of treatment offered altogether. Addiction would require more medical treatment. The question about the addictiveness of gasoline inhalation has to be dealt with before the programs are established.

There is also other drug abuse on the advance in the community. The drugs available in the community range from Hashish, Marijuana to Crack and Cocaine. A follow-up research could be done in how far the gasoline sniffers change to hard drugs when they are older. Many causes for solvent abuse in the community could also be the causes for drug use by older youths, and gasoline sniffing could be the 'entry drug' that leads to the abuse of harder drugs like cocaine. The above mentioned question if solvent abuse leads to addiction could also be tied in this kind of research on drugs because it could answer why the youths switched to drugs later.

When, as I hope, programs are worked out in the communities on the suggested cultural basis in this paper, the success of these programs can be tested to underline the suggestions made in the paper about the necessity of a cultural basis. As I mentioned above, the topic of this paper was the cultural basis that was suggested by the local elders and other local people. The basis for this was the post-colonial critique discussed in the literature review, trusting in the ability of each cultural group to find solutions to any problems that occur. Many of the statements in the post-colonial papers were verified by the suggestions of the local elders and by the statements of the solvent abusers themselves who were mentioning what they were longing for and what they were seeking when they abused solvents. They always hinting towards a lack of cultural activities offered to the youths. These statements can be tested once a program based on local culture was established, and once the aftercare is in place which ensures that the clients continue with what they were introduced to in the treatment centre. In Attawapiskat there are a number of solvent abusers that were sent out to other programs already and who did not respond to the treatment there, or who turned back to solvent abuse once they were back in their community. Some of them will certainly be admitted to the local treatment centre once it opens. The different impact of the other programs compared to the new one that is based on local cultural concepts could be tested with these clients. The same would be true with solvent abusers in other communities.

Another question having arisen in the discussions of the paper was if the suggested program developed on the cultural basis of the community researched could only be applied to Native youth. Beside differences among cultures in dealing with certain problems there are also similarities. Sometimes it is only a question of which methods are dominantly used in certain societies. As I mentioned above already, similar approaches to learning as those presented by the elders I interviewed have been established in our society as well and are discussed and taught at universities. These methods, e.g. child-centred learning, are just not generally applied in education. However, they are discussed and they are applied in some educational facilities. In this way the proposed approach to solvent abuse treatment, with the suggested approach to disciplining that is directed to those who are in care of the children and with the inclusion of spirituality etc., could also be discussed and applied in other cultural environments.

The discussed causes for solvent abuse by Barnes (1979:16) and what the Attawapiskat people saw as the major problem have one similarity - the children and youths feel neglected, left out, and their feelings got hurt by actions or non-actions (neglect) of their environment. These feelings of the clients have to be reached in order to heal them. The basis for the treatment program suggested by the elders refers to the emotional and spiritual realm of the human being. How the elders saw the problem was that the youths are the victims, not the deviants,

and they suggested a program that acknowledges that. The means to heal is not punishment for the aggressive behaviour the gas sniffer might show, or a forceful correction of 'wrong' behaviour, but a gentle approach that reaches out to the feelings of the solvent abusers. The main challenge for the treatment facilities will be to stick to that approach, to acknowledge the feelings of the clients even when they show aggressive behaviour. The way the elders see a treatment centre is as a 'healing' facility, not so much as a correction centre. Although the behaviour of the clients has to be corrected, in the approach suggested by the elders this correction cannot be dictated by others but has to grow from within the client. In other words, the client has to be convinced, not forced, to correct her/his behaviour, and for that the client's feelings have to be reached. This approach asks from the counsellor to not give up on the client, even when the client tries to withdraw from the treatment. Dr. Perry's (1996) suggestion that "treatment...must have an ability to manage running away behaviour without becoming a lock-up facility" (Perry 1996:11) points to the challenge the healing facility faces - reaching the client and start a healing from within the client without using force and at the same time without giving up on clients who seem to reject treatment.

Basing the program on a culture the clients draw their identity from is one way to reach their feelings. The only variante in the application of this approach would be the culture and identity of the clients. The general approach to healing the

clients by reaching out to their feelings and by supporting their own strengths rather than 'giving' them strength can be applied in any cultural environment. In this way I think it would be worth while to discuss this approach to healing solvent abusers from any cultural background. I want to emphasize, however, that there is indeed a variante in the suggested approach. As the target for healing is the support of self-esteem in the clients and the clients draw their identity from their culture and society, the structures the clients refer to in their healing process must originate in the individual's culture.

As final words I want to share some thoughts that derived from our practical work in the Safe House during our research. The elders always emphasised that the youths we were dealing with needed help, that their feelings were hurt and that we should try to reach the feelings of the youths. My wife being from the community knew all the clients personally, many of them being her relatives. I knew most of them from the time I was teaching in the community. This personal connection and the clients' feeling that we did care about them was the most important component in the success of the little program we put together for the clients. We got personally involved in the lives of the clients who came to us for help. That earned us their trust and within a few weeks of operating the Safe House, the vast majority of the clients came to us voluntarily.

The important thing in dealing with the clients was our personal involvement with the clients. Of course, there was a

lot of bureaucracy in the operation of the facility, and we aimed towards giving the clients structure in their lives that would keep them away from solvents. There also have to be rules, and of course there are guidelines to be followed. What we never lost touch with, however, was the purpose we were there for - to help the clients. The theories discussed in this paper and the bureaucracy are important for establishing and administering the facilities and for working out the programs. However, in the center of it all are the youths that should be healed and we always have to be flexible enough to adjust theory and bureaucracy to the needs of the youths that should be healed and not the other way around, to try to fit the clients into the frame work that was worked out. The success of any healing facility will in the end be measured by the ratio of clients who could actually be healed, and not by the question if the program can be contextualized within a certain theory.

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APPENDIX 1

Elders

Questionnaires (Interviews with Interview Schedule)

Age (Year born): e1: 71 / (1925)
e2: 77 / (1919)
e3: 72 / (1924)
e4: 71 / (1925)
e5: 95 / (1901)
e6: 82 / (1914)
e7: 84 / (1912)

gender: e1: male, native, status
e2: male, native, status
e3: male, native, status
e4: male, native, status
e5: female, native, status
e6: male, native, status
e7: male, native, status

1. Origins

1.1. How long have you lived in Attawapiskat? (the village)

e1: 23 years
e2: ///// (never really lived there; still in the bush)
e3: 50 years, off and on
e5: on and off; lived mostly in the bush

1.2. Where have you lived before?

e1: about 70 miles up the river, in different regions, around that area. permanently in the bush.
e2: Up the river, at different places, wherever there was good, straight wood for cabins and plenty of hunting. (15 miles from Mattawa). permanently in the bush.
e3: Between Kash River and Attawapiskat River (Mississia Lake). I grew up there with my parents. We only moved to Attawapiskat permanently after two of my sisters died from a measles rush. My mother and father had died in the bush. The time we moved to Attawapiskat was when they had already built houses there.
e4: Nawashigig.
e5: North of Attawapiskat, Whinisk area.
e7: North of Attawapiskat (Whinisk area). My wife is from

Whinisk.

1.3. What did you live from?

- e1: On jobs, welfare and from the land
First completely from the land. When I was young, I worked on the railroad, laying tracks. Later I lived on welfare. Now I am in Attawapiskat and once in a while I go hunting or harvesting.
- e2: only from the land.
- e3: From the land. We moved around, harvesting.
- e4: From the land. Later I had a job with the missionaries on the farm.
- e5: Still lives from the land. In Attawapiskat, she does not live in a house. She refuses electricity. Welfare is collected and administered by somebody else.
- e6: I supported myself by trapping and hunting. The store gave me credit for the pelts I provided. Our ancestors relied on these activities when there was no assistance.
- e7: Lived on both, welfare and land.

1.4. When did you move to Attawapiskat?

- e1: In December 1968.
It was painful to leave home (the bush), leaving behind the gifts from the creator. A lot of older people must feel this grief. I went here for schooling (the children), but it is not quite enough for moving here. Many problems started.
- e2: Once in a while. People only went to the village to receive clothing and sometimes food. I was happy to go to school, because I could wear nice clothes.
- e3: I don't know exactly. The first time we moved to Attawapiskat we only stayed for two months and then moved back. Someone came to move us to the village. He was listened to. Now we regret trusting this outside person.
- e4:
- e5: no answer
- e6: When the people started to receive housing from the government. The government officials looked around the community and started to make plans for the sites for the houses of the people. I guess, people at that time thought our dwellings would be comfortable.
- e7: When we were supposed to get assistance and education we moved here.

1.5. Where you member of a band before you moved to a community?

- e1: Yes, depending on the place where we lived on the land. People who lived on the Attawapiskat River

called themselves Attawapiskat Inninew, on the Kapiskau River they called themselves Kapiskau Inninew etc.

e2: No, there were no bands like today, only people.

e3: //////////////

e4: //////////////

e5: did not understand this concept.

e6: //////////

e7: There were no bands as there are today. When we came to this place here, we were band members.

1.6. Where did your parents live when you were born?

e1: Same places

e2: Up the river. People only came to where Attawapiskat is now for fishing. It is a bad place to live.

e3: I grew up with John's parents and John (e4). My family lived at the Kash River, all over from the Albany River. My father and brothers moved there.

e5: Whinisk area.

e7: Same places as I lived.

1.7. If they moved to different regions between the seasons, where were their territories?

Explain the activities done on land and season.

e1: They moved around in different areas to give the land time to regenerate. Depending on what they were doing on the land, they looked for the appropriate spot (like for gardening). The land was respected.

e2: //////

e3: Kash River, Albany River up to Attawapiskat River. We did everything on the land. People had skills. They knew how to build cabins (carpentry skills). We did not depend on skidoos or trucks like now. We did hunting and snaring and getting berries. Even the medicine we took from the land. We moved around where there was food. No official was there to control, no illness. We were strong people.

e4:

e5: wherever there is something to harvest. They looked for food like caribou. There was no store at that time. We also trap animals.

e6:

e7: We moved around at the same places for a while. When harvesting was not so good any more we moved away a bit and came back later. We lived on the land.

1.8. Did they consider themselves member of a band?

e1: Yes Tastatsho

The band name depended on the region. The term 'Attawapiskat First Nation' came with the treaty

negotiations. The White Man called us this. Politically it belonged to the NWT first, then to Ontario. Non-Native people used different names. Even the name of a person changed with baptism. We were told, that we could not change our names as we used to, e.g. an adult name (like after the eagle). When I wanted to do something about my name, the lawyer told me I could not do anything, because the Island in James Bay I was born belonged to NWT, not Ontario.

e2: No. (He is laughing at the question)

I consider myself Inninew (person, part of the people = Cree), not member of a band.

e3: //////////////

e5: This concept was unknown.

e6: no answer

e7: could not answer this question

2. What changed when you moved to the community and why?

e1: We were always adopting white man's way, but this doesn't work. You cannot be half white and half Indian. There is no faith in ourselves anymore, no self-esteem. People are always doing as the whiteman does, but we cannot do that.

e2: There were no houses first, only tents. I have an old age house in Attawapiskat now, but I live out here most of the time (Monument Channel, about 30 miles upriver from Attawapiskat).

e3: When someone came, he was listened to like a father figure who grew us up. People then did not resist and were not political. Then we were paternalized. Then laws came and people went to work, too. However, to this day we regret trusting the outside person. We were like dogs tied in chains. I am just stating the facts. They treat us like little kids and boss us around. They took advantage of our kindness and cooperation. The elders said that they regretted doing this to their future generations.

e4: we are still lonely for the land, to live there again. If I could, I would live on the land again. But I cannot leave my children behind.

e5: The people had to come to the community to collect welfare, when welfare started. The White Man made sure that children went to school; otherwise no welfare was handed out. My son did not go to school.

e6: Yes, there had been many changes. There seems to be an epidemic increase of social problems. It was not like that before. Life was harmonious and calm in those better times. Then the land surveyors came to look for a place to put us into to take care of us. That was all. This should not be called reserve land, only the

land where DIA can look after us.
 The chief and council work like the white government.
 What would be, if that was not the case? As you see,
 we are starting to pay for everything.
 My life consisted of traditional activities. When I am
 in the house I can just breathe. I cannot see the
 creation.

e7: Life was good and peaceful on the land. There are many
 problems now that were unknown before. There are lots
 of people living here. We are dying slowly in the
 village. There are so many social problems and no
 harmony.

2.1. In terms of housing

e2: There are houses now. There were only tents before.

e4: In the tents it was warm. We used moss as insulation.
 The houses are cold.

e5: Does not live in a house. In Attawapiskat she has a
 cabin without running water or electricity. She stays
 in Attawapiskat only a little while during the year.

e6: We were promised a place to be taken care of. One
 promise was housing. However, the houses are not
 standard. They are more or less like box houses, and I
 can just breath in this house. I do not see the
 beautiful creation.

e7: We had built our own houses the way we needed them. We
 could build houses (migwams) wherever we were. I miss
 being out there. It is organized differently today.

2.2. In terms of how family was supported (Life style, food etc.)

e2: When we lived off the land, we were healthy. When we
 kill animals, the animals are strong. They live off
 the land, too. We kill in a way that the blood, the
 juice of life stays in the meat. It is healthy. White
 men chop off the head of an animal, draining the blood.
 (see also 2.5.)

Nowadays people buy bacon and chicken at the store. It
 is unhealthy food, because the animals did not live
 outside, but in stables, and they are killed the wrong
 way.

e3: Life was free before and we were not controlled.
 People knew how to live and where to find food. There
 were rare cases when rabbits and fish decreased, but
 there was other food too.

The HBC introduced alcohol. They were also the first
 fur traders and had the monopoly. We never got our
 money's worth. When the ships came, the problems
 started. They had home brew. There were deaths.
 Christmas and New Years were especially the times when

- they used to be drunk. I don't know if they ever talked about spirituality.
- e4: Out on the land, fish and wild food, like rabbit was readily available. We used dogs for transportation. Around the village there is not so much fish and game, but now it is easier to go out with the skidoo.
- e5: not relevant, as she still lives a traditional life. In the village she only stocks up on flour, sugar, tea and gasoline.
In general: Children were never disruptive on the land as they are here on the reserve.
- e6: We only used to kill as much as we needed to live on and to be able to share some food with people we ran into. We took care of our families. Now we see our youth just sitting around and not having the skills to live off the land. Elders and experienced people should teach the traditional activities also. I see little kids running around, not being taken care of.
- e7: Life was good and peaceful on the land. We had enough to eat, wild meat etc., and we were very rich. We took good care of each other.

2.3. In terms of family life and child rearing

- e1: When the sun was down in the bush, the kids had to be home. They obeyed their parents, because they respected them. The kids were also breastfed. There was a bond with the child. In the 60's, people started to use baby bottles. The parents can take off any time. That is why the kids don't respect their parents too much any more.
- e2: It was the parents and grand parents that taught the children and took care of them. Nowadays, in school, they are only taught the white man's way. Parents do not take care of their children any more.
- e3: In the land there were not many problems. Our parents trained us in traditional activities.
- e4: The children did a lot of activities on the land, like tobogganning in spring. There was calmness in the families and a lot of harmony. We also prayed together. Children listened to their parents. They could not go about their activities if they didn't. The parents were still attached to older children (over legal age).
- e5: nothing changed as she rarely comes to the village.
In general: Long ago, when a child had problems, parents would just talk to and counsel the child. Nowadays, kids harm themselves by sniffing gasoline. There is no guidance by their parents and no relationship with their parents.
- e6: There was disruption and family break-up. Alcohol was one of the contributing factors to our breaking social

structure. People drank and caused disruption to the family unit.

e7: Parents looked after their kids well. When the sun had gone down, children were at home. Nowadays children are not looked after any more. They are on their own.

2.4. In terms of education of children

e1: When I wanted to know something, I went to older people to go back and back, instead of always looking to the future.

You have to be patient and have time with the education of the children. Always trust your relationship first. When I hugged my grandmother, I was asked by the priest: "What are you doing?" After that this (hugging) stopped.

e2: Kids learn from TV. Any social that is held is about money. Education is only about white man's way. Life is only seen as material life with commodities. They only want money.

e3: Priests and nuns came with their boats to pick up children for school in Fort Albany. They were gone for a long time. There was too much harshness in penalizing our kids. Superiority also existed. We had good intentions when we put our kids in these Residential Schools. I do not understand why there had to be these harsh treatments. It seems it caused a lot of damages.

I only went there for 2 years, but when my dad realized that we were taught the opposite way, he took me out of there telling me that I could not know how to live on the land any more, only how to live inside a building. My Dad trained me traditional skills. In Fort Albany I was taught the Bible and housework duties.

e5: It seems that the children started to change when they started to go to school here on the reserve. Our way of life is not taught there.

Traditionally, parents would start to teach their children at young age. They would teach how to survive and the traditional activities. The parents were around their children all the time. They had a tight relationship and could talk to and guide their children while growing up.

Nowadays you see that parents do not guide and watch their children. Children are running around late at night and are harming themselves and damaging other people's property. Kids are sniffing gas. They are roaming around. There is no guidance and no relationship to the parents.

We were trained at an early age and we were also taught spirituality.

e6: We used to have traditional education taught by our

parents and elders, about philosophy, hunting etc. We learned by watching/observing. The western education seems to take our youth away, especially when they go to high school. They come back different and not understanding our ways any more. I do not have anything against school, but our ways should not be forgotten in the process.

e7: Our parents taught us many things so that we could survive on our own. We were always with our parents and could learn a lot. What do parents teach their children today?

2.5. In terms of health care

e1: The afterbirth was considered sacred. It used to be hung in the tree and treated with respect. I wonder, if the hospital just throws it away. You are not supposed to do that.

There is also another dilemma. The transplant of organs is blasphemy. It is not mentioned (in the Bible) to take organs.

e2: Because we lived healthy lives, we were strong and healthy. When you cut your finger, using the medicine from the land, it heals within several days. Women who gave birth, were back to work one day after birth. Nowadays, when you go to the hospital, it takes forever to heal. People have become weak.

e3: We had taken all the medicine from the land. There is medicine in the ground, not only in the hospital. We had medicine for cuts, etc. There were a lot of teachings.

e4: There were no major deceases before we moved to town. We could cure ourselves from the land. Nowadays, you buy cold remedies from the store. Out on the land we treated tooth ache with medicine from tree gum, severe cuts with other traditional remedies. When a woman delivered, it was not complicated. We had ash in a bag for the woman.

e5: Our grandfathers used herbs and roots from nature, which has been provided for us to use. There are all sorts of medicine on earth.

e7: We used our traditional medicine that Creator provided for us on the land. We had medicine men who had the gift to know what herbs to use. I still use my own medicine. Western medicine only makes you worse and you don't really know what's wrong. I wonder if the nurses know. We always knew what was wrong with us. We had sweatlodges, which we also used for cures.

2.6. In terms of spirituality

e1: You are not supposed to cut down a tree. You have to

- respect the creation. Hunted animals were treated with respect. Their Organs were also hung in clean places.
- e2: Kids are not taught enough spirituality. They only learn from TV. When they grow up, they lose the connection. The kids are losing their values.
 - e3: We were told the sacredness of animals. The Water, snow etc. was blessed by Creator when he created them. He provided us with things we needed from His creation.
 - e4: People sometimes think we did not know God before the missionaries. But we knew God. We prayed a lot.
 - e5: Our forefathers prayed a lot, even before the man in the black long dress came. There were medicine men that used their powers in good ways, and sometimes also in bad ways. The good shamans were like doctors and they could cure people that were sick. Our grandfathers had drums when they prayed a lot. Nevertheless, St. Xavier wrote in the Great Book that our ways were mandocheo (Pagan, satanic) and that our people did not know God. The use of traditional rituals was considered pagan in the book. We had a priest who used to meet the community regularly to talk to the people and to advice them, when the children had to be home. It started then that the kids were whipped when they did not listen.
 - e6: We prayed all the time, day and night, before the Missionaries came. Now it seems in the village that people only go to church once in a while. For us each day was sacred.
 - e7: We prayed to the Creator and we had fasting ceremonies. A person who went into the bush, not eating or drinking for 10 days, came back with knowledge. We could connect to the spirits.

2.7. In terms of survival skills

- e1: The longer we stayed in the village, the more the children forgot how to live off the land. These skills should be taught to the children, and also to the White people living here. There would be less accidents.
- e2: Children do not learn how to live on the land any more. People lost these skills. The leaders at least should know how to trap and live off the land. Then they would understand.
- e3: In school you aren't taught how to survive on the land.
- e4: Out on the land, older people were still hunting and trapping.
- e5: These skills are not taught in the school.
- e6: We were taught survival skills long ago. Now I worry about our youth for their future. We have cuts by the government. How will we survive if we do not receive any assistance in the future?
- e7: We lived in close harmony with nature. There is so

much to learn from the land. We lived with the water (the river) and we understood the tides. God gave us life within this land, and we are to deeply respect it and take good care of it. He gives us food every spring and summer when things grow.

2.8. In terms of relations among the generations

- e1: People lose their values; their respect for parents and elders. It was lost, when parents lost their bond to their children (end of breast feeding). When you breast feed, you have to be around the child all the time. When you use the bottle, you can take off. Kids feel that. That's why they lost their bond.
- e2: Relations deteriorated, because generations were separated. They do not work together any more. Children are educated in a way that they do not understand the elders any more.
- e3: In my youth days, elders were gentle and caring when we lived on the land. There was love and we were strong. There were no distractions, and we lived a humble life. We were breastfed, which made a strong bond to your mother. Then this was destroyed, it was broken down. The sky was clear in my time. Then these terrible clouds came and lives were ruined. What should be the compensation for that?
- e4: Out on the land we lived together with the in-laws. We hunted and fished together. When we came to town to shop, we came as families. And we returned as families when spring came.
- e5: Long ago, when a child had problems, parents would just talk to and counsel the child. There was no form of corporal punishment, like the whip, which was brought by the priest.
- e6: There is not much of a relationship nowadays. You see little children run around outside. They will have a hard life when their ways of life are not taught to them.
- e7: We were very close when we lived on the land. Everybody contributed to the whole and we respected each other, shared everything with each other. Now, the children are on their own.

2.9. In terms of language

- e1: The use of our language goes down dramatically. We were given a language by the creator. Even the geese still communicate the same as before. Our people speak too much English. I do not object to English or French, but amongst ourselves we should use our own language.
- e2: Language goes back . Children get frustrated sometimes

- because they do not understand us any more. The speak a different kind of Cree, which is too English.
- e3: God gave us our language. I do not wish to forget and abandon what was given by the Creator. However, there is our a movement now that the youth wants to come back but they cannot communicate with their elders, due to a language barrier.
- e4: Long time ago, people could speak proper Cree, even the young. Nowadays, due to school, the young are losing their language slowly.
- e5: The children are losing their language, because they go to school at an early age.
- e6: We have a sacred language given to us by God. God had given many languages to people, and we were given our own. How can we not respect the sacredness of our language. I am dismayed when people/officials do not respect the sacredness of our language. It is even written in the Bible that language was a gift from the creator. When I see a priest speaking English to the kids, does he not know the sacredness of our language?
- e7: We spoke our language. It is God's gift and we have to respect that. People nowadays are losing our language. They do not live as we lived before.

2.10. Any other comments

- e1: People went to Kash to collect annuities. They might have been considered members of the Fort Albany band. The people from here then decided to elect their own chief and council.
- e2: There should be a chief who does not speak English. Then s/he would only represent our ways. But the chief is only educated in the English way. I highly doubt that Chief and Council represent us. There are no Native Ways in the band office. If our political leaders would take the Native way as a basis, there would not be so many problems.
- e3: Why do we lose our language? When our youth goes to school and later to high school, they learn a different behaviour and they speak in a different language.
- e5: T.V. is socializing the kids into a different society. They learn things from there as well.
- e6: I believe that T.V. contributes to the changes. Many young people get influenced by T.V. We started receiving assistance from the government when there was a settlement here. After a while, there was a liquor store put in place in Moosonee. It seems to me that the reason for the government for making settlements was to make them drink and buy booze. You know, the money we get as assistance goes to that liquor store. We do not really make a living with that assistance in this community where we just sit around.

The money goes back to the government.
 One of the factors for the increasing social problems is alcohol. People also start to sell drugs to our youth. These substances come from outside our culture. They are not our way.

e7: I still would like to go back on the land, but I think, it is not possible any more the way things are running today. I am stuck here in the community.

3. Expectations from the treaty

3.1. Do you or your children still go out on the land?

e1: Yes.

e2: Yes. 27 km up the Monument Channel. I live my life here; I get food, fire wood etc. I am happy to live here. My grandson lives with me. He learns the way and supports me.

e3: Yes. I do not go so often any more, but my sons go with John's youngest. They go hunting.

e4: Yes. They go up the river for moose and caribou, and down the river or north of here for geese. My daughter and my wife go berry picking close by.

e5: Yes, my son and I still live on the land.

e6: Yes, my children do go out still.

e7: Yes. Depending on what they are taking, they go up or down the river.

3.2. Where do you go and what is the purpose?

e1: They go hunting, in winter with the skidoo. In winter they hunt caribou and deer.

Depending on where the animals are, the hunters find good spots. That's where they go.

e2: Around my camp at the monument channel.

e3: When they go moose/caribou hunting, they usually go up the river and up north. Goose hunting is done at the bay and sometimes also up the river.

e4: They go Moose hunting up north and goose hunting at Akimiski. Fishing up the river.

e5: The greater part of the year I am out, up North, to go trapping and hunting. We harvest our food there.

e6: They go up north and up the river for caribou hunting.

e7: Moose and caribou hunting up the river and north, sometimes also south of the Lawashi.

3.3. Is the interest of your children and grand children to go on the land increasing or decreasing, and what is the difference in this between your children and grand children? Explain!

e1: decreasing with both, children and grand children.

Children do not know any more what to do on the land, and how to do it. There is education needed for skills on the land.

They still have interest, of course, but what keeps them are their jobs. My children are almost the last generation who still know how to live on the land. My grand children have almost lost this skill completely.

e2: decreasing with both, children and grand children.

They do not have much time any more to come out. Nobody in the village teaches them. I have one grandson with me. He did not go to school, but he healed out here by living with me.

e3: Cannot say. They are out not so often, but they go each year.

e4: It is stable. Even the grand children are still interested because their parents still take them out.

e5: So and so. One son is with me, living on the land; the other one lives in Moosonee.

e6: It is decreasing in the grandchildren, particularly those who go to school. My children and one of my grandchildren still go out.

e7: They still do what they did before. Of course it is decreasing to a certain extent because they live in the community.

3.4. Who determines where you go hunting/fishing or gathering and how much you take?

e1: In 1946 - 50, MNR asked where we were going to hunt and gather, for the number of food and material we took out. Now we hear that Whitemen want to measure the value in \$ per year. They are digging for something in the ground (diamonds). They measure \$30,000.00 per couple as compensation for lost revenue. They just measure everything in \$-value. We will be pushed aside. They asked for the number of dependents for calculating their quotas, but the Native people did not like that. The MNR made a map where they had jurisdiction (Moosonee District). They just stated that they had control there.

e2: (laughs) I do that myself.

e3: God blessed everything on earth. We must respect everything, then it will not harm us. God does not charge for water etc. You will not hear that from the Creator to say that you must live there or you must pay for each tree you cut. As with the stars. Did MNR make them? We are told that we must ask the MNR, but MNR did not make this creation.

e4: We do that ourselves because we know the land and we live off it. It is the Creator who provided the food and other necessities.

e5: God made all these things and gave them to us to use.

- e6: The M.N.R. seems to want to determine how much we can take. They cannot do that. There are even stories of Indian people being charged for hunting. This is the Indian way of life!
- e7: It is not up to the M.N.R. or the Federal Government to rule our lives. God gave us this land and our life style. This is our way of life we got from the Creator.

3.5. Are there any other people going to the exact places you go? Explain!

- e2: There is only me out here. The chief's cabin is up that trail. His family only comes sometimes.
- e4: This land is for everybody. Gabriel only lived there and did trapping. Peter W. lived there because he refused a modern house. He still refuses electricity.
- e7: They are now, because they all live here.

3.6. In how far are you concerned about government regulations on hunting and gathering on the land?

- e1: Native people did not like that. They were concerned about running into legal problems if they disclosed everything. So they just did not tell.
- e2: I know the land better than the government. I live out here.
- e3: We used to take guns. Now we cannot use our guns. There are laws. Should we only use our axes? What about our food and protection? Guns are very valuable.
- e4: The White Man makes rules and he always excludes Indians. They just come and deliver the rules. They do not know our way of life. We do not trust them. The Creator gave us the animals and resources. We have to guard them and respect them.
- e5: Why must there be control? They (the MNR) do not know about animal life as we do. God did not say for MNR to control us. The White Man has to stop control over our way of life.
- e6: It was not the federal Government that gave us life. Life was given to us by the creator.
- e7: The government cannot tell us what to do. This is not right. It should not be like this. The government just wants our land.

3.7. Can the government tell you where to go or where not to go? Explain!

- e1: Everyone lived moving around to different areas and respected the land. Now, sometimes, people's possessions like guns are taken away. This is not right. White people should not interfere. Native

people have their own ways on the land.

- e2: No, because they do not know the land. I know it.
 e3: No. They did not make all this. They do not have the right to try counting and controlling. It is not theirs. It is from God. We can hunt whenever we want. They just make money.
 e4: No one should interfere into our affairs. We are always asked to pay and pay. They made money out of our land. There were treaty promises of housing and health etc. They are breaking the promises.
 e5: The White people did not 'discover' all this. This was made by God. White people should believe in God, not try to control what God had given to us.
 e6: The Government cannot tell us where we live, nor can they tell us what we can claim. The White Man's government does not have a strong claim to their theory. Native people have a stronger claim. The Federal Government just wants to be in control to boss around Native people. We will not follow that.
 e7: No! The government cannot control us. They do not have the right to control our lives. We have our own society and we live closely with the land and with the animals.

3.8. Did your family's relocation to the community have anything to do with the fact that a treaty was signed?

- e1: Not directly, because we moved there late.
 e2: Maybe. We only went there for clothing, and I went to school sometimes, in Albany.
 e4: It was because the church and the HBC store were in the village. The HBC and the priest should have come to us, instead of us moving to town. As we did move, they should have provided us with the necessities.
 e5: never really relocated, but when we came here it was for welfare or for school for the children. We were eventually tied down in the community.
 e6: Yes, it was supposedly done for us to be taken care of. The land of the community was set aside for this purpose. It should not be called 'reserve land', but a place where people are taken care of. We were promised assistance.
 e7: It was meant that we received welfare and education. But it was understood by us that we would only adopt enough and that we shall not lose our identity, language and skills. We also believed that we should still live off the land for food.

3.9. Why did your family move to the community?

- e1: We did not move here before the 1960's. The purpose was to send children to school and be with them, while

they were in school.

- e3: Because we trusted the person who wanted us to move. We only stayed for a while and we only came here to purchase flour, tea and oats, about three times a year. Later we sent our kids to school.
- e4: Because of the HBC store and the priest. It was also because they promised a school. It was a mistake. We did not have booze before. They just make money out of us. Many people die from alcohol. The liquor store should be held responsible.
- e5: not relevant
- e6: We came here because we were promised assistance. You only get welfare when you live in the community.
- e7: For education and welfare.

- 3.10. a) **Did your parents or grand parents ever talk to you about the treaty?**
 b) **What was the treaty for?**

- e1: They predicted our future. There were stories about the treaties before, in the 1800's. I was told a story that the people would be on a land with little food, in a little canoe with little food left on the leftover land - the reserve.
 On July 3, government officials (10 people) came to the Albany river. They met at the HBC post. The negotiation process went on for three days. There were 8 signatures in syllabics in the end.
 People were hungry and we were in need. The treaty was for getting assistance. Before the treaty, there were missionaries already that prevented people from living on the land. We did not give up anything.
 The Attawapiskat people went to Kash to collect annuities, but later they decided to have their own chief and council.
- e3: There was a land, beautiful and wealthy. We were born here. Long time ago, people came to this land which they considered wealthy. The Indians got scared. The treaty making was in Kashetchewan. We were not given much time to think and decide.
 The treaty was for protection and support. The White man said: "I will take care of you as long as the sun shines". Now they break their promises, after they had made a lot of money with the land. The White man never kept his promises.
- e5: Our words would float away in the river. We wanted a chief to represent us and look after our interest. The chief appointed by the commission did not represent us.
- e6: The treaty was for us to get assistance. We were promised to be taken care of.

- 3.11. **Did the treaty mean that you gave up your land?**

- e1: No. The reserve land was only considered the place where people lived. You can still go out and harvest what you need. That is what we mean by saying we did not give up the land. This is why my kids go still out on the land.
- e2: No. There were two bundles of money. One contained \$4 per person, and the other one \$8 per person. Our people chose to take only the \$4 bundle, because the bigger amount would have meant that we gave up our land. The smaller amount meant that we would get assistance.
- e3: No, we cannot give away what was lent to us by the Creator.
- e5: (Note: the grandmother was shocked at the question if we can sell or give up land. The interpreter Leon Kataquapit (58 years old) explained that the grandmother cannot understand these concepts as she still lives like she used to live before. She spoke of fear when the White man was seen here and that lives would change). No, we must only respect the land.
- e6: No, God gave us creation to be part of life. God provided us many things on the land to use and to live on. We were given our own Ministik (Island). Other people were given their land and their way of life. We must respect what was given to each of us in life. The Government did not give us land. Only the creator did.
- e7: No! It was meant to give us assistance. How could we sell the land we live on and which the Creator gave us?

4. Relations to the land

4.1. What does the land mean to you and your life?

- e1: We were grieving, when we left the land to move here. We were given the land by the creator. It is our life.
- e2: God gave us this land. It must hurt Him when we reject or abuse it. Everything on the land was given to us by God, so that we can survive (like food, shelter etc.) We have to honour this gift from God.
- e3: God gave us these sacred things. Life on the land is peaceful. We are strong and healthy on the land. Life is sacred on the land. There are a lot of beautiful creatures. There are flowers that smell so good when the wind comes. You come on the land, wow! Beautiful, and it smells good. It has healing powers.
- e4: I would still like to live on the land. I am grieving for the loss.
- e5: Our people lived a good life on the land. There my grandfather and grandmother used to tell me stories.
- e6: It is God's creation which provides us many good things. I see the beautiful creation and it makes me

think, and I feel how much sacredness we have been given by the creator. The land is a reminder of that. It is a place where you can heal and feel the calmness of your soul.

You heard the story of God's creation of the Garden (Eden). You see white people as farmers. As with us, the Creator did not give us farms or cities. He provided us our own style of garden. This 'Island' here is our garden and it is our kind of city where we travel to gather all the necessities for life. The Creator provided us animals and we harvest them.

e7: Land is precious, rich and very important. Without the land we will die.

4.2. Do you own any land around here?

e1: Every being born in this area has been set aside a piece of land by the creator. He gave land to all 4 races to cooperate. No single person can say: "This is mine". Individual ownership creates jealousies.

e2: (laughs) No!

e5: (see 3.11.; concept is not understood).

e6: No. We were given an Island to live on and we have to respect the land.

e7: Yes! (He interpreted the 'you' collectively). Creator gave us the land, Ministik (the Island), where there is food and medicine, and we should take care of it and respect it.

4.3. Who is responsible for the land you live off? (Who looks after it?)

e1: I am. It is us that have to look after it. We have to think of our future generations.

e2: I live on the land that was given to us by God. Everything I need I get from the land. That is what it is for. I cannot waste it. To live on the land and from the land means to obey God. That is why He put us here.

The one who lives on the land is responsible for it, and that is me.

e3: God blessed everything. We must respect it.

e4: We were given the land to protect and guard. The land provides life. It provides food, medicine, etc. It was given to us by the Creator.

e5: God gave us the land to use, not to control. But we have to look after it.

e6: We should be responsible for the land we live on. We must show respect for Creation and we have to continue to pass it on to our future generations.

e7: We are responsible for the land, as it is part of

sovereignty given to us by God.

4.4. Could you ever give up the land you lived off?

- e1: No. There is a responsibility for the land.
- e2: No. That would be blasphemy, because God had given us this land. We cannot reject it.
- e3: No. (answer above) God blessed everything. We must respect it.
- e5: (shocked about this question)
- e6: I cannot imagine refusing or not recognizing the sacredness of gifts from the Creator.
- e7: No! How can we, when God gave it to us? We are dying slowly in the village and there are so many social problems and no harmony.

4.5. How does land relate to

family life and child rearing

- e1: Parents were there for their children. Nowadays children watch TV. They see all this violence and think it is okay. On the land you feel content.
- e2: Children grow up close to their family members. They learn how to care for each other by the tasks, everybody fulfils.
- e3: The Creator told us to love and help each other. On the land we have a strong bond with each other. We are together.
- e5: Parents used to be around their children all the time. Children behave different now. Now kids are influenced by T.V. We were not brought up like this. In nature you only learn the good things in life.
- e6: The land provides us good basic things in life, and we can take good care of our children in order to make sure that they are fed, looked after and taught our ways.
- e7: Life on the land is rich and peaceful. We took care of our children well.

education of children

- e1: There is not enough guidance here. There should be more. If you are on the land, there is no violence. You feel the creator.
- e2: Children learn how to live a healthy, good life. They learn by living with their parents and helping with their chores.
- e3: My father taught me how to survive on the land. We have stable, natural laws given by the Creator. We learn out there. The government's minds are not stable and they are jumpy with their laws.

- e5: It is important to know the traditional life style. You only learn that on the land. On the reserve, there are too many children in one place. There are problems.
- e6: The land reminds us of the sacredness of Creation. It makes us feel good and we can feel the awesome beauty of the gifts from the creator. Children should know that.
- e7: It is important that kids know how to live off the land in order to survive. Nature is very calming and it would help calm the troubled youth.

health and healing

- e1: On the land you are strong. You feel the presence of the creator. You can heal. In the village we are weak due to poor self-esteem.
- e2: When we came to the village, there were only two houses there, the priest's house and the HBC house. We lived in tents. But we became very sick. The doctor told us that it was from the ground. It was not made for us. It was too cold.
- e3: We were strong and healthy on the land. There is medicine in the ground.
- e5: Everything was clean and peaceful on the land. We find all the healing plants on the land.
- e6: The land is a place where there is much tranquility and calmness. Your mind and soul is at ease and you feel the goodness of the Great Spirit. There is a lot of good medicine on the land from plants and roots.
- e7: We used traditional medicine for medical purposes. We used sweatlodges and fasts. Nature is healing. You feel like a different person.

spirituality and mental health

- e1: On the land you are strong. You feel the presence of the creator.
- e2: Nowadays, people do not teach their children spirituality any more. Thus, the children don't understand what the purpose of life is. Parents do not even read the Bible to their children. Children do not feel the spirit in the land any more. You are always close to God on the land.
- e3: There were no serious social problems on the land. We were told the sacredness of the animals, who are there to support us.
- e5: Everything is peaceful on the land. It was good. Only now it is bad. There is calmness and clean life in the bush. Life on the reserve increases problems.
- e6: You feel the goodness and the power of the spirit when you observe nature, how it comes back even from the

harshness of winter. It is also provided for. Snow is covering plants etc. Even the birds and animals feel that there is a powerful force looking after them.

e7: Life was peaceful and we prayed a lot. People were strong, healthy and in harmony with each other. There were no extreme social problems.

relationship among people

- e1: We do not understand the world as it is now. We would ask: "Why are there wars? Why do governments do this? When you are out on the land, you do not think of war.
- e3: On the land you live a strong and healthy life style. We live a humble life and people care for each other.
- e5: People were peaceful. Our ancestors lived a good life.
- e6: The land teaches calmness and harmony with relations to plants, trees etc. We used to share food and have respect for everything on the land.
- e7: People used to be in harmony with each other. We greeted each other and helped each other a lot.

any other suggestions

- e1: If we went out on the land, we would be grateful. You know that the creator is there.
- e2: We still maintain our ways because we only accepted the \$4 bundle. The government cannot tell us how to live. When there was a treaty commission, there was a poster with a sun and a river. It meant that we would use the land as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow. The sun still shines and the rivers still flow.
- e3: We should not always use police to solve our problems. The Creator did not mention police to solve our problems. He gave us life to use well. Let's work together and help each other.
- e5: God gave us the land to use, not to control. No company could sell or buy land, or subsurface rights, or mineral rights. (She was obviously referring to the diamond drilling on our territory). There have been many changes that altered our way of life, and things are used, that are not part of our lives.
- e6: The treatment centres down south only pose a great challenge to our kids who go there. It does not help in any respect. Perhaps the environment is too different as well. You cannot learn traditional activities just by sitting in classes. You must experience it and be in the natural environment. Children should be looked after. Children that are not looked after in their growing-up years will have problems later.

**4.6. How would you interpret land ownership?
(Can land be owned, or who owns the land?)**

- e1: No single person can say "This is mine". You are given the land to live off. There is a shared responsibility for the land. You look after the land that future generations can still live from it.
- e2: You cannot own land. This is all a man made law. God did not give the land to any one person. Wars and laws are man made. Land comes from God. We cannot own it or give it away. We have to honour it.
- e3: It is not the land of the government. It is for us to use, given by God. It creates problems and cultural loss, when they take away our rights.
- e5: God created the land. He wanted that there were animals, plants and human beings on the land. We belong to the land. Land was not 'discovered', it was made by God. God did not say for MNR to control, and God did not say for us to be controlled.
- e6: We were given the sacredness of the land, and we must take good care of it, as our future generation will depend on it. As well, we were given that gift and that responsibility by the Creator and we must respect this gift and the life God has given us. They say that the Federal Government owns this land. They say that we have only surface rights and the government owns the rest. But this is not the case. The White Man stands on the graveyard of our ancestors, who are underground. They were here first. This is a fact, and what they say about it is not true. It was not the federal government that gave us life. Life was given by the creator. When there is a discussion on land claims, this is Indian land. As I said, we stand on the graves of our ancestors who are under the ground. And this circle has continued since time immemorial.
- e7: God gave each different race different life styles. Native people lived with nature and we are to treat the land and the animals with deep respect.

5. Contents and methods of healing and learning

5.1. Interpret the youths' solvent abuse problems in relations with

Life in their homes

- e2: There were also adults sniffing. When parents drink, their children turn to sniffing.
- e3: These kids feel that nobody cares for their actions. They feel abandoned and there is a lack of caring, hugs

and kisses. They are also treated too harsh and they became resentful and self-destructive. As the years went by, kids were not hugged, loved and this created an attitude to suicide. It is a combination of abandonment, family break-up, and alcohol.

- e5: Parents are not around their children any more. The children are free to roam around. The problem is around only now. There has not been a problem before.
- e6: Alcohol is one contributor. Also gambling. Parents are not home to take care of their children. Children are left alone.
- e7: Parents are not really looking after their children. The parents do not show their children the traditional way of life and kids have nothing to do.

Family life style and child rearing (relations)

- e1: It started in the 1970's. Kids used it (gasoline) when they had problems at home. The kids say they sniff, because they were not given money for buying material things, like jackets they see. Some parents spoil their children. Parent leave their home for playing bingo. Kids are left alone at home.
- e2: Children are not cared for any more by their parents. Then, children do not respect their parents. Children are not properly brought up. There is too much love for material things. When they see too much TV about things they are supposed to have (in commercials), or when they see their parents play cards or bingo, they only want money.
- e3: (see also above). There is no guidance, no counselling no values. This was there long time ago. No there are no more values.
- e5: Parents had close relations to their children. Now there are no more relations. Before welfare came, we had control of the basic necessities. Now, people depend too much on it.
- e6: Due to abandonment of children, and not teaching the children our ways, children start to sniff and join peer groups who do the same.
- e7: Parents don't look after their kids. They are left alone, even at night, because parents are not at home.

school and education

- e1: High school kids were starting with sniffing in the 1970's. Nowadays, there is only school to teach the children - not their home any more. The elders' input would be important.
- e2: They only teach the 'white ways'. There is not enough spiritual teachings.
- e3: Sniffing starts from depression. Now we do not know

- what to do. It is like a skidoo that needs repair. There is too much harshness. Kids keep this treatment inside and become revengeful. We must work together in all fields to work for the betterment of our youth.
- e5: It used to be the parents that educated their children. At school they do not learn our traditional life style. They start at a too early age.
- e6: I did not go to school. I had a different kind of education. Maybe I would have shot everybody down, if I had gone to school (he laughs). I have learned so much. It is unfortunate that we do not consistently go to our elders for knowledge but always to western institutions. This contributes to the problem. There is too much depending on the western world, which does not contain Native knowledge. There are many problems adopted from the hectic of the other society. Our ways were not so disturbing.
- e7: The school takes too much of our Indianess. It was still meant that we know our way of life (half) and the other way (half). There was supposed to be balance.

Spirituality

- e2: Children have lost their spirituality. They are not taught spirituality by parents.
- e3: God blessed everything on earth. We must respect everything. Then it will not harm us. Let us ask the Creator for help. We must keep up hope.
- e5: Spirituality used to be part of life. Now it is not a part of life any more. Lifestyles are changing and the religion is changing, too.
- e6: If you went out on the land for one year, you would be amazed how much you learned about the teaching of the Great Spirit. That is Life. If we want to heal, we should look at it as healing. Spirituality is part of it. The problems start when we only look at it the White Man's way.
- e7: Spirituality is lacking. Parents do not really teach their children spirituality any more.

Influences from outside

- e1: Materialism came from outside, and the prices are too high. Kids are upset, and they turn to solvents and other things.
- e2: TV, commercials, and institutions that are not based on our philosophy.
- e3: In the 40's and 50's there were no serious social problems. Alcohol was a starting point of problems to this day. There are laws passed against guns, and

welfare is cut. There are no laws against alcohol and no cuts. But that is where the economy is built.

- e5: T.V. influences the children. In the bush they only learned the good things in life. On T.V. they also see the bad things. Life is becoming chaotic with the white life style.
- e6: Television has a negative influence on our youth and children.
High School also robs our youth away. They are not taught our ways.
A lot of problems are adopted from the hectic of the other society. Our ways were not so severely disturbing.
Alcohol is also a factor. People start to sell drugs to our youth. These substances come from outside our culture. It is not our way.
- e7: There is no balance. It is always only the other way.

Other comments

- e1: It was not like that before. Now, children do not call their biological mother "mom" any more, but that person, that plays a mother role in their lives, like an aunt. There is a lot of family breakdown.
- e2: //////////////
- e3: We destroy our brains when we sniff. When someone dies we gather. We should do this when we see our youth harming themselves. A community effort would help. Let us not stop to be gentle to our youth. No handcuffs for sniffers. Of course, we cannot stop gas. We use it for skidoos etc.
- e4:
- e5: We used to breastfeed our children. It is important that the children get the milk from their mothers. When you feed them cow milk, they will behave like little bulls. It breaks the relationship with their mother.
- e6: The school takes away our children when they are little, until they are grown up. But they are not taught our ways. They are losing their language and their traditional way of life.
- e7: There is a lot of peer pressure from others. The kids do not get jobs after.

5.2. What did you parents/grand parents do when there were youth having problems within the community or family?

- e1: We had guidance from our elders. Elders or community members would talk to the children and take care of them.
- e2: They were talking to the children. They lived in places where there were not so many problems. I wonder

if we could relocate from Attawapiskat. The sniffers have to live in a different environment to heal. The place Attawapiskat is no good. We should relocate. The people knew the good places. There were no problems there.

- e3: 1972 the police told us we cannot talk to kids. Long time ago we were advised at any age. When I did something wrong, my dad used to sit and talk with me and tell me: "Do not ever do that. Respect your brother". The value of listening is very sacred and it will help you in your life.
- e5: They did just talk to the child. They would counsel the child. There was no punishment. We helped each other. Elders also played a role in counselling.
- e6: The children were just talked to by their parents or elders. There was no harsh treatment of the children.
- e7: There were not these problems. The children were cared for, and they were talked to.

5.3. Was there punishment for any kind of mischief?

- e1: No
- e2: Yes. It is in the Bible that you have to discipline.
- e3: No.
- e5: No.
- e6: No. There was no harsh treatment.
- e7: No.

What were the alternatives and what was the purpose of these measures?

- e1: A community member would report to the parents. The parents would talk to their kids. When damage was done the parents took care of it. They said it would not happen again. Teaching was to respect. That's what is missing today.
- e2: To make me think, my parents either sat with me to talk to me, or they took my boots and toys away so that I could not go about my daily routine.
- e3: (answered above) Love, hugging, caring and counselling.
Long time ago, when kids were seen hurting, anybody, not just leaders, took initiative to help. Then the kids realized what would happen if they continued the harmful behaviour.
- e5: The parents were in contact with their children all the time. There was trust between them. There was counselling only, no abuse of the child.
- e6: Children were counselled. When they did something wrong they had to be shown how to do it right.
- e7: The children were talked to and the parents took care of them.

5.4. Do you think that solvent abuse should be handled as a criminal offence?

- e1: No. Talk to the child gently. Tell him what is happening to him, about the consequences.
- e2: No. Children should be talked to. They should also be given some work or learn Native ways to think about what they are doing.
- e3: No. I feel it was treated too harsh. This will not stop until we as a community work together to help our kids. We have to care when we see them cry. I see a lot of harm coming from alcohol to our young people. I lost a son. Now it is sniffing starting. It hurts me when I see kids sniffing.
- e5: No. It is because the children do not have a relationship to their parents. You cannot blame the children. There should be counselling only.
- e6: No. It is not the children's mistake.
- e7: No. What did they do wrong? They are lost.

5.5. What do children and youth mean to the community?

- e1: To teach them and to know one another, to help one another. We grow together. That is strength. Strong values. Not listening to values means trouble.
- e2: The children are our future.
- e3: They are our future.
- e5: We live on through our children. It is important that they learn the traditional ways.
- e6: They are part of the circle. Life has to go on.
- e7: Children should learn traditional activities. They carry on our lives.

5.6. Is this role (goal) represented by the education offered in the community?

- e1: Only in part.
- e2: No.
- e5: No. They do not learn our ways in school.
- e6: No. The natural environment and the opportunity to experience the lesson are not integrated. This would be important for learning. Also, our ways are not taught in school.
- e7: No. There is only one way taught. There is no harmony.

Which parts are missing?

- e1: We must reclaim the lost youth, to aid in healing and forgiveness. We must create help for our youth to change the situation. We have to target the younger

- children. They are easier to reach. They should have a knowledgeable person at school that can help (counsel) our youth. Children have to feel that you care for them. Whatever faith (belief) people have should be accepted in the school (traditional, Pentecost, Roman Catholic).
- e2: It is only White ways taught in the community. The school does not teach our ways. If children are our future, the future is taken away from us because our children do not learn our ways any more.
- e3: At school you are not taught how to survive on the land. Residential school started in 1942. Priests came by canoe and picked up the kids. It was called kids canoe. Kids were abused there. It started there, too harsh treatment and bureaucracy.
- e5: They don't learn the traditional life in school.
- e6: (see above, Native way of life, Native kind of learning).
- e7: Our way of life is not taught.

**What effects does this lack have on the youth?
(identity, self-esteem)**

- e1: That is really the issue. I once heard from a person who did not learn anything about himself at residential school. He lost himself. My father told me that I have to live in harmony with the White men I would meet, but I have to keep my identity.
- e2: The children get too materialistic. They start sniffing because they do not get the things they see on TV, or because they cannot live the way that is taught to them at school.
- e3: This is where the social problems started, due to the harsh treatment of the kids.
- e6: They are lost because they do not know who they are. This modern society is too materialistic and only encourages to buying and buying. This is too hard for our youth. They only want money and they get spoiled. It also contributes to the loss of culture. I see that a lot of people do not go woodcutting any more. Let's say the economy turns really bad and there will be no jobs and little welfare. How will the youth be able to turn to alternatives of subsistence if they do not know how to do these activities. Even hunting seems to be declining amongst the younger generation.
- e7: They don't know who they are and who we were. They cannot live like we did.

5.7. **What should be the purpose of a healing program in the healing lodge? (Check whichever boxes you think answer the question.**

- [1] to punish the abuser
- [2] to lock the abuser away from peers and community
- [3] to give the abuser a safe environment to heal
- [4] to have the abuser catch up on the school program
- [5] to help the abuser to find herself/himself
- [6] to awake or strengthen spiritual awareness
- [7] to awake or strengthen cultural awareness
- [8] to teach survival skills
- [9] to heal body, mind and soul
- [10] to heal the community

e1: checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10

To keep the abuser away from the community will not be good for them. They must be told why. When you separate a family you create pain. People who are locked away will be angry when they return. There will be no healing.

[4] First people have to heal, then they are ready to grow and understand. When you see light, you walk on the path when you are healing.

e.g. the AA program. You educate yourself to find yourself. Then you become aware - one day at a time. This is a delicate, slow process. You look back at things you have achieved. If you go too fast, you'll lose it all. The person needs time to understand and to heal. The bad cycle would continue if we do not heal.

e2: checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.

Sniffers are neglected in town. They should be given little jobs, like to clean up the village if it is dirty. They feel dirty themselves.

e3: checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.

e4:

e5: checked boxes 3 - 10.

The solvent abusers harm themselves and their families. They have to be healed.

e6: Checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.

The land is the place where we can heal. When you are out there you are reminded of what the Creator has given to us and we will be taught spiritual values.

e7: Checked box 3 and boxes 5 - 10.

Contents of the program

5.8. **What do the following have to do with finding oneself?**

the land

- e1: The land is filled with beneficial creation. When you are out there, you can feel and learn the values

- of respect and kindness.
- e2: You live on the land and honour the gift of God. That's what you are here for.
- e3: Life is sacred on the land. There are flowers that smell so good when the wind comes. Gas smells different. You say, it stinks in the house.
- e5: The land is clean and peaceful. We only learn the good life on the land.
- e6: The land is spirited and like a sanctuary. When you look at the beauty of Creation you are reminded of the powerful force. When you live off the land for a year, you will learn a lot and you will heal. On the land, there is tranquility. It helps to really think. There are many things you can do on the land like fishing, snaring, hunting, all traditional activities. Everybody should go out there for one or two years.
- e7: Life is peaceful on the land. Nature is very calming and it would help calm the troubled youth.

the plants

- e1: contained above
- e2: They belong to the land. Some we use for medicine, shelter etc. But they also have to be where they are. Plants live in certain environment. They belong there.
- e3: contained above
- e5: contained above.
- e6: The plants are protected by the same higher power as we are. Like us, they can even survive in winter. They are like us.
- e7: We lived in harmony with nature. Plants and animals were given to us. We have to look after them and respect them. We also use plants for healing.

the animals

- e1: contained above
- e2: They support us. Also the domestic animals like dogs. I do not have dogs any more since I use a skidoo.
- e3: God blessed everything on Earth. We must respect everything. The animals are here to help us, to feed us.
- e5: contained above.
- e6: You can learn from the animal. The birds, for example, build their nest, which is round. Birds also feed their babies.
- e7: (same as above with the plants).

the spiritual world

- e1: We must learn and know that the Creator gave us these sacred things on earth. You cannot see the spirit, but you can feel and hear.
- e2: You can only find yourself through spirituality.
- e3: We come from the creator, from God.
- e5: The spiritual world was part of life on the land.
- e6: When we lived off the land, every day was a holy day. We prayed day and night, not just once a week since we moved to the village.
- e7: We used to pray a lot to the Creator. He has given us all you see.

history/way of life

- e1: We had gifts, but they were considered witchcraft. The gifted people were lost. We should know about these people and about life as it used to be.
- e2: Children have to learn our ways. This is what we are and why we are here.
- e3: People here knew how to built and survive. They did not depend on machinery. Life was free when we were not controlled. People knew how to live.
- e5: You can only learn the way of life on the land.
- e6: Our parents were teaching and guiding us, and they showed us our traditional life. That is us.
- e7: It is important that children learn how to survive off the land. God has given us our way of life.

relations to other people

- e1: You can lead and teach. We have to respect other people, but at the same time keep our identity.
- e2: When you see your relatives, how they are, that is how you are.
- e3: (answered somewhere above - respect your brother)
- e5: People were peaceful and lived a good life on the land. There were no wars.
- e6: We were peaceful, and we shared with everybody we ran into. That was part of our life.
- e7: We were caring with each other. There has to be harmony.

5.9. What is important for finding oneself?

- [1] personal achievement
- [2] achievement with others (cooperation)
- [3] both (balance)

- e1: checked box 2
People who were gifted sometimes got arrogant.

- Strength is only in doing things together.
- e2: checked box 3.
But you do not boast that you are better than others.
When you have skills you share.
- e3: The Creator has told us to help and love one another.
- e5: We used to help each other (box 2).
- e6: checked box 2.
Persons with experience and knowledge of the land and activities on it should help the youth.
- e7: checked box 2. No other comments.

5.10. What significance do the following have for life?

nature

- e1: It is part of creation. We are part of it. Animals, plants are our brothers.
- e2: Provides what we need.
- e3: It is God's Creation. Everything is sacred.
- e5: God created all this for us to use.
- e6: You learn from nature by its beauty. The life forming process shows how to deal with your own family.
- e7: It was provided for us by the Creator. We also used traditional medicine provided for us. God gave us life with the land. Without land we would die.

seasons

- e1: They guide your life.
- e2: Organize activities throughout the year. This was put in place by God.
- e5: We organize our activities by the seasons.
- e6: Plants and animals survive even in harsh winters.
There are certain times in the seasons when you can go hunting, fishing trapping etc.
- e7: God gives us food every spring and summer when things grow.

spirit world

- e1: Everything has a spiritual purpose.
- e2: Life is based on it. That is where we came from and go to.
- e3: Life is sacred. God blessed everything on earth.
They are all our brothers and sisters.
- e5: Spirit is part of life.
- e6: It belongs to life. Every day is a holy day, not only Sunday.
- e7: When somebody went fasting in the bush, he came back knowing.

circle

- e1: They (circle to sweetgrass) are all useful. We ask God for help.
- e2: Migwams and Teepees are shaped in circles. Life is a circle.
- e6: Life is a circle. Everything in nature is circular. Even the birds build their nests round.

sweatlodge

- e1: see above
- e2: I don't remember any more. I heard stories about praying in shaking tents or sweatlodges. But something like that was there.
- e3: In a sweatlodge, you sweat out your sickness. There were no surgeries. I do not allow anyone to cut me. I want to share a story with you:
I used to have intensive pain in my body. While the healing from Residential School was going on, there was a resource person, a medicine man, who said: "I am here to help. I am an instrument, and the gift was given to me". Of course there was fear and chaos. Nurses and nuns wanted to flee. The nurses stayed.
I sat with the medicine man. He had a glass covered. That was his x-ray on you. He offered a prayer and then diagnosed the pain. Do not be afraid. The pain left.
We also had shaking tents. In the shaking tent, people saw the White man coming in from afar, holding a gun.
- e5: There were shaking tents. We went there when we wanted to know things, and then we got scared of the future. Even the Bible says that there will be chaos. We were scared when we saw all the things that are here now.
- e6: //////////////
- e7: We used sweatlodges and fasts. Nature is healing and you feel like a different person after.

drum

- e1: see above
- e2: Is spiritual, too. The drum is us. We talk to God by the drum. We also dance. Our people used to drum.
- e3: Where did it come from? Long time ago Indians were given this gift of drumming. It was condemned, however. Now, it is still here today.
People had drums in the past.
- e5: Our grandfathers used the drum when they prayed. They prayed a lot.

migwam

- e1: see above
 e2: also a cabin, where we live on the land. This is good for us. Women were sitting in teepees teaching each other what their roles were.
 e3: ///////////////
 e4:
 e5: ///////////
 e6: ///////////
 e7: We built our own houses, which were right for us.

sweetgrass

- e1: is important for praying
 e2: I cannot say. But I heard stories that they used to pray differently, with the sweetgrass, before contact.
 e3: ///////////////
 e5: ///////////
 e6: ///////////
 e7: ///////////

religion (which one?)

- e1: Whatever the youth or their parents believe in is good.
 e2: The Bible teaches what you have to know.
 e4: We have known God before the missionaries came.
 e5: Spirituality is part of life. It used to be part of life. Now it is changing. It is important to know traditional life style.
 e6: We used to pray day and night before the missionaries came. We treated animals with great respect.
 e7: Parents do not teach their children spirituality any more. We prayed every day to God.

any additions

- e1: none
 e2: You have to be careful. First give the youth what they are used to. The first sniffers camp did not work out because there were no beds. The kids wanted to go home. You have to provide what they want, and then teach them our ways.
 e3: When we break a window, we are to carry the consequences. It should be the same for people who broke our sacred ways.
 e6: We now have skidoos etc. to use and can go far out into the bush. The youth should go out with an elder or an experienced person so that they can be taught the knowledge of the land. Then, in turn, these youth could teach their peers.
 e7: none

**5.11. Which of the above should be part of the healing program?
(explain and add what you think is important)**

- e1: All of them are useful.
- e2: All of them. In the White world they think they are spiritual. In court, for instance, there is a Bible where people have to swear on to tell the truth. But they do not pray before court begins. It seems, they are not really spiritual people. They only use the Bible for justification.
- e3: all of them.
- e4:
- e5: all of them
- e6: We should teach the kids all traditional skills. You cannot, however, learn so much by just sitting in the classroom. You can only learn in nature. It is hard to teach students without them experiencing and seeing the teachings. We learned by seeing and observing from our parents.
- e7: Everything that is in our culture. There is nothing wrong with the sweatlodge. We used it for medical purpose. Everything that teaches our way of life is important.

5.12. Who and what can the youth learn from?

- e1: Somebody who is knowledgable about philosophy and healing. They can share and teach to people who are lacking awareness.
In nature, you feel the sacredness. Both is important.
- e2: From my parents and the people I went with. From animals and nature and from spiritual teachings.
When a child was 5 years old, s/he was placed in the bush at a clearing for 3 days to fast. In these three days s/he learned much about life so that s/he could come back later and help the people.
- e3: When you look around you learn.
- e4:
- e5: //////////////
- e6: You can learn from older, experienced people, from nature and from each other.
- e7: You can learn a lot by nature. The land also has a healing process. You also learn from life (our life), how to feed yourself. My wife is still smoking and preparing food in the tipi.

5.13. How did you learn?

- [1] by looking/observing, [2] by doing/imitating
- [3] by getting instructions for every single step
(like a teacher telling you every detail)

- e1: checked boxes 1 and 2
First we were talked to, then we started to look and see, then we started doing, becoming more and more practical. Then we had learned it good. At school we just learn theory.
That is what Indian education is about.
- e2: checked boxes 1 and 2
- e3: checked boxes 1 and 2
In school you learn to break everything apart. It takes forever to put everything together again.
- e5: boxes 1 and 2
- e6: boxes 1 and 2
We learned by observing our parents.
- e7: boxes 1 and 2

5.14. Where and how would you teach solvent abusers?

- e1: in the bush for the afore mentioned reasons
- e2: I would teach them on the land. When they learn our ways they become calm and balanced. They also have to become closer to God again.
- e3: You sit down with a child and teach him at the location where you do the activity. In school there is too much theory.
- e5: Out in the bush.
- e6: I would teach them on the land. You can show them things and they can watch and learn. It is also tranquil on the land, and they get peaceful minds. It helps to really think. There are many things you can do on the land, traditional activities.
- e7: Out on the land.

**5.15. When you teach about let's say trapping beaver, what would you teach the students/solvent abusers about the techniques (how) and the animal?
How important is it to know stories about the beaver, what the animal means for survival of people and possible spiritual explanations?**

- e1: The people should know the importance of the animal they are about to kill. e.g. Moose hunt. People do not waste the hides. Parents teach what you use the parts for (like mittens, tools etc.).
The hunt is to make a living. That is sometimes forgotten nowadays.
Spirituality. If you kill and leave parts behind,

- you do not respect the animal. The animals are your brothers and sisters, put on the earth by God. The nuns used to say, they have no spirit. That is not true. The animals are our brothers and sisters.
- e2: About why the beaver is here. God placed him here for a reason. Also about what the beaver is doing and about how to trap him. You do not trap all the beaver, all his relatives, because there have to be beaver always.
- e3: You sit with the child. You tell the child that you will be trapping and show him/her what material to use. We prepare matches and we also take tobacco for offering. We have a leader too. We take our bag. Do not forget the matches. We look for a site. Do not wet your things (axe, chisel, matches etc.).
-

Interviews on Video Tapes

These interviews were done without interview schedule at the workplace of the elder (in the smoking teepee or in the bush during goose hunt). They are part of the documentary "Attawapiskat - Between the Rocks" by Rhino Film/Video, Vienna, Austria.

The colour of the tapes indicates the season the interviews were done. Red = Spring 1996, Green = Fall 1996)

Tape 49/Red (Rhino film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: June 7, 1996

e8: 67 (born in 1929)
 female/Native/status

(skinning a beaver in a smoking teepee in Attawapiskat;
 teaching her daughter how to skin beaver)

It's good to eat this when it's juicy. Now I will cut it out. This (knife) is sharp.

My mom did not teach me how to do this. My uncle Matthew taught me, but not my mom (**to quest. 5.12. and 5.13.**)

My uncle would show me to skin the beaver so I would learn. My mom did not have a chance to teach me, as she passed away very young.

(My husband) killed many (beaver) but I do not know how many.

(**to 1.3.**) We got money for the furs, but not so much. Only enough. We only could buy tea, flour, sugar. But that's all. We lived off wild meat. We only lived of wild game like beaver, moose, rabbit, fish.

(**to 2.**) It is noisy in town, yes, very. Only healthy people can endure such noise.

(to 4.1. and 5.8.) Life was very peaceful on the land. Nobody bothered with booze and such. It was very peaceful. (to 4.5.) We only prayed all the time.

(Did your kids go to school?)

Yes, we stayed in Fort Albany when (her oldest daughter) was young, to be near her. (to 3.9. and 5.1.) We just paddled and sailed to Fort Albany with our boat. When we arrived, barged in the door. Her knees were weak from running. She ran to me and grabbed me hard. She was so happy. I think she was there for 4 years.

I can nail the fur on a board. That's what I know how to use. Of course, I can also make the other frame from branches, but I just like to use the board. (to 1.3.) Beaver was an important part of our food, and it was fresh. This beaver looks small. It tastes better when it's fat.

(Does your daughter know how to skin?)

(to 3...) I'm not sure. The last time she didn't know where to cut properly and she cut the fur a bit.

(to 4.1.) I would still like to live on the land. I really wish this, but it is hard to leave my children and grand children. We could do so much like hunting and snaring rabbits.

I miss the land very much. Like I said, I do not want to leave our family. During break-up (evacuation), too, (my husband) did not want to leave his children behind. You can prepare smoked goose in the bush. It is nice and clean.

(to 3....) It's cute when (my daughter) tries to skin the beaver. She cuts the fur crookedly. But I guess, she just wants to use the fur herself, not to sell it. She only wants to use it. It's the same with me, too. I want to use the fur myself.

This is a starving beaver, hahaha!

(to 3....) (The oldest son)killed a beaver when we were out in the bush for break-up. It was very fat. I prepared half of it.

It is best to take the beaver when it is fat. I like to use a big knife. Do you see this fat here? It is easier to skin when it is fat. Do you see it?

You should wash the beaver. That's what you do. I will clean and wash the pelt.

(to 3.1.) You can use the fur for making mittens or slippers. The fur can be prepared for that.

I always use a knife to split the beaver here.

You rinse out the blood.

You just hang it (the beaver) by the fire, like this.

That's how you do it. You hang it by the fire.

Unfortunately my teepee is not fully made up yet. You can smoke chicken like that also.

Tape 50/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: June 7, 1996

e8: (cooking the beaver tail by the fire)
 (to 3.2.) It is good to eat wild game. It is fresh. I feel healthy. I don't like to eat food from the store, and sometimes my daughter (the one that lives with her) is upset when I don't eat up the 'white' food. I only like wild food and it is much healthier.
 People have their own ways of preparing the beaver. This is how I like it to do.
 (to 2....) You clean your teepee all the time to keep it clean like in the house, When it is clean, you will have no bugs in the teepee.

(e8 and her daughter start to pluck geese)
 (to 3.2.) It is very hard to pluck. This is how I do it when I do not want it too rich (pulling part of the skin)
 You can eat those also (beaver feet).

Tape 51/Red and Tape 52/Red (Rhino Film/Video)
 Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: June 7, 1996

e8: (plucking geese with her daughter and smoking them. This is evidence for 3.2. that the family still goes out on the land harvesting).

Tape 25/Green and Tape 26/Green (Rhino Film/Video)
 Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: October 7, 1996

e8: (smoking fish with her daughter and grand daughter (5 years of age). This is also evidence for 3.2. (still using the land) and answers question 3.3. about the interest for traditional life with the young generation).

Tape 20/Red (Rhino Film/Video)

Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: May 30, 1996

e9: age 72 (born 1924)
 male/Native/status

(Interview in a smoking teepee in Attawapiskat). (to 1.2.)
 What you see here, that's how Natives have lived from the beginning of time.

When winter came near, people prepared for the cold season. What you see now, this game and fish, which is smoked during summer, will be put into a cool room during winter.

Even before goose hunting season ends, we try to smoke as much as possible that we can eat during winter.

That's how the people from the coast (Mushkego-Cree) prepare for winter. We don't only smoke geese and game, we also preserve meat in fat and smoke it just before eating.

That's how we have always lived, and we are pretty content. Of course, there are also other kinds of preserving food.

(to 3.2.)

During summer, we eat geese. We go out in the Bay in spring and fall looking for geese. We try to get enough so that we can eat. Thus we have enough to eat throughout winter, and sometimes it is even enough until the next hunting season, when the geese return.

These geese we have here are very nourishing, and they are an important part of our life, what we get for our life out of the Bay.

I have heard that even the whites who come here to hunt with us eat geese as well. They roast them at the fire, as you see it here in the teepee.

I also know, as I heard from two locals here, that these hunters also drink our Tea Bloss (Labrador tea with lard and flower), and they seem to like it when they prepare food like we do.

I am sure that this man here (the cameraman) would like to eat now as well, if he had the opportunity to do so. (he laughs)

Another important part of our diet is fish. We go net fishing up the river to complement our provisions for winter.

I also go hunting in winter, at the upper part of the (Attawapiskat) river. I hunt caribou, moose and deer there. When I come back to the community with meat, people always want meat from me. From the money they give me I cover gas and other costs that I can go out again.

We also go up the river in fall to hunt moose.

(to 3.6.)

We are always admonished (by M.N.R.) that we take too much game. When I went out caribou hunting, I came back with four. But there are always people who need meat, and I end up having less than I would need.

(to 3.2.)

This meat you see in this teepee is so important for our diet. We depend on it for survival. We preserve enough of it that we can also eat in winter.

The geese are well nourished when they move along the coast. They are all fat and well fed when they prepare for the flight down south. And when they come back in fall, it is the same. That's why we try to get many, that we can also eat in winter. That's what we call "nehenemun", contentment.

I can give you an example:

When you go to the supermarket, you also store your food in the freezer for later.

That is all I have to say in terms of game. It is an important contribution for our survival, as is the fish we catch or the rabbit we snare and the other food I was talking about.

Tape 21/Red (cont. of tape 20)

Language: Cree

interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt

date: May 30, 1996

e9: (to 3....)

I will say a few words about the beaver. We also depend on the beaver for survival, and when I bring many home, I give them to people who ask me for it. All people on the coast are dependent on this food.

(to 2....)

Other than you see in this teepee, there were no tarps long time ago. I also know we did not have canvas. As far as I remember, we used hides. These hides we used instead of canvas to cover the teepee, and we put snow on it as insulation and that the teepee was warm.

We also had open fire as you see here.

And then there was another technique to build accommodation.

We used moss and twigs. Moss was used for the cover, but for that teepee you did not use snow but twigs for insulation.

That far I still remember. I have seen and experienced that myself when I was a child. My grandmother told me that they had used caribou hides as tarps, as they did not have had canvas at that time. I have also heard this from other elders.

When canvas got known, we used it first for teepees, and later we also had tents. We also made our own tents out of canvas, once we had seen an example.

(to 1.2. and 1.3.) Assistance/Welfare

We did not get any assistance long time ago, not even family allowance. We were trapping and hunting. By trapping, we were able to purchase guns, and boats, and that's how we could go hunting.

(to 3.9.)

Then, eventually, we got assistance. We received family allowance and later welfare also. Nowadays you just go to the band office to get your assistance. We also get old age pension. And then, there are also houses provided by the government.

(to 1.2., 1.3., 1.6. and 1.7.)

What I am talking about is the time before social welfare, long time ago. I have still experienced that. I saw this side of life, too. When my father took me out in the bush hunting, we used only twigs to sleep on, and we used deer hides as sheets. We made a fire and slept at the fire to keep warm. But we also had warm sleeping bags, filled with down feathers.

Most of our people lived like that. Well, I also heard that our ancestors used rocks. They used rocks they called "Peawanuck" to make fire, before we had matches. The Hudson Bay Company introduced matches, and I myself don't know any more how to make fire with flint.

I sometimes still think about how we used to live in those days, and about what I experienced. I am, however, much more amazed about the stories I heard about my grandmother's grandmother. Stories how people had lived.

When you think how extremely cold it is up here, and our ancestors were still able to survive. That's how they lived up the coast here. Life was very hard, and people used bow and arrow for hunting. It was easier with the bow, when the caribou were in deep snow, so they could not flee.

(to 3.10.)

My father said that then the whiteman came and introduced the rifle. Our people first did not know how to use the rifle. Of course not; they had never seen a rifle before. That's how the whiteman gave us support, as we were told by our grand parents.

Now we are always told that we were 'discovered' on this land.

(to 1.3. etc.)

Well, what concerns transportation, for example a plane, long time ago we, of course, did not have any engines for our vehicles or boats. Our ancestors used canoes for transportation, and they used paddles. They paddled a lot, and they even covered large distances, way far south. That's what I was told about my people, and it must be true.

I cannot say anything in detail about that, only what I have seen my self, or my father or mother had told me about living. I have also told you about game and caribou, and that's all I can say about it.

(to 1.3. and 3.1.)

Trapping was important, and we depended on it. My father had learnt how to trap and I as well.

I heard stories about trapping from older people who still experienced the fur trade. Now they are all gone. The price for the pelts depended on the length of a rifle. In those days, rifles were long. The furs were piled up until they reached the length of a rifle. Fur trade was done by the Hudson's Bay Company, and they had come with ships I saw in the museum in Winnipeg. I was told that they had wooden barrels on their ships. And there was alcohol in them. They gave alcohol to our people, and they made them drunk. When they then brought their pelts, they were told what their value was. That's how it was done in Kashatchewan (south of Attawapiskat). Later, there was a trading post here also, close by, and people went there.

(this could explain band membership in 1.8.)

And then there was another company also (Freres Revillon in Moosonee), and prices seemed to have been different with them. I hear from my people that we got cheated because of these negative circumstances. Since we had contact with this company (HBC), fur trade was done like that, and that's how it is still done today.

EDUCATION (to 2.4., 2.9., 3.3., 4.5, 5.1., and 5.6.)

About education, my wife went to residential school in Fort Albany, but they did not learn English there. I also heard that people who went there feel that they did not really get an education, but they were abused instead. Some children were left hungry (for punishment). I think, the school we now have is different, compared to what I have heard about Fort Albany.

Nowadays I think that children, since they go to school, have lost their interest in traditional life (also 5.6. and 3.3). They just prefer to live the way they were brought up in these houses.

You (the interpreter) may be married to a whiteman, but you still respect (our way of life) and want to keep your identity (also to 5.6.).

I hear that other kids are not interested and that they are even ashamed to speak their language.

I have, however, also heard from children, who find it important to keep their Native way of life, which was given to us by the creator (also to 4.6.), and they want to learn how to hunt and snare.

Tape 22/Red (cont. of tape 21 - EDUCATION)

Language: Cree

interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt

date: May 30, 1996

As I said already, children are not really interested in traditional life any more, or they are losing their skills for it. They seem to be very attracted to the dominant culture. They seem to be more interested in speaking

English. I think, although you do live in the community, but you only go to school all the time, that contributes to losing interest in traditional life.

I have seen students from high school (5.6.) once, who wanted to go out with a boat. And I saw that the boat was drifting away. You see there already that they do not know anything any more. They don't even try it. It is not enough to know how to pull a boat ashore.

I have also heard that when they go camping, although they do know how to pitch a tent, they do not prepare the floor with twigs to sleep on. There you see again that they lost their traditional way.

Even young women don't know any more how to prepare food, or how to smoke food. Or youth don't know any more how to cut geese like these here. This is almost like as if a whiteman comes up here from the south, not knowing how to survive up here, as he was never taught.

We have to integrate at least part of our traditional life at the school. Of course, it is also important that youth knows the other side as well.

Parents are upset about that. It is important to know how to live off the land, and being able to survive. And beside that, youth get in contact with other damaging things when they go down south (drugs etc). (to 5.1.)

That is what we understand by 'being Indian', that we do not lose our way of life (identity 5.6.).

Before residential school, kids were taught how to live a traditional life. They learnt it, and they were interested in it. It always depends on how you are brought up.

I have once worked with a young man who had finished his high school, and who wanted to learn traditional life as well. He had learned the white way, but he also respected our way, and he wanted to learn it.

It is important to offer this kind of education to the kids in school. I am aware that kids here also learn Cree at school. I'm sure they would be interested (in Native way of life) if they were shown. We learned traditional life in the past.

(What did your parents teach you?)

(to 5.12. and 5.13.)

Everything you see here in the teepee, preparing food, smoking food, and how to put up the teepee. In high school you don't learn these things. The children would be able to learn everything by observation, but some even don't know that any more. How did we lose our way?

TREATY (to 3.6., 3.7, and 4....)

What I'm also worried about is that the ministry wants to limit us in how much food we take out of nature, what we need for survival. Everything you see in this teepee, every little rest of the meat, we use. The ministry also says that we hunt too much. But we need that for survival. They just don't understand our way of life. The other concern is

that they tell us we have too many guns.
 (who owns the land? to 3.7., 3.11., 4.2., 4.3., 4.4. and 4.6.)
 God created the earth. It was not man. That is why the
 ministry does not have any authority to control our food and
 how much we eat. It was God who made all this and who
 provided us with animals. This is like a garden. God made
 everything you see in this creation, and He stands above
 everything.

Tape 34/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: June 6, 1996

e9: (trapping beaver, about 10 km upriver at a side channel of
 the Attawapiskat River).

(to 3.1. and 3.2.)

Here is where I trap. This is how it looks like. It is
 called a pond. When you want to trap a beaver, this is
 where you trap, where it is shallow.

(the rest of the scenes show how the trap is set and an
 actually trapped beaver. This is just an example of that
 the land is still used).

Tape 36/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: June 6, 1996

e9: (to 3.7. and 4.3.)

Native people did not make these tools (traps for martin
 etc.). White people don't like us to use them nowadays.
 The Native people were given these traps; they did not make
 them.

Then the people also say you will not get paid, that you
 furs would be thrown away when you use these traps. We are
 told to anyway, as I heard it from other people expressing
 the same concern. We were told that the value of the fur
 would be more if we used these other traps that was
 recommended. This was told to us, too. But nothing
 happened. It seems that (white) people's decisions are
 inconsistent when they come here to make rules for us.

.....

Tape 4/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: September 22, 1996

(This was during goose hunt. The hunting party with the elder was accompanied by a white bow hunter. The scene relevant here, to explain the elders' opinion about MNR controlling the resources, was shot when the bow hunter was explaining the bow to the elder. The figures indicate the time on the tape where you can find this scene)

e9: (to 3.7. and 4.3.)
 10:32:32:04 There was a man in Cochrane who shot a deer with a bow and arrow. The MNR was extremely upset.
 (he laughs)
 The MNR was extremely upset because a deer got bowed.
 (he laughs) 10:33:07:00

Tape 27/Red (Rhino Film/Video) language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: June 2, 1996

e1: age 71 (born 1925)
 male, Native, status

(the interview was held in the muskeg north of the Attawapiskat airport, where the elder picks his Labrador Tea leaves. The elder himself picked the topics he wanted to talk about; he was just talking and we were recording)

00:10:18:04 (to 1.2. and 1.3.)
 e1: I will tell you some stories about past times, the last 67 years. I have always gone with my grandfather. He taught me a lot and also how to use things that are on earth.
 (also to 5.12. and 5.13.) He told me to use the resources on earth very wisely, and to respect all creatures, because the creator has provided them for us.
 We have always gone on foot and we slept outside, even in winter. We had snowshoes and we dragged everything we needed behind us.
 (to 2....)
 I have seen that life here has changed since contact with 'the other world'. Outborders and skidoos have been introduced meanwhile. I am eventually forgetting about my traditional way of life, and I am sure that many of us are going through the same.
 (to 5.1.)
 Now, youth is suffering because of that, and they are more interested in the so-called progress instead of looking for

their roots.

As I have experienced traditional life for 63 years, I can tell you some things about I know, and how the natural resources were used, and what they are for. I was taught that, and I know how to use these things.

(to 2.5.)

For instance, medicine plants we used long before the hospital was established. There is medicine for cuts, when you cut yourself, or for accidents when using a gun. Long time ago, there were no doctors. We only used what was growing on earth for medical purposes.

(also to 5.13.)

I know that all and I know the plants from what I have seen.
00:16:11:06

There are 12 main medicine plants the Creator makes grow. We are forgetting more and more.

(to 2....)

There are many other things we have forgotten already, unfortunately, things that were provided for us by the Creator.

THE SEASONS (to 5.10.)

00:16:44:14 I can tell you that there are six different seasons a year:

- (1) Emi nis ka mek (the thawing season)
- (2) Eme gwa - ni pekh (when summer starts / growing season)
- (3) Eta gwa - gwakh (when the leaves fall / gathering)
- (4) Eme gwes gwakh (when it starts freezing)
- (5) Eme gwa - po pokh (winter)
- (6) Ete si gwokh (spring)

I have seen many medicine plants grow (to 5.13.). When they are fresh, they are weaker, like a newborn who is not strong yet. That's what I've learnt.

Or, some are also too strong, as modern medicine might be strong. That is also possible. We have to know the exact amount we are using, not too strong, not too weak, not too much.

(to 5.1.)

That's how it is with everything on earth. There is a lot to say about the resources, but I will only quickly summarize what is harmful, e.g. in an engine. You need gasoline for that. You have to use that with a lot of sensitivity and respect (also to 5.3. and 5.4.)

(to 2... and 5.1)

Nowadays, nobody has respect any more. Children just take gasoline, and they are harmed by it, because they don't use it right. There are also other chemical solvents they abuse. Alcohol is abused as well, and that is harmful if

you don't use it right and respect it. I could not say that these things are bad. When there were things growing on this earth which we don't know, and which we therefore leave alone, then they could not do us any harm.

00:22:55:20

Only when we use them, and we don't use them wisely, are they harmful.

HUNTING (to 1.3.)

00:25:23:14

I was taught some basics in hunting. I always went at a time like this, in fall, looking for tracks. That's what you do when you hunt caribou. Now, people are driving around with the skidoo looking for tracks. That's how they hunt.

Long time ago, what I have seen, people went out on foot to look for caribou. They would look for tracks or other marks on the ground, what you see here.

I myself did not have so much opportunity, but I'm sure I would have been able to kill some.
(to 3.3.)

Nowadays, youth do not know these traditional activities any more, because they are in school the whole day (also 5.6.).

(to 5.13.)

You cannot really learn when you don't see or experience what you are taught.

00:27:33:00 That's how it is with me. When I just hear about something I haven't seen myself yet, I have trouble understanding it; until I see myself.

SOME MEDICINE PLANTS (to 2.5.)

00:28:31:06

When you take this plant, for instance (he picked a labrador tea twig), I saw that people used it as medicine and they drank it. Now they make their tea with it.

There are some more we are using, but they grow at different spots. This tree here, for example (he points to a tamarack). We make snowshoes and sleighs out of it.

Tape 28/Red (cont. of tape 27)

Language: Cree
interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: June 2, 1996

00:30:45:07

e1: These here are some of the plants I learned about. I do have deep respect for these treasures.

(to 1.4.)

In 1968 I left the bush to live in the community. I regret to have left the path I have learned before. I could have shown it to my children and other community members (also to 2..., 4..., 5.10.).

I know there is a lot to teach to children about physical and spiritual life. I was taught both aspects of life, the physical and the spiritual. Here, I have only mentioned in short the physical aspect of medicine plants. 00:33:49:04

HANDLING PLANTS (to 2.6. and 5.10)

00:35:05:00

The plant I had shown you (Labrador tea), I shouldn't have treated like that. I was told that you do not misuse or mistreat plants, as they have to be here still for future generations (also to 4.3.). 00:35:30:14

00:36:01:00

That here is a third medicine plant I see here, the only three that grow on this spot. This willow branch I take when I cut myself with a knife or axe. I was always told not to play with the axe, but I was not always listening. 00:37:41:06

This tamarack here is also used for crafts. It is a beautiful tree. Some people, when they want to show something, they break the twig. I would not do that, as I was told not to do that and to treat plants respectfully, so that they would not die. If I had broken off the branch, it would look like I didn't respect the plant.

People use tamarack to build decoys they place in the water. 00:38:29:00

00:38:29:00

You cut out the good part of the moss and use it as a cover for a teepee. 00:38:48:23

LIFE IN THE VILLAGE (to 2... and 4.5)

00:40:45:00

It was peaceful as long as we lived on the land. The only sounds you heard were from the birds, the wind in the air when it moved the branches.

People could hear from the noise of the wind how the weather would be....

first, I didn't know that, but I started to understand when I observed myself (to 5.13.)

... or even by how the twigs looked like.

This twig here, when it is soft, I would say the weather will be mild. Sometimes they are so dry, even the whole tree, that they break off easily. That would forecast a hard winter. After about two days, the actual weather would come. 00:42:25:12

00:42:26:00 (to 4.1., 5.8., and 5.10)

Long time ago, it was really peaceful on the land. There was no other sound than the sounds of nature. I think, it was about 1929 that I heard the sound of a plane for the

first time, and I also saw one. Long time ago, people did not have such things.

(to 3.10)

However, there were people who saw what future would bring. Now it has become true when you look around and when you hear the noise. 00:43:41:15

00:43:47:59

People got a culture shock when they got exposed to these things, holy man.

(In the background you hear the beep...beep sound of heavy machinery working on the dyke project)

Now, here you hear a moose, for instance (he laughs).

People long time ago would say: "Moose is ever noisy today".

00:44:18:22

APPENDIX 2

Professionals and other Community Members

(All these interviews were done with the camera. They were also free interviews with the people just talking what they wanted to talk about. The bold figures will again indicate where the talk would fit into the interview schedule in Appendix 1. The other figures (e.g. 10:00:00:00) indicate where this part can be found on the video tapes. Only the parts relevant to the research are printed here.)

Tape 17/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 2, 1996

Interviewee: **Chief** (male, Native, status)

Interview in the goose camp of Chief Ignace Gull

(Traditional way of life and passing it on)
(to 3.1., 3.2., 5.8., 5.10., 5.12., 5.14.)

15:58:02:22

I just want to talk about the tradition we have every year from September to October. We come here to spend four weeks to be on the land. I take my family with me, my kids, (to) show them how to live on the land. At the same time I teach them how to respect the land, everything that comes with it. I guess, the main reason why we do this every year is that it's important for us Native people to live on the land and use whatever means to live on.

We come out to goose hunt and we teach our kids to respect. We show them how to hunt and some time show them how to survive, by using tools we use in the bush.

15:59:29:00 (why land is needed, 4.1., 4.6.)

The most important thing is what we take from the land, such as geese, ducks. We use it for food (to 4.1.), as we eat the meat. And we don't waste, nor do we throw away anything we take from the land, which Creator provided for us (4.6.). The main thing that people understand is to keep the tradition going, to be passed on from generation to generation.

(to 4.1.) It's unfortunate that people misunderstand about Aboriginal people, what they take from the land. It's not sports to take. We use it for food.

15:59:37:13 (significance of land, to 4.1. and 5.10.)

They misunderstand and are misinformed about our way of life. You know, when you live in this place, Attawapiskat, in the James Bay area, you have to look for other means of food what you can't

take and afford from the store. You cannot afford it, you know, with the situation of being unemployed. There is a high unemployment rate of 85% in our community. So people come out to take what they need for winter.

16:01:32:15 (control of resources)

We're not overhunting, we don't take too much. We only take as much as we need to last for winter.

IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE (EDUCATION)

And one of the things I wish to express is, when you live the culture, tradition of the [Natives], such as our way of life, it's important that we pass it on to future generations.

16:01:59:23 (to 1.3.)

That's the only substance means to live on and feed your family. At the same time we teach our kids (5.12.) how to hunt, and also to respect, such as when we use guns. We teach 5 year olds how to handle a gun, to respect it, to know it is dangerous (also to 5.3.), only used for hunting, not for sports. We teach our kids many ways to grow up and understand our tradition.

(to 1.3. and 3.3. practising traditional life)

16:03:20:40

We want to keep our life style, and many people do that. A high majority is practising traditional activities and you can enjoy the land.

16:03:47:08 (spirituality, family life)

It's not to hunt only, but also to renew your spirit (2.6.).

Your spirit needs to see the different times of the seasons (5.10.). You watch the difference you see out there.

We share the chores within our family (2.2., 2.3., and 2.4.).

Everyone contributes (5.6.). Everybody does something to help.

That's important, not only for sports, but to survive.

16:04:35:07 (history / way of life , to 4.1. and 5.8.)

It's our tradition, our culture. And it's a way of life that we practice, and when people talk about aboriginal people overharvesting, ... well, it's not true.

A lot of people in Europe or in Canada, or down in the States, they don't understand. They are misinformed.

16:05:01:20 (land maintenance and control, to 3.4., 3.6., 3.7.)

They don't really have the experience. They've never been in this situation. They've never been in this land. They only look at themselves, how they live. They don't understand the Aboriginal people, how they survive.

16:05:24:06 (responsibility for land, treaty rights?)

(to 3.11., 4.3., and 4.4.)

Nobody can stop tradition. Nobody can change a culture.

You know, we try and preserve what's in the land. We have our traditional laws that we follow, that are not written down. It comes from...being passed on from generation to generation (also 5.12.). We have protecting, protecting the resources for future generations.

16:06:20:01 (treaty, to 3.11. and 3.4., 3.6.)

When we signed the treaty with the white people, Europeans, when they came to this country, we understood that we never gave away our rights. We never gave away our culture, our traditions or the way we should live, on a daily basis or for future generations. You know, it's to share (3.10.), and to have the resources we can use, without being restricted or being told what to do, when to take something. You know, it's our treaty right. It's an inherent right for a people to have their culture being passed on from generation to generation.

16:07:25:07 (land ownership, to 4.2. and 4.6.)

And that's the important thing we have to tell the world that we are the people of this land, and we are the custodians of this land. And we practice our traditional laws in this life. And we see that we need to protect animals(also 4.3.)

16:08:11:07 (importance to keep aboriginal way of life, 4.5.)

It's not the Aboriginal people who are responsible for what's declining or what's disappearing. The white society is destroying more land. There are no more animals, where they can survive. ... When we talk about mining, forestry, and things like that. It affects wildlife. It affects everything. And I think that is why, at the same time, we try to preach (to) the world, and it's important to keep this (aboriginal) kind of life style.

16:09:03:18 (relations to education, to 4.5. and 5.1.)

Although,... I understand the importance of education, which is a fundamental tool for survival in the future, at the same time... we have to make our children understand the way we were brought up. The way that we should be custodians of the resources that were put on the land from the creator.

..... So far as hunting is concerned, you know, that is something that will never stop, something that we will always practice, our future generations will practice.

Tape 18/Green (cont. of tape 17) Language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: October 2, 1996

Chief

(relations to the land, spirituality, giving up land, control)
 (to 2.6., 3.4., 4.1., 4.3., and 4.5.)

16:11:43:10

When I talk about the importance of way of life, such as hunting, this is very important as far when we talk about the balance of nature. Because, when we take something, it balances nature. It is not overharvesting or overhunting. ... It includes the same thing with trapping.

Trapping is important for our people as a source of income. We take from trapping the money to buy what we need even the meat from the beaver, muskrat. The meat is important for us. ...

.....What happens is, when there is no balance in nature, the animals are destroying themselves. The animals overpopulate. ...
 16:13:52:29 So, what happens when the beaver overpopulate? They are just destroying the land for waterfowl and trees. So, that's what happens if there is no balance in nature. That's why it's important that the people understand why we have to trap.

16:15:38:22 So, the Native people see this to be important as a source of control. Trapping is a way of control. So when we do trapping, we don't clean one area. We always leave something behind to give the beaver the chance to multiply, for future generations. This is what I mean, where we have our conservation laws. We have our traditional laws that are not written, we practise them (also 5.12. and 5.13.)

16:15:52:08 (can government interfere? to 3.7.)

No matter what the government says, no matter what other groups say, such as animal welfare, trapping will always be practised. Hunting will always be practised.

16:17:05:12 (treaty, who owns the land, land maintenance)
 (to 3.4., 3.6., 3.7., and 3.11.)

That's something people must understand. It is something that was given (to us), an understanding that was given to us when we made the treaty with the Europeans, when they came to this country. Because we had everything under control before whitemen came to this country. We had our traditional laws, values, family values and family structure, spirituality. That's what we're practising today. We revived that. And to make our future generation understand that it's our right, based on fundamental human rights to live the way we are as Native people. Nobody can change that.

But, at the same time, we understand the importance of what people think. But it's important that people have to understand and respect our culture, our spiritual beliefs, traditions we practise.

.... no matter what happens in the future, if the government wants to change laws, to restrict Indian people in hunting, fishing, trapping. That will never happen (to 3.7.).....

....And this is part of self-government, an ongoing discussion, the dreams that we have to control our own destiny. We don't want people to tell us how to live, how to trap, how to fish. It's our right, the treaty we made. It's our inherent right. ...

16:21:25:02

We have to be the people making decisions. We don't want people order us around to do what they think is right, without them respecting the Natives and their rights. We want to be those who decide what happens in our traditional land, in our land. We don't want to go to the government and negotiate.

16:22:03:23 (land ownership, to 4.2. and 4.6.)

I think, this is the land of our people, the Natives. They own the land. And they are the ones that lead negotiations what happens in their land.

So, that's basically the importance of conserving and maintaining

resources. They know the difference.

16:22:33:12 (education, determining the future, to 5.12.)

And we have the resource people that have knowledge. And we can determine our own destiny without being controlled from outside.

Tape 33/Green (Rhino film/Video) Language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: October 11, 1996

interviewee: teacher
 age: 45 (born, 1951)
 male, Native, status

(This session was a teaching session in the Safe House in Attawapiskat we recorded. Sniffers were present, listening to the words. Altogether, this session took an hour and a half.)

22:15:53:00

My name is I grew up in the James Bay area, and I grew up with the elders. I never new my grand parents. Therefore I adopted the elders to replace my grand parents I never knew. And I'm going to talk about the very traditional value, going back to the late 1800's and 1900's that old people used to follow.

22:16:45:10 (relations between generations 2.8., outside influence, language 2.9.)

The traditional values are gradually disappearing because there is too much technology, and generation gap between the young people and the elders is very wide (2.3., 2.4.). The elders of today don't know how to communicate (with the youth) because they don't speak the same language. They still speak traditional language. The young people do not understand the language of the elders, and the old traditional values before technology came.

22:17:41:17 (traditional education, how to learn - 2.4., 5.12., 4.13.)

A lot of the things that young people did were outdoors activities. Everything that we did was learning process, experimenting about realities of life. And I used to listen to the stories the old people used to talk about.

22:18:29:00 (relations among generations - 2.8., 4.5., what youth means to community - 5.5., education - 2.4., 2.7., 2.9., 3.3., 4.5., 5.1.)

During the time of the Great Depression, when there was a lot of starvation, there were some stories that were not heard, that even the elders won't talk about today.

22:19:35:00 They do not know how to relate with the stories. I've learned from listening to the elders since I was 4 years old. There were a lot of tragic stories that were told by the elders. Stories, they are gone now. They passed about 30 years ago. They tell about the starvation in the 1930's, as far as 1935. The elders during that time in the 20's, there was a lot of starvation (among them). A lot of elders passed away, starved. There was little food to go around because the big animals were scarce. Food was scarce, and they ate whatever they killed, whatever was available - mouse, small birds - because there was no big game. Whenever there was big game, e.g. a moose, that moose would be shared within the community so that everybody would eat.

But the elders of that period, they were thinking about the young people. So, when they were given scarce food for themselves, they would give it to the children of that period. They wouldn't eat because they felt that the young people were more important. The young people were to carry on the tradition (5.5.). They were able to teach whatever they could to the children of that time. So, a lot of elders starved. They gave all their food to the young people, so that the young people would continue.

22:22:11:00

At first, I did not understand, but now I am really able to understand the sacrifice. The elders during that time period died for the benefit of the children, who are now elders, today, in order to continue on with the tradition.

22:22:43:17 (traditional values , how to learn - 5.12., 5.13., spirituality - 2.6., 4.1., 4.5., 5.1.)

The elders of that period, they accepted. They accepted part of the reality. They accepted what was going around (in) their environment. So, their death was part of life. They accepted that, 'cause whenever there was mourning for the person, the elder, the child, that is the experience

END OF THE TAPE

Tape 34/Green (cont. of tape 33) Language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: October 11, 1996

22:45:15:00 (spirituality etc. - also 5.1., 5.8. and 5.10.)
 They had the experience and understanding. They supported each other. They supported each other in many ways. When I look at (it) today, there's not that much support today (2.2.). Whenever there was a tragedy in the family situation, there wasn't that much stress, 'cause the old people accepted their surroundings, the realities around them, 'cause that was part of life. Life is a learning process (2.6., 5.12.)

22:24:54:10

And in terms of the medicine wheel, the medicine wheel was the very basis of their surroundings. The medicine wheel was the one that brought families together. The medicine wheel is based on

the teachings of the seven grandfathers. The seven grandfathers consisted of wisdom, bravery, trust, honesty, humility, truth, and to do the best you can.

As you grow up, the circle has to be balanced. The balance is based on those seven teachings. You can't live a life with just one teaching. You have to live with all seven within your life. If you just learn wisdom, and you're not sharing that wisdom, then what is the use of having wisdom, if you're not going to share it? So, you're losing the balance.

22:26:34:10 (Spirituality and substance abuse)

In our physical being and mental body, we cannot abuse ourselves. The creator gave us a purpose, gave us a body to look after, to be responsible for. Not to abuse it.

22:27:00:09 (Causes for substance abuse, Residential school, violence, outside influence)

Then, the Residential School in the 30's and 40's, they bring in different teachings. These teachings were to integrate the Native people into mainstream. That was the whole purpose of the Residential School, to integrate Native people into mainstream, into the society. So, they were changing the Native people. And the Native people that were going to Residential School did not want to adapt, 'cause of the changes that were taking place in the Education system. And because we were at school for 10 months at the time, because of the teachings, and that (there) were outsiders teaching that system (5.1.), they were bringing their own education. Because they were told that this is what the system is going to be, based on the mainstream. "Cause we had to get into the mainstream.

22:28:11:20 And a lot of elders try to keep up with their traditions. And because the missionaries were strong influence, telling that with their (the Natives') medicine men that lived in that time were evil. What was taught in Residential School was that Native Culture was put down. Christianity was more important.

Christianity was the main focus of integration of Native people into mainstream. To become farmers, priests, teach the young, to teach religion, that was the whole education. I've seen that, as I went through that in the 50's. Religion, catechism we called it, was the main thing that was taught to us.

It was used as a way to put fear, to fear death. They would use it in a lot of ways. If we committed an 'original sin', we were going to be in fire. It's so hot, you will be screaming, yelling all the time. When you tell that to a young person, a 6 year old, it becomes psychological, because it's a fear of death. To the Native people, death was a natural part of life.

22:30:10:17 And putting fear into a child, to eventually fear to die, that's a different psychology.

22:30:25:00 (causes for abuse today)

And a lot of us, 'cause of the abuse that the priests did in Residential School, we began to lose focus on the teachings of our elders. At least, most of us did lose focus on the elders,

the teachings of the elders. 'Cause there were a lot of emotional scars that came out of Residential School, psychological scars. Those of us that came out of that problem, we did not want to listen to our elders. Why do we have to learn our traditional values, when we have our own problems? So, what we did that came out of Residential School, is taking up substance abuse. Substance abuse to hide our problems. We talked it (the problems) amongst ourselves, when we were under any kind of substance. But we did never really bother to heal ourselves.

22:32:00:00

And it hurts our elders. A lot of problems that Native people have today came out of Residential School. Psychological problems. And we passed on our problems to our children. We're losing focus on traditional values of the seven teachings. Everything is in a circle. We learn our values through observation (5.13.) of the animals. You look at Wolf. The wolf is a very shy and timid animal. It is not very aggressive, only when it is starving. Only when it starves, it's aggressive. You look at the wolves. When they mate, they bring out their young, the pups. The little puppies of the wolves are very playful. And the Native people, they look at the wolf environment, and they see they are part of that environment. So, they adopted some of those values, through the observation of the wolves, or any other animal (5.13.). Playful, the wolf is teaching its young. And this is how Native traditional teaching of elders used to focus, on us, through the observation of animals.

Look at the animals. Look how they behave. They don't take anything else. They look after their young.

22:34:34:04 (About stress - handling stress, avoiding substances)

If somebody has a lot of problems, it's stressful.

"Oh, I've got so many problems. I don't wanna...

I think i'm going to do this.....

I think, I'm going to abuse"

I think I'm going into something to really forget about my inner my problems" 22:34:54:04

For substance abusers, they cannot really deal with their problems, using any kind of substance.

22:35:08:12

Dealing with stress, we use water, the river. You walk along the shore, you look at the river. The river is very smooth, flowing down very slowly. And as you walk further and further down, you begin to see the ripples. The ripples are there. You walk further down. The ripples become bigger and bigger, until you get to the rapids. The rapids, that's where the water is really fighting and roaring.

You passed the second rapids. It went to little ripples again, and it went to smoother water.

22:35:58:09

Life is like that. As we walk along our lives, first, we are

young. We were just like the river, very smooth. Flowing very smoothly. But then, when we become older, we begin to have little problems.

As a teenager, we don't know how to deal with them. And when we don't know how to deal with it, we start using substances. You see, the river. The ripples become bigger and bigger. So are our problems. They become bigger and bigger. Until, eventually, we hit the rapids.

And life is like that. We hit the rapids. We are right there. We have more problems we don't know how to deal with. So, we do a lot of things in our lives when we have problems.

Some of us don't come out. We stay there, because nobody is there to help. The person has to find himself (5.6.)

But once you find yourself, and you come out of that, your big problem, just like the rapids, eventually the water happens to go through, and it becomes little ripples again. And it becomes smooth.

22:37:25:15 So, when we are at the stage between teenager and adulthood, it's only when we become elders again that we begin to find the smooth waters. And that's why we are able to teach to the young people, because they are all coming through that stage (5.12.). And that is the way of teaching how to relate to stress. (also to 5.15.) 22:38:00:00

22:38:08:19 (Relations among people, how to learn)

The other teaching was using the cedar. Cedar Tree (is) very tall, sturdy. Now, you look at the top of the cedar tree. It is narrow. But down, the branches become bigger and bigger. They are wider. They spread out.

In the cedar tree, the branches spread out. They touch everything in their surroundings. It could be shrubs, it could be thorns, grass. The branches touch everything.

You see the cedar and you notice that (5.13.). What is it trying to tell me? What is the cedar tree (telling) when it touches everything around it?

Life is the same. There are all kinds of people around us. Black, yellow, red, white. The cedar tree is telling us not to discriminate against any colour, that we are all equal. And the cedar tree keeps touching things around it. A lot of us have different life styles. Some of us are drunks, some of us are whatever we may be. The cedar tree is telling us:

"Do not judge a person by their looks, by their life style, by their appearance".

END OF TAPE

Tape 35/Green (cont. of tape 34) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 11, 1996

22:41:16:13 (Relations among people, understanding one's situation)

So, this cedar tree is telling us not to judge or prejudge

anybody by their appearance. When we are judging anybody by their appearance, we are putting them down. You know how you feel when people call you names because they are judging you. There are negative feelings. And those negative feelings are going to be part of your life that you're going to carry when you judge somebody. 'Cause negative feelings, they hurt a person emotionally.

22:42:04:22 (Understanding the pain of the parents / Residential School)

And that's exactly what happened in Residential School. We were judged, because the society didn't like our traditional values. They wanted their values. They wanted us to adopt their values, that their values were much better.

But look at what happened to that generation of Native people across Canada. And even across the States and in South America. There are so many conflicts and it destroys the community, the communities.

Because we were judged. And we ourselves, some of us, have adopted these values that were given to us, through the education system. And yet, the great traditional teaching says: "don't judge, don't judge anybody". If you're judging anybody, you're only judging yourself as a person. And if you judge yourself as a person to another person, then you pass that on to your children.

And eventually you destroy the family. That's what old people used to tell me when I listened to their stories. We all are part of human nature. It is a difficult struggle for all of us, a difficult struggle.

We look at ourselves. We look at the many times we had been hurt. The abuse, the lack of understanding. That's what we're doing to the young generation people of today. We don't listen any more. And how can we, how can the young people listen to us, when we don't want to hear what they have to say? (5.2., 5.3.)

.....

22:48:02:17 (Outside influence, T.V.)

Some of the programs that are on T.V. have no value. That's all aggressiveness. And that's what the young people perceive, aggressiveness, because nobody tells them that it's just acting.

.....

22:49:04:12 (situation in the families - 2.3., 5.1.)

I presume there were some young people of the family who thought:

"Why do I have to listen? All I'm being told is

Go and watch T.V., don't go outside and play."

And whenever they have a problem, or they want to say something that they learned at school or they enjoy, it's a new experience for them, some of us will say:

"Go play outside. I'm busy right now".

That seems to be the thing nowadays, that we are busy. We don't even give that kid a few minutes (5.2., 5.3.), just don't listen to what they have to say. It's always: "I'm busy".

.....

22:53:01:06 (Relations)

And the other kind of teaching, through stories (5.12.), you begin to respect the elders who gave their food for the benefit of the young people to survive. Now, that's what I call a sacrifice (5.9.) Because they were not looking after themselves. They were looking at the young people. They knew that their time was getting short, and there were enough elders, other elders available, that were coming up to pass on the teachings they had already passed on to someone.

.....
22:59:00:16 (Relations changed nowadays - 2.8.)

And the only thing that I heard of some elders of today is that they seem to be negative. And they seem to have that tendency to say:

"Oh the young people of today, they don't know that much about anything today".

Instead, they should be out helping, instead of criticising (5.2., 5.3., 5.4.)

23:01:05:20 (Breakdown of the family - 2.3., 2.4., 2.6., 5.1.)

The family system, eventually it broke down through the introduction of residential school. That was (also) with the introduction of alcohol in the 1800's.

It took a short time to destroy a family, but it would take a long time to heal a family. And even some of the young people today say:

"Why do we have to carry on the traditions, when the elders are not giving us the chance to understand".

.....

Tape 36/Green (cont. of tape 35) Language: English
interviewer: Norbert Witt
date: October 11, 1996

.....

.....
23:05:22:17 (Traditional teaching and modern education, punishment? - 5.3.)

The seven grandfathers we were taught from the traditional perspective were very good. Let's talk about truth first:

The traditional value is telling the truth. It's very important to tell the truth, a very important part of you.

Bravery is accepting things as they are. When there is a death in the family, you have to understand that this is part of the process. That's part of life. Because of support by your friends you are able to face that mourning, the grief. That is where bravery comes in.

The teaching of humility is to treat everybody equal, whether they are retarded, or substance abusers (5.3.), 'cause they are still human beings. You know how it feels when you get put down. Humility teaches that other people (also) have emotions.

Honesty, to be honest, if you want to borrow, don't take it. Return it. Don't keep it. That's the basis of honesty.

Wisdom, listen to the elders. Look at yourself. What are you learning? What kind of experience have you learned, even when you got hurt? Learn from those. You can pass (it) on. That's part of wisdom.

In Residential School, I did not go through the 7 Grandfathers, just a few. In Residential School, it was just the opposite of the teachings. Where truth is concerned, in the Residential School setting we were taught to lie, i.e. whenever we told the truth, the nuns would not believe us. But when we told the story a little bit different, which is lying, then they would believe us. That was the opposite of the traditional teaching. (to 5.9., personal achievement).

Honesty, in Residential School to survive, you have to steel from each other. That's negative teaching! (5.9.)

Humility. We used to tease each other. We put down our own friends, 'cause they looked funny (5.9.). We didn't treat each other as equal (5.9.). That was the teaching of the residential school. That was the opposite of what the traditional teachings were teaching us.

The wisdom that we learned by experience was different from what we learned at Residential School. It was all negative (5.9.). So, that's the Residential School.

.....

.....
23:14:51:13

I want to thank the person for giving me a chance to express myself. I know that I did not get everything in perfect order, but my mind was going back and forth. But I think, the things stand for themselves. This is the last question:

What has four legs, has stripes, black and white?

Think about that one. Thank you

23:15:33:08

Tape 32/Red (Rhino Film/Video) language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: June 3, 1996

Priest (Roman Catholic) of Attawapiskat
 non-Native
 age: (born), in Attawapiskat since 1973

(interview in the rectory in Attawapiskat)

01:29:10:02 (history - 1.2., 1.3., 1.4.,
 spirituality - 2.6., 4.5.,
 education - 2.4.)

The first missionaries came here around 1850. They came from Montreal through the Ottawa River. They came to Fort Albany first, and then to Attawapiskat.

The (Native) people went to Attawapiskat for trapping, and the Hudson's Bay Post was in Fort Albany. The manager would sell them flour and buy fur.

The missionaries came up here in summer, by canoe, with guides. The people from Attawapiskat only came to Attawapiskat in summer, as they trapped and hunted for food in winter. There was no welfare or jobs at that time. The community was not permanent, only a meeting place.

In winter, the missionaries met them at their trapline with their dog teams. Around 1893, the first old people stayed in the village, and with them the first priests and nuns.

The first church is now the garage. To cut the logs, they used axes, and the logs were then floated down the river to build the church. The church was built in 1930. The brothers carpenters, and the local people cut wood. It took 8 years to finish the church.

01:33:30:21 (spirituality, education, treaty)

Later, accommodations, a kitchen and an office was built.

When the missionaries came, the Indians were told by their own people that this had been in the prophecies, that people with long, black robes would come.

01:34:57:01 There were other missionaries (Methodists) who had come before. They came 200 miles down the river to meet people here. It was like in the times of Jesus, when everybody came to hear the good news.

The Indians were eager to help the missionaries survive, and they helped out as guides with their dog teams.

01:35:00:03

The first school was built by the missionaries in the 60's). It was only 1000 squarefeet. As the people were on their traplines in winter with their families, the school was only run July to August. The priest did not want to interfere with traditional life.

They were taught to read, so they could do things themselves. The chief used to come to this office and asked me to help translate his letters.

Since 24 - 30 years (ago), they can do that now themselves. In this way there were changes by education they got bit by bit. That was first only in one classroom.

The government first did not want to do anything, but then they saw a good thing happening with the school run by the missionaries. First priests were teachers. Eventually, the government started to built a school.

They put four portables here in 1974. Now we have a school with 400 to 500 students.

01:41:45:00 (about life in the bush -
looking at old photographs)

Look here. This man had lost one leg, and he went trapping nevertheless. He made three snowshoes, one for his (good) leg and two for his crutches. Then he went out again, trapping. It is really amazing how they could survive.

I think it happened when he was in the bush cutting trees. One tree fell on him and he could not get free. He was alone. So he chopped off his lower leg. But it was frozen, eh. He could only survive because it was frozen.

.....
01:53:41:16

The migwam (teepee) there! There were many people in there. Often they put moss (on it) and covered it with snow in winter time. It was very warm, and there was warmth from the ground. The snow was good insulation.

.....

Tape 33/Red (interview with priest cont.)

01:56:20:02 (spirituality)

The Native people have always been religious people, even before the missionaries came. They were believers in God. Their belief was not only when they stopped, in order to pray in what you call official services, but God was part of their lives.

One old man told me whenever he used to put a trap in the water, he prayed to God to send him an animal to survive.

One old woman also told me that she was walking on the lake with her snowshoes. Beautiful, sunshine, and the lake was beautiful there, snow and so on. She felt so much the presence of God that she stopped, went down on her knees and prayed, right there.

01:57:07:00 (spirituality, outside influence)

God was part of their lives, and when the missionaries came to talk to them about God, they were really open to receive the message of God, to know more about the son of God, who came down to redeem them. They were really open to it.

And also, if you see today, the old people are really religious people. That's deep down in them, passed down from their ancestors into them. It's part of their lives.

01:57:42:14

Plus, the missionaries, all of them, always learned the language of the people, not only to be close but also to understand their

culture, the way they lived, the way they are and the way they think and so on. This is a big part of the people. Instead of using French or English along with a translator, the priest can talk to the old people and understand them, and being understood. It makes a very different kind of relation with them.

01:58:21:16 (changes, spirituality, outside influences)

The young people, they were influenced quite a bit. What they see on T.V.

See, that's a very big thing. They have a new cable in town, plus there's three stores where they can rent all different kinds of movies and so on. They are not so religious as these old people are.

But there's a great need for it. You see, some families are still religious, and they make sure that their children receive what they themselves received. To pass down to their child what they received.

01:58:59:00

And I remember one man, not really old, he was about 40 years old. He was at the hospital. The nurses were trying to fly him out to Moose Factory hospital, as there is no doctor here. For them it was stress, as it was a life and death situation. They tried everything. There was no telephone, so they tried with a (C.D.) radio. And radio communication was absolutely no good. The nurses didn't know what to do. They were all very worried about what was to happen.

But the man in the hospital was not worried and said, it didn't bother him:

"If God wants me to live, I will live. If he wants me to die, I'm going to die".

He was not tormented on the account of they would not get the plane to reach that hospital. You see, way down, deep inside of them, God was part of their lives.

01:59:54:14

Tape 15/Red (Rhino film/Video)

Language: English/Cree
interviewers: Norbert Witt,
Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
date: May 28, 1996

interviewee: **former deputy chief**
age: 35 (born 1961)
male, Native, status

(interview in the Safe House in Attawapiskat)

18:09:44:02 (Cree)

Hello, my name is I want to talk a little about the healing centre which will be built in Attawapiskat, and also that

it should work according to the teachings of the Creator, and that we should listen to our inner voice in our daily lives. I am happy to tell you how I contributed to this vision.

18:09:44:02 (English. Relations to government, treaty - 3. ...)
They have changed our names so often. First is was 'A-sheesh-geesh. Then the Ministry of Indian Affairs came to our land, and they could not pronounce "a-sheesh-geesh", and they made "Mudd" out of it.

Now we use 'Shisheesh', what actually is a wrong word, but I think we got used to giving our signature with this name.

18:11:58:05 (solvent abuse)

What I want to talk about, mainly, is the treatment centre we want to have in our reserve. That was one of our dreams, one of our visions for our community.

First priority in my life, I think, is to honour my people and to honour myself (5.9.), what the Creator, ... what was given to me as a natural person.

I still remember, when I was torn away from this community for the first time, when I was taken out to go to school down south. Somehow I was ashamed being an Indian (5.9.). I couldn't speak my language at school (2.4., 2.9.). I would have been ashamed to say: 'wa-chee-ay'. I wanted the people to believe I would fit into this white society, but I didn't fit in (5.6.).

And then I started to talk to some people, elders, about these things that happened down south and in my community.

After I had received knowledge from them, I realized that the Creator had made me to become a Mushkegowuk, a Cree-Indian. So, that's why I'm not ashamed any more to be Native (5.6.).

I am grateful for that. My mother tongue is Cree. I speak it fluently, but I'm still learning from my elders to speak my language (2.9., 5.12.).

(Causes for solvent abuse)

We have a lot of problems in the community, a lot of hurt, a lot of pain. And I think, that was given to us when the first whiteman came to our territory (3.11.).

They have caused a lot of emotional harm in our ancestors, and I can still feel the pain of my ancestors.

.....
.....

I also want to be healed. And I want to honour my ancestors and the elders of today (5.9.). That's why I have the strong desire to talk about the healing centre.

I think, we thought about the healing centre when we had so many problems with alcohol in our community, so many problems with gas-sniffing, so many problems with drugs, that came from the south (5.1.).

And we took substances, I guess, to ease our pain, until we will really understand what healing means.

But I am getting to it, and I'm not ashamed to admit that I also took drugs in this way.

I remember, when I first came back from the south where I went to

school. I came back, and I saw that children went without food, and I saw parents drunk. I saw marriages breaking apart, and I saw people not being able to work. I saw pain in the community, and I saw it was not our fault (2.....).

That was passed on from generation to generation. We just did not understand it. Now I know that Attawapiskat has made the break through, Attawapiskat wants to heal itself, and healing comes from the Creator.

I committed myself to the community, because I love my people (5.9.). I love my people very much, and I care for my community. (Relations to the land - 4.)

That is my home, the water, the birds, the animals. That is part of me (4.1., 4.4.), and I am very happy to say that I am a Native, a Cree, a Mushkego. That is my identity (the land!! - 5.6.). That gives me some hope and the belief I need to be able to live.

(Programs, affectiveness, relations)

I have first coordinated the peace-keeper program, where people work voluntarily to ban alcohol from the community. The program worked well.

It has worked well as long as we were responsible for it ourselves (2..., 4.3.). That's the difference I see today. When I was responsible, I did what the community wanted. Even when the resources from outside demanded the program to be changed, we didn't change it, because it was working the way it was, the way we wanted it (3.4., 3.6., 3.7.).

.....
I decided to run as a deputy chief and councillor in the election to help the chief and council, and to do what the community wanted.

(Treatment Centre Program)

So I was elected, and I worked hard for the community. And I tried to listen to the heartbeat of the community. I have also listened to another heartbeat, the heartbeat from outside. We had public meetings to hear what the community wanted. The community wanted a healing centre.

They had a vision that we could teach our young people how to be hunters, trappers, to use their language and spirituality (5.8.); To get that back through our elders. To be proud as a people.

.....
.....

(Treaty, relations to government - 3.....)

I think, we could get everything (money) immediately, if we surrender to White society, when we give up our rights, our treaty, our language.

I guess we could get everything if we did that, but I think, this is not what the people in our community want.

(How to stop sniffing)

So, I committed myself to young people who were under the influence. I myself remember when I was 12 years old, I was sniffing gas for 5 years. At this time, things were not that bad, and we learned to stop with it by our commitment to the community. (5.9.)

I remember an elder talk to me, and so I gave up sniffing. I am pretty familiar with that. I heard the young people in our community say that it is boring here - nothing to do and so forth - how they felt being trapped here.

(Treaty - 3....)

We are in a trap. We are trappers, but we don't want to be trapped ourselves. I guess that came with the influence from outside (5.1.).

So, we had community consultation.

The community wanted a healing centre and therefore I worked in a committee for two years. I was determined to fight for my people looks at its leaders. The leaders honour their people.

And after two years of consultations, we finally put a proposal together.

After this hard work, we had to fight another battle ... with government and agencies. At times it was pretty frustrating. Sometimes I wanted to give up and say "forget it", but something in me told me that it was possible to get our own vision through, and that we had the right for it (3.6., 3.7.), the right to get what we wanted in our own land. That made me continue.

.....
I remember when a young man died because of sniffing
He took his life. That made me continue. I know, this young man died because of the pain, the agony.

I don't want other people to go through that. That's why I have the strength to say my opinion that we need the healing centre here.

18:24:31:24 (Treaty, causes for sniffing)

I think the fights and battles I experienced since I worked for the proposal for the healing centre were due to the fact that the system confined us too much. The people are still told what to do by this system of the ministry (3.6., 3.7.).

According to the so-called Indian Act, we can only be elected for two years. After that there will be a set-back, and that was for me a painful experience. Some of my people do not know what kind of system they are dealing with. Some have surrendered already. But personally, I will not surrender. ...

.....
18:27:42:15

I remember that nothing happened. People from outside were hired, that means of course Whitemen who are not sensitive enough to understand our feelings or to comprehend our vision.

That hurts me, now that I know what happened long time ago.

I am 35 years old now. 35 years of painful experience! I got my painful experience for 35 years, and then there are also the 500

be able to share, to give.

18:33:47:07 (Identity - 5.6., 5.9., CREE)
That is who I am, what I think about the life I have in
Attawapiskat, because it was planned like that from the Creator
(3.7., 4.3., 4.4.), there where my ancestors have lived already.

18:34:04:17 (ENGLISH)
This is where my forefathers lived. I want to honour them. I
don't want to give them up like that (4.4.). I want to live and
die here.

18:34:14:10 (CREE)
I feel like a prisoner here because the government controls our
lives (3.7.). So I cannot build a hunting camp or fishing camp
where I can just hunt and fish (3.1., 3.3., 3.4.) and share my
food with others, offer food or just live on it.
I pray and hope that one day we can be free in our own land.

18:34:45:18 (ENGLISH)
To be free in our own land.
Thank you.

Tape 12/Red (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: May 28, 1996

interviewee: **director of health and social services,**
 Attawapiskat First Nation
 age: 44 (born: 1952)
 male, non- Native

(interview in the band office in Attawapiskat)

The Attawapiskat First Nation would like to eventually take over
all health services in the region.
My job here is to help the band in the development of an action
plan, a strategy plan for the development of a health board.

.....
The band itself is responsible for the community health program.
They have two community health representatives who work out of
the hospital and cooperate with the Public Health Nurse.

(Causes for solvent abuse)
It has always been a problem here that the youth is abusing
solvents. They are those who have very little to do in the
community.

17:09:12:03

During culture leave in Spring and Fall (goose hunt), a lot of problems show with the abuse of solvents, triggered by violence in the family, and the other things that are widespread in this community. That is pretty serious, as the people do something, and they do something they want to do, that at the same time takes away stress and pressure from the family environment. Another big cause for stress in this community is that 18 - 25 people live together in a house without a basement. It is pretty difficult to have a ordered family life in crowded houses. Where are the children doing their homework at night? When you only have three bedrooms, and a doctor prescribes bed rest for an elderly person, where does this person get his rest?

.....
17:10:14:00 (Treatment Program)

What I will talk about now is the Treatment Centre, the reasons for this centre, what the plans contain, what the program aims to, who will be the partners, and why we need a treatment centre in Attawapiskat.

The Youth have hidden problems we don't see. There is abuse at home, or what the youth think is abuse. It doesn't necessarily have to be actual abuse. It can also be that there are problems at home the youth, in some cases, cannot handle, and that hurts. The healing centre is designed for the youth who have difficulties dealing with their many problems and their identity. The group who had the idea for the treatment centre, the Solvent Abuse Committee, found it necessary that the treatment centre offers a traditional healing process, and that this process, although it does not only aim at traditional culture, is a major component for the Indian development and growth of the abuser. What will happen is that elders will be included. The Mental Health Worker, psychologists, psychiatrists will be those who provide their programs, and that will be somewhat connected to aftercare.

The healing component of the centre will be educational. There will be academic education. There will be assessments first for the people who go for treatment. When a patient is assessed that he needs treatment for 6 - 8 or 10 months, then this is what he gets. We want to be sure to get to the roots of the problem, and not just treat solvent abuse superficially.

What we mostly concentrate on are the White and Native societies and the way they are different.

We have to help these young people, and make them adjust to the global reality, and the only way we can really do that is to give them a feeling of self-worth.

And this self-esteem comes from their traditional life as a people. They will have to start feeling good about being Native. It is difficult for a lot of young people because we have so much influence from outside.

17:13:32:00

T.V., for example, maybe the best that can happen, and it can also be the worst that can happen, because the people looking for their roots, identify often with what they see on T.V. There are few realistic programs dealing with Native Life. Even 'North of Sixty', which is a well-known program, seems to only show the problems of a Native community, and not the successful activities as they happen in a community like Attawapiskat.

(Evaluation of the kind of program needed)

It is sometimes difficult, even for someone like me, although I have worked for Natives for more than 3 years now. It is even difficult for me to forget about my cultural upbringing, to lean back and say :

"Okay, I now have to look at things differently", and try to see (the problems) through the eyes of Natives now. Obviously I cannot do that because I did not grow up as a Native. Only Natives themselves can see and feel what they had gone through.

So it will be important that the Natives themselves play a major role in the design of the healing process for their people.

(Healing)

The healing component will deal with things that happen in the treatment centre. We will hopefully have a family atmosphere there, and we will have a so-called house couple there. Now, hopefully the house couple will create a family atmosphere there in the treatment centre itself.

17:15:22:05

This traditional, Native-cultural family atmosphere will also contain a bit of the world out there.

The young people will be given tasks. They will hopefully take this tasks and find joy in their work.

Of course, it will be difficult, as a lot of these young people do not work well as a group. We will have to work on them, so that they will gain self-confidence, before they get a sense of community. That will make them proud.

The other part of the healing program will be a kind of program that is based on life in the bush, where the young people will get in contact with their roots by doing traditional activities on the land with their elders. There are, for example, harvesting, fishing, trapping, or making wood.

That is all part of their cultural sensitisation or re-sensitisation, because we want them to build pride in what their ancestors were, and

17:16:42:00

that they understand at the same time that there is a global village out there, and they have there place in that global village as themselves.

If we can make them understand that, that's the first step in the healing process - a feeling of wellness, a feeling of self, a feeling of pride in what they are, and how this individual fits into the global community. I don't mean the Native community,

but the whole community in the global picture.

17:17:24:00

After a short time on the land, where they can learn simple concepts and skills for survival, like trapping, hunting, and traditional kinds of skills, they now have to learn how to tan and prepare the hides.

They will learn part of these skills in the treatment centre. They will learn all different kinds of crafts, how to work animal skins, and how to make shoes, moccasins and whatsoever. At the same time they will learn how to prepare the game they bring in. Wood for heating they will also bring in themselves to the treatment centre.

The next step, after this acclimatising to their own culture, will be the longer therapy, and group therapy, where they learn to work better as teams or in groups.

Then, there will be the prevention component, where they return to their community. What we hope to establish is a space called 'New Life Homes'. This home is basically a functional family, and we will have to base it on the foster parent model to get the licences, especially when we are dealing with 12 - 16 year olds, where (Children Aid Society) Payukotayno has strict regulations which are imposed by the province of Ontario.

In addition it is important to understand my major point, when I said that the program would be geared to the need of every individual client after the introduction period to the centre. Perhaps, they will be re-assessed. When they are re-assessed, they might have to stay in the treatment centre for another 2 months before they can go home.

It is also important to know that, while they are staying in the treatment centre, their families will be integrated in the program. We cannot just go ahead healing the child, when the problems are at home, even if children only imagine the problems, as I said before.

The problems with the children don't always base on problems, or imagined problems, at home. Then we have to somehow talk to the parents and say:

"Okay, your child thinks there are problems in this family, and we would like to get to the roots of these problems, and we would like to include you in this healing process".

In cases where the family needs help, Payukotayno has promised to find family healing centres. There is one of those at the coast, in Fort Albany, which in my understanding is very effective. And we will certainly adjust our procedures with them in some cases.

.....

17:22:27:00

Education is by far the most important component in a lot of cases. These young people feel useless, and we can give them something that makes them into useful citizens of their community, and in some families. I think, it will be a long way to establishing this program.

Tape 42/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: October 14, 1996

interviewees: **Attawapiskat White Bear Singers (Drummers)**
 3 drummers from the Attawapiskat drum

d1: age 24. male, Native, status
 d2: age 36. male, Native, status
 d3: age 24. male, Native, status

(interview in the Attawapiskat Safe House during a drumming session for sniffers)

22:07:38:00

d1: We are the White Bear Singers, originally from this community, and why we are here is because we want to help young people. They're in gas-sniffing. We would like to teach them how to drum, why the drum is here, and why we have a problem here - gas sniffing. As White Bear Singers we would like to teach them and show the traditional way of life that our ancestors have lived. And that's our purpose here, as drummers in this community; (it) is to help the youth in this community.

Tape 43/Green (drummers, cont. of tape 42)

13:14:09:00

d1: After practising so long, you can sing. It doesn't take just one day to learn. It takes weeks, months. And I was hoping that the sniffers that quit or are still doing it, to see them in here, sit with us, give them something to do, to keep them busy.
 (drummers start to drum and sing)

13:19:27:17

d2: It took us almost a week to use this hide. This hide is caribou and it was given to us by an elder. He said:
 "Keep this Caribou going for us. Keep our elders' song. Keep it going and teach the young people songs".
 I want to teach you to sing. The reason why the drum is here is for healing, to help out the gas sniffers. When we pound this drum, it makes a sound (.....). That's the heartbeat of our Mother Earth. It's the heartbeat of our people, to get them together, (from) all 4 directions.

13:21:07:01

d1: Also you can feel when someone sits here, in here (heart), like something inside of you; like what makes you want to be part of this drum. Like (d2) said, the drum is the heart beat of the Nation, heartbeat of Mother Earth. When we say Mother Earth (we mean) everything that grows. It starts the way it was given to our people. This hide is still used spiritually. Everybody that sits here feels the emotions inside, or somebody outside will feel it also. When we had our Pow Wow gathering this summer, there were nurses that told me:

"I can feel something happening when I heard the drum. I felt it",

she said, and that's what the drum is for.

This is not our drum. It is the people's. They can say:

"We want to hear the drum".

Then we take the drum over here and we sing for them (5.9.).

It is not for us. It is for the people.

Tobacco is used when someone wants this (5.10.). They'll offer us tobacco: "Could you sing for us?" We accept the tobacco and we sing for the people in our area.

13:23:07:00

d2: Another thing is when someone dies. I would put the drum away for a week. And I will offer tobacco. I will offer tobacco and sage (5.10.). After supper, I put food on the plate and put it outside to feed the person, to go in peace. When You use sage, it is used to purify yourself. And when you use tobacco (for) praying to the Creator. I use sage, tobacco, sweatgrass, eagle feather (5.10.). When an eagle feather is given to me, I use it in a good way. And what represents the eagle is to fly high in the sky.

13:24:19:05

d1: This was given to us a long time ago. Our people had these for sacred ceremonies. They (the drums) were taken away by the missionaries, long time ago. They told our people that it was the evil thing that they were worshipping. The missionaries were telling that to our people. Now, slowly it is coming back to us again. That's what the elders are saying: now, everything that happened a long time ago will come. And eventually, the drum was here in this community. And we have graduates every summer. That's important to us. It's our culture, our tradition, because that's our way of life. That's how we lived for long.

13:25:20:16

d2: The first time I see a drummer when I was 10 years old. An elder from Alberta (was) teaching me to sing with the drum. His name was Earnest Totoosis. The first time I see a drum. And that's how I learned. He teach me for two weeks, and I learned how to dance to the drumbeat.
(drummers play a round dance)

13:44:12:22

d3: Balance your Medicine Wheel weekly. See where you're going wrong or where you're doing right. Or if you're walking a happy walk inside or walking angrily. You have to understand the Medicine Wheel.

13:44:32:08

Tape 46/Red (Rhino Film/Video)

Language: English

interviewer: Norbert Witt

date: May 31, 1996

(Interviews in the school. Topic was education and how it is different with Native people)

interviewees: a1 **associate director/principal**
age: ~ 52, male, non-Native

a2 **director of education**
age: ~ 48, male, Native, status

05:00:00:10

a1: My name is I am the associate director/principal of J.R. Nakogee School and Vezina High School. I came to Attawapiskat in 1987. After three months I was asked to take over the role as vice principal and when the Local Education Authority took over the school from Indian Affairs in 1990, I was elected to be the principal. During that time of Indian Affairs, there was no secondary school in the community. It was only the J.R.N. Elementary School. When the Local Education Authority (LEA) took over, they decided that they would have the students who were going out to the cities in North Bay and Timmins, to have them back in the community. Because these students were leaving at the very tender age of 13 and 14, which is the time, I think, when you want to mould your son or daughter into something you would like them to become.

05:02:08:06

The LEA decided to approach Indian Affairs to put a high school here into Attawapiskat. We started off with a very small school which took only grade 9 and 10 students. When

we opened, there was such a demand for education in the community that we soon realized that our facilities were just short of what the students expected. So what is it the LEA did? We approached Indian Affairs again for a high school. They were not very willing to approve a high school because of budget limitations. So we approached DIA with the premise if they could give us the same amount of money for the students in the south. We here in Attawapiskat would be able to provide secondary education for the students.

So, with that in mind we built an extension in 1994 and we added a technology wing which was recently opened in 1996. The main reason for having a secondary school in Attawapiskat is because there was a very high drop-out rate. Many students would be very eager to leave Attawapiskat to go down south, but as they reached the southern communities, they became lonely.

We had boarding parents that might not have been suitable, who did not understand the culture of the students. Also, they got into social problems. Here in Attawapiskat, in the school, the students would be able to live with their parents, do the traditional hunting, fishing and camping, and ... also attend school.

The LEA also decided that the type of program had to be different from the type of program at a southern school, the classroom atmosphere.

Because when students go hunting or fishing, or if by any chance they become sick and had to go down to the hospital in the community, they wouldn't be losing their academic upgrading.

05:05:00:08

So we chose 'Project Excellence'. This was chosen after the board had visited several high schools in the south. And we followed that Project Excellence at Cochrane High School as the appropriate type of course, because in Project Excellence each credit is made of 20 units. It is an individualized program. And it was so suitable for the community because if the student leaves the community or goes to pursue traditional hunting or fishing or camping, he or she would not learn, because if he/she leaves at unit 7, when he returns, he could continue with unit 7 and would not have lost his academic qualifications.

.....

05:06:21:00

(We) also offer non-academic courses like knitting and cooking and small engines, in which members of the community could uplift themselves in things that they like.

.....

05:07:21:18

In September we would be starting a general skills program, family skills program. And as the new treatment centre is built, Northern College will be offering the counselling

program here at school, for those people who would be working there.

In J.R. Nakogee School, where the bulk of our students are, we have a total of 420 students registered for the year 1995/96. We go from junior kindergarten to grade 8,

05:08:02:10

after which the students go on to secondary program. At J.R.N. School it's unique, because we teach the Native language as one of our courses, and we do have Native culture being taught by elders in the community apart from the academic programs. This is a second language school, and therefore a lot of motivation is required. We hope, very early with the extension to conduct music and art.

05:08:54:00

a2: My name is I work for the education services for the Education Authority, and for the community in general. I guess my topic is the future of education and how the board sees the trend to be.

In 1992 we took over from DIA, and basically the program at that time was only to grade 8. And we spent all these years trying to put the facilities in place.

We have accessed to students secondary education. Not only to students, but also to adults of the community. We now have come across the technology wing, where the students can pursue technical studies, as part of their goals towards becoming the citizens of Attawapiskat.

05:10:15:16

Now we have the mandate to work on the curriculum.

The curriculum process had been started about a year ago with a series of workshops. We now have recommendations in place, which the board will approve, and then it goes to the Chief and Council for their ratification, and of course to the community in general. From there we develop the curriculum required for the school, which will be developed by the community, of course in harmony with the parents, because the parents are the sole stake holders in their kids' education.

05:11:03:04

We hope we start develop the curriculum by October. If you develop a language base, you can very well tackle the problems that come to you, as you process your studies through life, which makes learning a life long experience. We hope to involve the whole community in developing the curriculum, elders, and, of course, the students themselves.

05:12:04:01

We hope to identify a program that will have Cree immersion from junior kindergarten right up to grade 3 or 4.

Everything is done in Cree; math, science will all be done in Cree. And hopefully from that base, depending of course on the community's direction, we hope to have that program

by 1998.

And based on that, the school will be experiencing a tremendous trend towards the coming year, as we set a motion to develop a curriculum for the whole school in harmony with the whole community that will participate.

Thank you.

05:13:05:09

Tape 31/Red (Rhino Film/Video) language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: June 3, 1996

interviewee: **secondary school teacher**
 age: 28
 male, non-Native

(Interview in the computer room of Vezina High School in Attawapiskat. Computer technology and Native traditional life)

01:20:59:00

One of the things that being connected to the internet allows us to do is, we can get weather forecasts. We can get satellite images of rain and precipitation, ice, and snow.

So, let's say that people want to go hunting, traditional activities. Before they go out in the bush, they come in here. They can log into the internet into 'Environment Canada'. And if they want to, they click on, and automatically there is a satellite image showing what the weather is going to be. And Attawapiskat is .. right .. there. See, you can see the cloud cover. Southern Ontario down here, Hudson's Bay there, James Bay And they can see exactly what the weather is going to be for the next, say 24 hours. This photo was taken about 4 to 5 hours ago. So it's very correct.

This is the nice thing about the internet, 'Environment Canada', you get up-to-date information, instantly.

01:22:01:03

Normally it would take you, with phone lines, three to four minutes for that to come up. It would take three to four minutes for that to come up, but what we use, to keep this file open, is quick-connect, and opening up was made a whole lot easier.

If you are interested in, say, charts and bulletins

Look! here is some information, urban forecast, weather forecast for Iqaluit or Yellowknife, Whitehorse, Vancouver. All the main course is provided what the weather is like today or tomorrow.

(It would be nice to see Timmins)

Yeah, Sudbury is the closest (to Attawapiskat). Few showers. I suppose you see: 'few showers'. And all of a sudden, you take a

look at here. Sudbury would be right in there. So, there is clouds, there is cloud cover there. So, let's see as well what percipitaion is there, and precipitation charts.

01:24:02:00

This is updated four times a day. It's a twelve hour forecast. You see! G.I.F, see it? Those are graphic files. These are all images or photographs. And that's how they transmit really, really high quality of images, through the internet. It's compressed down, shot through the phonenumber, and then, what you get is decompressed. It is expanded or decompressed back there again.

01:25:00:00

It would open the window right here and decompress the power for us.

Oh yeah, okay, here is the precipitation, and here is Sudbury, right in there. And you can see, according to forecast, there've been showers, there is accumulation of clouds, there is cloud cover, here is precipitation.

So, if you bring all these three things together, you actually see, oh yah, it is raining, which is in some ways to visualize and understand the information in two to three different ways.

You can see the numbers and see:

yes, it is raining.

Why is it raining?

There is cloud cover.

This will also tell you precipitation, if it's ice, sleet, hail, snow, rain, these kind of things, depending on the time of the year.

So, it allows you to really get a lot more information that way.

01:25:02:00

And certainly for geography. I love to teach weather environment this way. It is much better than opening a dusty old climatology text book. And we can do the same thing for Europe and Asia in a grade ten course, cause grade 10 geography is Europe and Asia.

.....

01:27:24:09

You can also save these on a floppy disc, and you can save ten of them, (weather) for a whole week, and store them all up.

You can print them out on a colour printer, and you can put them all on the wall. And you can watch how the weather has changed over the last few days. That's particularly good when there is a storm. You can see the clouds and precipitation track across the sky. It's all good for teaching. It's a lot of opportunity out there. It's wonderful.

01:28:23:15

Tape 48/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: English
 interviewer: Norbert Witt
 date: October 16, 1996

interviewee: **female university student**
 age: 31 (born: 1965)
 female, Native, status

(interview in the Safe House in Attawapiskat)

09:31:41:13

What I will talk about is Native women in general. I would like to share with you thoughts and ideas concerning this situation. I should stress that I don't (want to) blame anyone, but rather (want) understanding and awareness to come out, and perhaps this problem can be dealt with and solved.

How I would like to begin is, when I talk to elders, I also want to know what life was in the past. And they say it was peaceful. They were strong and there were not so many social problems that are now here today, in our homes.

Basically, they led a peaceful life, and they learned a lot from resources, Creator put on earth. They learned respect. One of the important values is respect. With this they respected each other and what was around them, what God had put on earth. Where they lived, they lived well. They were strong and independent. They had their own social structure, economy and political reality as how their life was like. They understood that life was given to them, a gift from God, from Creator.

But then, when they had contact with other people, non-Natives, this was not understood. We were not understood. Our ideology and Native philosophy was not understood. Our way of life was not understood.

09:34:18:13

And what they thought of us was that we were little kids and heathens, savages. And that we were backwards, and that we had to be taught to catch up to modernity, 'cause we were living in the past.

Then they thought they had to take care of us and brought institutions to help, supposedly to help us catch up to modern times. And then these things occurred, there was Residential School. We started to adapt to foreign values since contact with non-Natives. Not really realizing, but our elders knew that one day we would lose our way of life that was sacred.

And sure enough, our way of life started to erode. Our belief system, our ideology was stripped away, bit by bit. That's how these problems are showing now in our homes, because our ways are not respected. They (white people) have their own agenda of how life should look like, how we should behave etc.

09:36:35:55

One of the things I would like to talk about is Native women in general. And I will share with you my experience, too. What I went through. And I hear stories, too, like women come to me. They talk to me about their problems of abuse and all this.

Tape 49/Green (cont. interview with female univ. student)

09:40:53:12

As I was saying, women come to me to talk about their problems of being abused and all this. It breaks my heart when I hear their testimonies and pains.

09:42:15:08

Especially when I see and feel the pain in their eyes, from the pain they endure at home.

And then I tried to explain to them about the times before, in the past. In our society, men and women, they had relations, and they shared responsibilities with each other. Native women were valued as powerful as they have babies, and that's sacred. It's very powerful that they can give life. So with this aspect they were considered powerful. They were respected for this gift they have.

And then, of course, with contact with non-Natives, with them bringing patriarchy, and after contact with Residential School that wanted to help us to catch up to modern times, we abandoned our ways, as they were not understood. I even saw once in a Bible: "Women, submit yourselves to your husbands".

I guess, with this process women became objects to their husbands. Women were subjected to their husbands. And I guess, from that it creates a situation where a man may think he has control over his wife. And, perhaps that explains, why there are so many problems in the communities.

09:44:37:18

And especially, since we live in the 20th century, what is considered modern times. If we still hang on to this ideology from the dominant ways of society now, we do not reflect. And when we don't respect what's been given to us by Creator, as respect between men and women that we had, and relations and harmony we had, then there is bound to be conflicts.

Perhaps that explains also why Native women are abused mentally, emotionally, physically, and sexually.

Like in this society we tend to think that sexuality is something you don't talk about, as it is a taboo. But on the other hand many people are doing it, and there's abuse going on behind closed doors. So, that does not make any sense. It is very hypocritical if you ask me. When you see this going on, it's like we don't understand the dynamics of this abusive situation.

09:46:17:07

So, I will reflect on my experience as a Native woman.

I am married to a non-Native person. We get along, and we respect each other. And as long as there is respect and open-mindedness we get along. We talk out when there is conflict. We try to understand and help each other.

But then, when I come home! I was going to school, and it was paid for due to treaty rights. They (the sponsor) tend to cut me off in the middle of the program, and their argument is that

since I am married to a whiteman, I lost my rights. I know, it used to be like that, but there's a law that came out and changed the situation. But there is still that attitude, subconsciously, in the minds of the men who run the programs in our community. And also another situation is where I work. Because I went to school I have an understanding of the situation we face today as Native people. I also value very much what my elders taught me, and I want to combine them both.

09:48:22:14

So, when I did work with sniffers, and I had some critical comments to make to the leaders and the non-Native person that works here, I was labelled as being 'political'. Only because I have my own ideas of how we do things, to start integrating our philosophy, our ideology, and how we want to deal with problems we face.

So, from there I was fired. It's sort of funny, but it's crazy. I have to laugh, too, 'cause I think I am too serious. It would drive me crazy.

09:49:30:08

Basically, I don't hate white men. I am taught to respect people so that I respect people from different colours, black, white red and yellow.

My problem is with the approach. I already know what harm institutions can do when they don't respect our way of life. That's the only problem I have, to point out this awareness. But I only got fired. I am told that I do not like white men, but this is not the case. I am married to a white man already. So, that theory is not valid.

So, personally what I feel needs to be done is for Native women to re-instate their position, how life was like in the past, and how they had relations to their husbands.

09:51:10:08

Also, in order for this to happen, our society must reorganize. We must reconnect to what we were given by Creator. That we must reconnect to our culture, our philosophy and apply them in our programs that we do want to run in our community. And it's about time that we as Native people start to say:

"Well, this is what I would like to see happening".

Those days of paternalism should be over. When it was strong. That's supposed to be one of the reasons why we should have Self-Government, so that we can integrate our philosophy in how we run the programs.

09:52:22:50

I would like to say that I'm proud to be a Native woman. And I'm happy to learn things from my mother and grandmother and other traditional women that teach me traditional activities, like how to cook geese, to do traditional roles.

I am proud to learn, as it is like reconnecting to how life is. I don't think there is anything wrong with that, but maybe 'modern' women might have problems with that.

Once I had a friend from here, who went to school down south.

She took courses in feminist studies. So she come back home and we talk about women in our homes, and she says that those women need to catch up to modern times. Those days (in the past) are over. I was really offended and insulted when she said that. God gave us life already, and to say that is to dishonour the life and gifts we received already. There is nothing wrong with that (life).

For me, I like to learn these roles and actions, and I like to bake and cook or whatever. There is nothing wrong with it, and that's all I want to say. Thank you.

09:54:06:10

Tape 31/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: October 5, 1996

interviewee: parent (emergency response team)
 age: 38 (born 1958)
 male, Native, status

21:27:58:06

Greetings. I would like to say a few words about the flood evacuation in May, when people were removed for their safety from potential flood.

The people were taken out from the community to go to the bush by using helicopters. And often, people went down south

.....

21:28:42:16

And also there are some other things I like to help in the community. Like, I do help with peace keeping doing searching (for alcohol at the airport) and other places where I can help in the community. That's what's been happening here.

It is true that some jobs here are very hard to do in Attawapiskat, like peace keeping, and it's hard for them to search for alcohol. In winter it's harder to control, as people find ways in other routes to bring in booze. These are the things that are hard in the community with the fact also that youth are into drinking and

21:30:18:08 gas-sniffing. That's very difficult, and parents don't sleep at night, as they are playing poker. The kids are not looked after. These are the problems you cannot really control and stop, as there is a tendency to resist (denial). And things cannot work if we do not cooperate with each other. That's what I think about these problems.

APPENDIX 3

Solvent Abusers

Statistics of Solvent Abusers dealt with in the Research

** indicates the persons that were brought to the Safe House by police.
// indicates the persons who came voluntarily (after or always)

	age	born				
1.	16	(1980)	, male	, Native,	status,	**
2.	18	(1978)	, male	, Native,	status	
3.	16	(1980)	, male	, Native,	status,	**
4.	14	(1982)	, male	, Native,	status,	**
5.	13	(1983)	, male	, Native,	status,	** , //
6.	17	(1979)	, male	, Native,	status	
7.	16	(1980)	, male	, Native,	status,	//
8.	19	(1977)	, female,	Native,	status,	** , //
9.	16	(1980)	, female,	Native,	status,	//
10.	18	(1978)	, male	, Native,	status,	//
11.	14	(1982)	, male	, Native,	status,	** , //
12.	18	(1978)	, female,	Native,	status,	//
13.	11	(1985)	, male	, Native,	status,	//
14.	14	(1982)	, male	, Native,	status,	** , //
15.	18	(1978)	, female,	Native,	status,	** , //
16.	14	(1982)	, female,	Native,	status,	**
17.	13	(1983)	, male	, Native,	status,	**
18.	14	(1982)	, female,	Native,	status,	**
19.	14	(1982)	, male	, Native,	status,	**
20.	14	(1982)	, female,	Native,	status,	** , //

Questionnaires

name: (1.): age: 16 (born 1980), male, Native, status
 (2.): 18 (1978), male, Native, status
 (3.): 16 (1980), male, Native, status
 (4.): 14 (1982), male, Native, status
 (5.): 13 (1983), male, Native, status

1. Background**1.1. How long have you lived in Attawapiskat**

all my life: years

- (1.)
- (2.)
- (3.)
- (4.)
- (5.)

1.2. Who do you live with?

- (1.): both parents
- (2.): both parents
- (3.): both parents
- (4.): foster home,
 my mother lives in Kash, parents are separated.
 Father lives in Attawapiskat. (Father kept him for a
 while, but couldn't handle him. He gave him back to
 the foster home.)
- (5.): First with my mom and stepfather. Father and mother
 are separated. At the moment I live with my father.

1.3. If you left Attawapiskat for a while, what was the purpose?

- (1.): visit in Moosonee
- (2.): n/a
- (3.): n/a
- (4.): n/a
- (5.): n/a

1.4. Are you presently in school/in a job?

yes: school / job	no:
(1.)	(2.)
	(3.)
	(4.)
	(5.)

If not, what are the reasons:

- (1.): n/a

- (1.): n/a
- (2.): never went to school
- (3.): no answer
- (4.): no answer
- (5.): I would be in grade 7B, but I don't go to school

1.5. **What grades have you completed at school?**

- (1.): grade 7
- (2.): n/a
- (3.): grade 6
- (4.): grade 6
- (5.): grade 6

1.6. **Where did you attend high school?**

- (1.): n/a
- (2.): n/a
- (3.): n/a
- (4.): n/a
- (5.): n/a

2. **Problems / Disruptions**

2.1. **If you dropped out of school, could you list some reasons for your decision? (check whatever is applicable)**

- (a) ... n/a (did not drop out)
- (b) ... was bored in school
- (c) ... didn't like school (specify below)
- (d) ... didn't like the teacher (why? specify below)
- (e) ... teacher didn't like me
- (f) ... problems with peers (fights, intimidation, ridicule)
- (g) ... too hard
- (h) ... problems at home (specify below)
- (i) ... interfered with life in the bush
- (j) ... other (specify below)

- (1.): checked boxes (b), (c), (f), (g).
didn't make any specifications
- (2.): n/a
- (3.): no answer
- (4.): checked (c) with no further specifications, and
(j) - because his friends did not go to school
- (5.): checked box (c) didn't like school, there was too
much sitting in school.
Also checked box (j) - was in hospital sometimes due
to high temperature and high pulse.

2.2. **Do you frequently feel that people close to you do not understand you?**

- (1.): yes (no other comments)
 (2.): yes,
 I don't trust the hospital. I was offended that they wanted to send me to a psychiatric hospital. I will never go back to the hospital again.
 (3.): yes,
 my mother was selling the engine (outborder), guns, sleeping bags, although I wanted to use them. (mother frequently plays poker)
 (4.): yes, (no further comments)
 (5.): yes,
 my mom beats me sometimes

2.3. **Have you ever been involved in gas-sniffing?**
 (How long? How regular?)

- (1.): yes, for 3 years, every day
 (2.): yes,, every day
 (3.): yes,, several times a week, once in a while
 (4.): yes,, every day
 (5.): yes, for 4 years, almost every day

2.4. **What made you start sniffing?** (check whatever is applicable)

- (a) ... friends were doing it
 (b) ... bored, nothing to do
 (c) ... problems at home
 (d) ... problems at school
 (e) ... problems with girlfriend / boyfriend
 (f) ... other (specify)
- (1.): checked all boxes (e girlfriend), no comments
 (2.): did not answer this question
 (3.): checked (a) and (b) and
 (f) - first only played around. Filled plastic bag with water, just to belong. Next thing you know I was sniffing. I do not exactly know why.
 (4.): checked (a) and (b)
 (5.): checked box (b) - I miss hunting and box (c) - I was beaten by my mom and stepfather and box (f) - My cousin died (from sniffing)
 comments: I sniff because there are problems with my mom.

2.5. **If you stopped sniffing, what made you keep away from it?**
 (check whatever is applicable)

- (a) ... education/counselling about negative effects

- (b) ... bad experience (got scared)
- (c) ... talk with parents, grandparents, friends, school counsellor, Payukotayno,
- (d) ... got in conflict with law, police, peace keepers
- (e) ... started or was doing other activities (drumming, hunting, youth forum, other

- (1.): n/a
- (2.): n/a
- (3.): n/a
- (4.): n/a
- (5.): box (c), talk with Payukotayno. But only could stay away for 4 days. Now he is scared of the counsellors.

2.6. Do you take any other drugs?

- (1.): no
- (2.): no
- (3.): no
- (4.): no
- (5.): yes, occasionally (alcohol, cigarettes, marihuana)

3. Cultural exposure

3.1. What languages do you speak?

- (1.): Cree and English
- (2.): Cree and English
- (3.): Cree (more fluently) and English
- (4.): Cree
- (5.): Cree and English

3.2. Which language is your first language?

(spoken at home or you are more familiar with?)

- (1.): Cree
- (2.): Cree (interview was held in Cree)
- (2.): Cree (interview was held in Cree)
- (4.): Cree
- (5.): Cree (interview was held in Cree)

3.3. Which language do you prefer and why?

- (1.): Cree, because it is a Native language
- (2.): Cree (no further comments)
- (2.): Cree (no further comments)
- (4.): Cree (only speaks a little English or does not want to speak English)
- (5.): Cree, because it's my language. I speak English only at school or with non-Natives.

3.4. Can you read and write Cree syllabics?

- (1.): a bit
- (2.): no answer
- (3.): no answer
- (4.): a bit
- (5.): a bit

3.5. Have you ever been taught history of the Cree people by

- (a)... stories told by parents/elders/story-teller
- (b)... classes at school

- (1.): checked box (a) and (b)
- (2.): no answer
- (3.): no answer
- (4.): no answer
- (5.): box (b), classes at school

Would you like to hear more about it?

- (1.): yes
- (2.): no answer
- (3.): no answer
- (4.): no answer
- (5.): yes

3.6. Have you ever been taught wilderness survival skills by

- (a)... parent/relative who takes you out hunting/trapping
- (b)... school courses
- (c)... other (specify)

- (1.): checked (b) (school courses)
- (2.): checked (a) (parents)
- (3.): no answer
- (4.): checked (c) foster parents
- (5.): checked (a) father

3.7. Do you do any activities in the bush?

- (a)... picnic with family or friends
- (b)... hunting, trapping, fishing, berry picking
- (c)... snowshoeing, skiing, canoeing, camping
- (d)... culture days in summer
- (e)... other (specify)

- (1.): checked (b) (all) and (c) (all) and (e) likes to sit in the woods.
- (2.): Used to do that, but don't do it any more
- (3.): Used to. Would still like to go hunting, trapping, fishing and berry picking (b).

- (4.): checked (b) trapping. (He lives in a foster home, where traditional activities are still done, but he was complaining that he is not taken out very often).
(5.): checked (b)

3.8. Would you like to know more about outdoors activities?

- (1.): no
(2.): not interested
(3.): yes
(4.): yes
(5.): yes

3.9. What do you think should be here for youth?

- (1.): no answer
(2.): no answer
(3.): no answer
(4.): no answer
(5.): no answer

4. Spirituality?

4.1. Where you instructed in religion?

- (1.): no
(2.): no answer
(3.): no answer
(4.): at school
(5.): at school

4.2. Do you go to church?

- (1.): seldom
(2.): no answer
(3.): no answer
(4.): no answer
(5.): no answer

**4.3. What role does religion play in your daily life?
(daily prayers, offerings, or no role at all)**

- (1.): no role at all
(2.): no answer
(3.): no answer
(4.): no answer
(5.): no answer

4.4. Do you believe in God or a higher power?

(1.): yes, (2.): no answer, (3.): no answer, (4.): yes (5.): yes

4.5. Did you ever participate in any Native spiritual ceremony?

(1.): no, (2.): no answer, (3.): no answer
(4.): no answer, (5.): no answer

4.6. If you are not active spiritually or religiously, do you personally feel you are missing or lacking something?

- . (1.): yes (no other comments that came directly from the interviewee. The explanation of lacking "focus and direction" clearly came from the interviewer.)
 - (2.): no answer, (3.): no answer, (4.): no answer
 - (5.): yes (no further comment)
-

Observations in the Safe House

(The dates are not complete, because they were not always filled in by the police who brought the sniffers to the Safe House. For some clients we only have the month when they were brought in. However, their behaviour at the Safe House might give some insight.

The number of solvent abusers that were put in jail, instead of the Safe House, is unknown, as the police only informed us once in a while about solvent abusers in jail.

The numbers indicate the persons on the list (Appendix 3))

name:	gender:	age:	frequency:
(3.)	male	14	1x S.H.
(4.)	male	14	1x
(16.)	female	14	2x
(18.)	female	14	1x
(19.)	male	14	1x
(1.)	male	16	3x
(17.)	male	13	1x
(2.)	male	18	3x jail
(6.)	male	16	1x
(7.)	male	16	2x
(8.)	female	19	28x
(9.)	female	16	11x
(10.)	male	18	1x
(11.)	male	14	7x
(12.)	female	18	23x
(5.)	male	13	9x
(14.)	male	14	7x
(13.)	male	11	2x
(15.)	female	18	10x
(20.)	female	14	1x

presently at school or a job:

(3.): no
 (4.): no
 (16.): was not answered
 (18.): was not answered
 (19.): was not answered
 (1.): yes, job
 (17.): no
 (2.): no
 (6.): yes (school)
 (7.): no
 (8.): no
 (9.): no
 (10.): no, suspended from school for kicking a
 garbage can
 (11.): yes (school)

(12.): no
 (5.): no
 (14.): no
 (13.): yes (school)
 (15.): no
 (20.): yes (school)

picked up: (3.): 16:05, August 4, 1996, by police, at home
 (4.): 16:05, August 4, 1996, by police, at home
 (16.): 10:02, August 4, 1996, by police, at E's home
 - 18:45, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at S.H.
 (18.): 10:07, August 4, 1996, by police, at E's home
 (19.): 09:05, August 4, 1996, by police, at E's home
 (1.): - 00:25, August 2, 1996, by police, school road
 - 23:16, September 1996, by police, his home
 - 22:45, Sept. 10, 1996, by police, a home
 (17.): 09:10, August 2, 1996, by police, at E's home
 (2.): - 10:25, Sept. 13, 1996, jail
 - Sept. 17, 1996, jail
 - 7:30, Sept. 19, 1996, jail
 (6.): Sept. 16, 1996, jail
 (7.): - night, Sept. 16, 1996, jail
 - night, Sept. 26, 1996, jail
 - 18:50, Oct. 5, 1996, visit at Safe House
 - 23:40, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at Safe House
 (8.): - night, Sept. 17, 1996, jail
 - 19:00, Sept. 19, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 23:00, Sept. 20, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 21:00, Sept. 25, 1996, visit at Safe House
 - 23:00, Sept. 28, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 20:00, Oct. 3, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 21:00, Oct. 4, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:40, Oct. 5, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:40, Oct. 6, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 19:00, Oct. 7, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:00, Oct. 8, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:00, Oct. 9, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:00, Oct. 10, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 20:00, Oct. 11, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 21:00, Oct. 12, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 21:00, Oct. 13, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 21:00, Oct. 14, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:00, Oct. 15, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 19:00, Oct. 17, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 20:40, Oct. 18, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 18:00, Oct. 19, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 19:00, Oct. 21, 1996, visit at S.H.
 - 19:00, Oct. 22, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 21:00, Oct. 23, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
 - 19:30, Oct. 24, 1996, visit at S.H.
 - 18:30, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at S.H.
 - 19:35, Oct. 26, 1996, visit at S.H.

- 18:00, Oct. 27, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 17:30, Oct. 28, 1996, visit at S.H.
- (9.): - 19:00, Sept. 19, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 23:00, Sept. 20, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 21:00, Sept. 25, 1996, visit at Safe House
- 23:00, Sept. 28, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 20:00, Oct. 3, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 21:00, Oct. 4, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:40, Oct. 5, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:40, Oct. 6, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:00, Oct. 10, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 22:05, Oct. 24, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:45, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at S.H.
- (10.): night Sept. 26, 1996, jail
- 17:10 Sept. 27, 1996, counselling at S.H.
- (11.): 17:00, Oct. 4, 1996, by police, at home
- 18:30, Oct. 5, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:00, Oct. 6, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:30, Oct. 10, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 23:40, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at Safe House
- 19:00, Oct. 26, 1996, visit at Safe House
- 20:45, Oct. 28, 1996, visit at S.H.
- (12.): - 20:00, Oct. 3, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
(came with (8) and (9))
- 21:00, Oct. 4, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:40, Oct. 5, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:40, Oct. 6, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:00, Oct. 7, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:00, Oct. 8, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:00, Oct. 9, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:00, Oct. 10, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 20:00, Oct. 11, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 21:00, Oct. 12, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 21:00, Oct. 13, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 21:00, Oct. 14, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 18:00, Oct. 15, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:00, Oct. 17, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 20:40, Oct. 18, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 22:00, Oct. 19, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:00, Oct. 21, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 19:00, Oct. 22, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 21:00, Oct. 23, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:30, Oct. 24, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:30, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 19:35, Oct. 26, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:15, Oct. 27, 1996, visit at S.H.
- (5.): - 19:40, Oct. 6, 1996, sneaked in back door
- 18:40, Oct. 9, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 20:00, Oct. 17, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 21:15, Oct. 18, 1996, came in voluntarily
- 00:37, Oct. 19, 1996, by police, from jail
- 17:40, Oct. 25, 1996, by police, rapid road

- 20:10, Oct. 26, 1996, by his father
- 01:35, Oct. 28, 1996, had given himself up to the police
- 16:15, Oct. 28, 1996, by his father
- 01:15, Oct. 29, 1996, to jail by police
- (14.): 22:00, Oct. 7, 1996, by Jackie, (8.) (12.)
- 18:40, Oct. 9, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 17:00, Oct. 12, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:40, Oct. 18, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 01:35, Oct. 28, 1996, had given himself up to the police
- 20:15, Oct. 28, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 01:30, Oct. 29, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- (13.): 18:40, Oct. 9, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 17:00, Oct. 12, 1996, visit at S.H.
- (15.): 20:00, Oct. 11, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 21:00, Oct. 13, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:00, Oct. 15, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 02:00, Oct. 18, 1996, came in voluntarily
- 18:00, Oct. 19, 1996, to S.H. voluntarily
- 19:00, Oct. 21, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 19:00, Oct. 22, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 19:30, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 19:35, Oct. 26, 1996, visit at S.H.
- 18:15, Oct. 27, 1996, visit at S.H.
- (20.): 18:45, Oct. 25, 1996, visit at S.H.

(Statistics:	Cases altogether	118
	- appeared voluntarily at S.H.	92
	- brought by police	14
	(2 turned in to police voluntarily)	
	- brought by a parent (father)	2
	- brought in by S.H. counsellor	1
	- in jail (known cases)	9)

seen at hospital:

- (3.): 16:20
- (4.): 16:20
- (16.): 10:40
- no, no gasoline smell
- (18.): 10:40
- (19.): 10:40
- (1.): - 00:35
- 23:20
- 22:45

admitted to Safe House:

(3.): 16:50, by Jackie and Norbert
 (4.): 16:50, by Jackie and Norbert
 (16.): - 11:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:45, by Jackie and Norbert
 (18.): 11:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 (19.): 11:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 (1.): - 01:03, by Jorge Hookimaw
 - 23:55, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 23:10, by Jackie and Norbert
 (17.): 10:45, by Jorge Hookimaw
 (2.): - was not brought to Safe House
 - was not brought to Safe House
 - was not brought to Safe House
 (6.): was not brought to Safe House
 (7.): - was not brought to Safe House
 - was not brought to Safe House
 - 18:50, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 23:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 (8.): - was not brought to Safe House
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 23:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 23:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 20:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
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 - 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 20:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:30, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:35, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 17:30, by Jackie and Norbert
 (9.): - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 23:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 23:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 20:00, by Jackie and Norbert

- 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:45, by Jackie and Norbert
- (10.): - night, jail by police
- 17:10, by Jackie
- (11.): - 17:45, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:30, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:30, by Jackie and Norbert
- 23:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 20:45, by Jackie and Norbert
- (12.): - 20:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 20:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 20:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 22:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:30, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:35, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:15, by Jackie and Norbert
- (5.): - had sneaked in through the back door.
- left after he was discovered.
- 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 20:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- could not be admitted as police picked him up to bring him home
- 00:37, by Jackie and Norbert
- 21:15, by Jackie and Norbert
- 20:55, by Jackie and Norbert
- 01:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 16:15, by Jackie and Norbert
- 01:15, to jail by police
- (14.): 22:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
- 17:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
- could not be admitted as his father picked him

- up to bring him home
- 01:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 20:15, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 01:30, by Jackie and Norbert
 - (13.): 18:40, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 17:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - (15.): 20:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 21:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 03:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:00, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:30, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 19:35, by Jackie and Norbert
 - 18:15, by Jackie and Norbert
 - (20.): 18:45, by Jackie and Norbert

behaviour/observations:

- (3.): quiet, no resistance
was picked up at home, after he had come out of the bush, where he had been sniffing for three nights; slow movements; fell asleep as soon as he went to bed.
After getting up at 22:00, he had a meal and a talk to Jackie (in Cree).
Then he played cards, while waiting to be released.
- (4.): quiet, no resistance
picked up at home after having come out of the bush, where he had been sniffing for three nights.
He fell asleep as soon as he went to bed.
After getting up at 22:00 he had a meal and a little talk with Jackie in Cree.
Then he played cards while waiting around for being released.
- (16.): - Went to bed after eating (soup and juice) at 12:15. Woke up in between, and then slept until released.
Shower at 12:00.
No violent behaviour, no problems.
- Came in voluntarily with her friends (9.) and (20.), eating with us and then talking amongst themselves. Left a note 'Help me'.
- (18.): Went to bed after eating and slept through until released.
Shower at 12:00.
No problems.
- (19.): Went to bed right away; woke up in between, then slept through until he was woken by

- police to be released.
 No food intake; no shower.
 No violent behaviour.
- (1.): - Went to bed at 1:15 and was asleep by 1:30.
 Woke up at 09:15.
 Washed at 09:20 and washed his jacket.
 Breakfast at 9:30, eggs, toast and coffee
 No problems.
- Quiet and shy. After eating and drinking, he went to bed. Slept through the night.
 Breakfast at 10:20, tea, eggs and toast.
- Very quiet and cooperative. Went to bed right after he had a snack (when he was brought in), eggs, toast and a chocolate bar.
 Had a counselling session with Jackie at 9:30 (Sept. 11). Counselling in Cree.
- (17.): 19:30 supper, chicken fingers and ginger ale.
 Washed his jacket and sweater. Refused to remove his pants and socks.
 Went to bed at 23:30. No problems.
 Woke up at 07:30.
- (2.): - **(interview in jail, by Jackie in Cree)**
 Was quiet, but after a while he agreed on a little talk (in Cree) and to answer the questions on the questionnaire. He was not too talkative though, but also not violent. Lunch was provided to him by the Safe House couple.
- Was cautious and avoided to talk. He seemed depressed, but wasn't showing it. He did not accept being helped.
- Violent. He had had a brutal fight with his brother over gasoline. His brother had to be hospitalized. (2) was flown out to jail the same day.
- (6.): **(client in jail)**
 We were not given the opportunity to talk to him. When we brought supper to jail, the client was just ready to be picked up by his father. (for little assessment, see journal, Sept. 13, 15:55)
- (7.): - **(client in jail)**
 When the client was talked to, he was not under the influence of solvents any more. He was extremely shy, and not aggressive at all, although Norbert had himself locked into the cell with him. He was informed about the Safe House and promised to come over one day.
- **(client in jail)**
 extremely shy; did not want to talk.
- came in voluntarily for only a short while.

He was joining the others in their activities (games).

- Talked to Jackie while his brother went with Norbert to the office. Listened to music a bit.
- (8.): - (client in jail)
 - was very open; seemed to like that somebody was talking to her. Jackie told her she could come to the Safe House, if she had any problems, or just for socializing.
 - Very talkative. Had a shower after she had come in, and washed her clothes. Borrowed some clothes from Jackie.
 - Talking and playing games.
 - Supper at 20:00
 - Went to bed almost immediately. No problems.
 - Had a chat with Jackie; went home after, because her friend's parents (9.) did not consent for her daughter to stay over this time.
 - This time she brought a friend who was also known to be a sniffer. She asked, if she could talk on camera (there was a documentary film maker from Austria present) about the solvent abuse problem. (interview in next item of this appendix) Played games after and suggested that the Safe House provides crochet needles and yarn.
 - Started crocheting. Went to bed @ 0:00. Was reported by the guard next morning that the male solvent abuser (11.) was found in the girls' room during one of the check-ups (every 15 minutes).
 - Jackie had to talk to her next morning.
 - Crocheting and playing games with the others. Went to bed @ 0:00. At 4:30 she asked the house couple to stay up with her and the other overnights, because she thought to have experienced a spirit in the house. Went back to bed at 6:00.
 - Crocheting and games.
 - Crocheting and games.
 - Crocheting and games.
 - Helped pick up another sniffer from the bush (west side).
 - Had dinner and then listened to music.
 - Group session with Jackie and the other two girls, crocheting and socializing.
 - Next morning listening to the presentation of the Native Studies teacher from the school.
 - Crocheting. Tried to pick up more sniffers in the bush, but didn't find any. At 23:00

- group counselling session with Jackie.
- retreated to her room with her friend (12.)
 - listening to music in the living room.
 - Missed the session with the drum group. Went out with Jackie again to look for sniffers in the bush. Didn't find any.
 - Assisted (12.) with an interview in the camera, talking about the Safe House and her future plans.
 - Seemed depressed that night. She went to counselling with Jackie and (12.). After she just listened to the radio.
 - At 2:30, assisted with (15.) who had come in voluntarily. We did not have a guard and the two girls helped bring (15.) to the hospital and pick her up there again. At night (20:40) she was counselled by Jackie again.
 - Relaxing and talking. Went to the wedding dance with us. After the dance, we had to send the young man home, she had brought into their room.
 - Playing games.
 - Had dinner with us, but she had felt dizzy the whole day. She went to the hospital and was diagnosed with high blood pressure. She joined the other girls after, crocheting.
 - Came in for light dinner and went out again. When she came back to stay overnight, she expressed her wish to be more active in picking up solvent abusers. We invited her to the meeting next morning with the peace keepers, Payukotayno, NNADAP, and Mental Health to suggest that she and (12.) would be tied in as youth peace keepers.
 - Took part in the meeting. The issue could, however, not be solved, because, as with all the other issues, there were no protocols in place (health director?).
Came back at 19:30 and vacuumed the house with her friends.
Came back at 22:45, and saw (9.) with her friends. There was tension. She said that (9.) and her friends came to spy at her, and that she would not stay over that night because of that.
 - Came in and received her sneakers for being able to go to school. She played games with the other two girls (12.) and (15.) in the living room.
 - Had brought a home-made video (camping), which she watched with the other two girls in a

room. Later she was listening to music. As (5.) was sleeping already, Jackie told the girls to turn the radio down at 23:00. They left shortly after.

- First had a talk with Jackie, complaining that Jackie had 'looked mean' at her little sister. Later, she retreated to a room with the other two girls (12.) and (15.) and then was watching T.V. Before she left at 23:00, she volunteered to wash the dishes (together with the other two girls).
 - Came by to make the suggestion that she would guard solvent abusers who come to the Safe House voluntarily, as we would not get a guard by the police (or the band office) in a situation like this. She was talking to Jackie for about 1 hour and then left, telling us we should phone her if we needed a guard.
- (9.): - Very shy, but very cooperative. Had a shower and washed her clothes. Borrowed some clothes from Jackie.
- Playing games. Supper at 20:00.
- Went to bed almost immediately. No problems.
 - Had a chat with Jackie; went home after, because her parents wanted her home for that night.
 - Came over with (8.) again. Did not join the interview on camera, but joined in the games. Was very quiet and relaxed.
 - Came over with (8.) again. She did not join into the crocheting activities directly, only watching, and she seemed a bit depressed. Yet, she did not want to talk about it. She left at 23:30 (after we had phoned the parents) to go home.
 - Came in with (8.) again. This time, she joined the group crocheting and playing games. Went home again at 0:00.
 - Seemed depressed again, but did not want to talk about it. Was just sitting with the others.
 - Group session with Jackie and the other two girls. Socializing.
- Next morning listening to the presentation of the Native Studies teacher from the School.
- Came over for a visit and to talk with two friends (16.) and (20.). We knew that they were solvent abusers as well. She had dinner with us. After, she told Jackie that Payukotayno had made a home visit at her house, but that she hadn't wanted to talk to them. Her mother was angry and defensive as well,

because Payukotayno had only wanted to talk to the girl. Jackie reminded her that she could come back any time, and that we would help her to talk to Payukotayno because we thought it was important. When she left, she left a paper on the table with a comic figure she drew which was saying: "Help me!"

- Came in and picked up a little present (C.D. walkman). She was overjoyed, beaming all over. Stayed only for 15 minutes, talking to Jackie and left after.
- (10.): Opened up in a counselling session (on file), telling about his problems.
- (11.): Asked if he could come in, although he was brought by police; quiet; didn't seem too intoxicated. Had supper at 18:00, soup and sandwich, and was sleeping on the couch after. Joined for our Souflaki dinner (at 19:00) and after he showed Jackie a drawing he had made, talking first with Jackie (in Cree) and later also with Norbert (in English) about it. He was obviously proud of his art and got some encouragement. When the girls returned, he played cards and other games, and even tried out the crocheting before he went to bed. No problems.
- He came in twice this day. First, he brought a picture again, he showed to Norbert, and he got some advice again (16:30). At 17:00 he also wanted to talk in the camera in the presence of his father (who talked after him) (next item in this appendix). then he left shortly. He came back at 18:30 bringing a friend with him. The friend was no solvent abuser. Both joined the group in games and crocheting. Went to bed @ 23:00, but woke up when (8.) woke the house couple. He was also scared of the spirit that (8.) had felt and stayed up with the house couple 'till 6:00.
- Came again with his friend. The boys retreated to their room at 19:30. At 19:40, he let (5.) in through the back door. Norbert explained to them that the house is open to everybody, but they have to come in through the front door and register.
- Was standing in the porch first. When he was approached by Norbert why he didn't come in he said that he was shy of the girls, but after a while he admitted that his jacket smelled of

gasoline, because his brother had worn it lately. He himself did not smell of gasoline, so we just washed the jacket and admitted him. He joint into socializing after.

Next morning he was listening to the presentation of the Native Studies teacher from the school.

- Asked Norbert to show him how 'America Online' would work on the computer. He had brought a disk with him. Unfortunately, we did not have a modem. He left shortly after the unsuccessful attempt to get the program started, but he did not seem too disappointed. He enjoyed to get some explanations about the computer.
 - Came in for dinner and then watched T.V. for half an hour before he left again.
 - Came by with a friend. They retreated to a room, listening to music. Norbert sat with them for a while, while Jackie was counselling (5.)'s mother together with the elder. (11.) left at 22:30.
- (12.): Came with (8.); first time in the Safe House. She is a known solvent abuser, but she was 'clean' that night. She brought her crochet crafts with her and was working a bit. Later she joined in the games.
- Came with (8.) again. As we had provided the crocheting material, she was teaching the others how to crochet. Even the male solvent abuser (11.) joined in. Went to bed @ 0:00. (the same incidence with (11.) in their room, as she shared a room with (8.)).
 - Came with (8.) again. She was crocheting again and later joined the group in their games. Went to bed @ 0:00, and got up at 4:30 till 6:00.
 - Came with (8.) again. Crocheting and games.
 - Crocheting and games.
 - Helped pick up another sniffer from the bush (west side)
 - Had dinner, crocheting and then listen to music.
 - Group session with Jackie and the other two girls, crocheting and socializing. Next morning listening to the presentation of the Native Studies teacher of the school.
 - Teaching Jackie how to crochet. Tried to pick up more sniffers in the bush, but didn't find any. At 23:00 group counselling session with Jackie.
 - retreated to her room with (8.).

- Listening to music in the living room.
 - Missed the session with the drum group. Went out with Jackie again to look for sniffers in the bush. Didn't find any.
 - Wanted to have an interview in the camera, but then was too shy to get recorded alone. (8.) sat with her and assisted in the talk.
 - Seemed depressed that day. She went to counselling with Jackie. Later just listened to music.
 - She assisted us with (15.) who had to be brought to the hospital at 2:30. At night (20:40) she was counselled again by Jackie.
 - Relaxing and talking. Went to the wedding dance with us at 22:10.
 - Playing games.
 - Had dinner with us. Crocheting after.
 - Came in for a light dinner and went out again. When she came back, she joined (8.)'s suggestion that they would like to be involved in picking up solvent abusers, because they preferred the gentle approach (see video interview). She also wanted to take part in the meeting with peace keepers, NNADAP worker, Mental Health worker and Payukotayno the following day.
 - Like (8.), she took part in the meeting. She helped vacuuming the house when she came back. As she is (8.)'s friend, she also decided to not stay over, because (8.) thought that (9.) had come to spy on them.
 - Came over with (8.) and (15.). Also received a little present (red sweater). Went to the living room to play games. This night she did not stay over.
 - Watched the home-made video and listened to music later. Left after the music had to be turned down, because one client (6.) was already sleeping at 23:00.
 - Retreated to a room and watched T.V. later. Before she left, she was washing the dishes together with (8.) and (15.).
- (5.): Was let in by (11.) through the back door. When Norbert told him that he was welcome, but he would have to let the house couple know when he comes in, he left shortly after.
- Had dinner, then talked to Jackie (in Cree), then retreated to a room listening to music. Stayed until 23:00.
 - Just came for a short visit, listening to music in the living room. Left at 21:00

- Although he had come in voluntarily, we could not convince him that he had to go to the hospital before being admitted. He was highly intoxicated, stammering and stumbling. We had to call the police to bring him to the hospital. He looked very hurt, when we had called the police, and he got a bit aggressive.

The police did not bring him to the hospital, but to his mother, and then, after his mother had told them so, to jail.

- Talked about the incidence before, that the police had brought him to jail. He could, however, eventually talk them into bringing him back to the Safe house, and he had agreed to go to the hospital.

Had a light snack and went to sleep.

- Did not seem highly intoxicated. He joined the girls in the living room right away, playing games with them, while he waited for a snack we made for him. His father came in shortly after, talking to his son first, and then to Jackie. Father and son seemed to be close. The father was inquiring about getting custody for his son, saying that his son was physically abused by the mother (see also questionnaires sa5).
- Had a counselling session with Jackie for 20 minutes, before he was picked up by his father.

Was brought back by his father late evening. Father did not want (6.) to be apprehended by the police, because he was afraid they would bring him to his mother or in jail. The racing pulse (5.) had in hospital had settled, after he was reassured that he would not be brought to his mother. He had obviously been afraid. He went to bed at @ 22:00 and fell asleep almost immediately.

- He had turned himself in to the police, to be brought to the Safe House. The police did not give us a guard that night, because the clients had come voluntarily (logic?). The client was sleeping soundly all night. No problems.
- retreated to a room, while the Safe House couple had a meeting with his father and the NNADAP worker. (5.) was to be taken out by Payukotayno and had asked to stay in the Safe House for his last night. His mother phoned later telling us that she would bring clothes over for her son, and

that she would also like to talk to her son. Jackie informed (5.) about this, and asked if he would have any problems with this. (5.) confirmed that he was okay with that. His father had left meanwhile.

When the mother showed up at 19:10 she had a short talk with her son. The son avoided any physical contact (hugs, holding) and seemed to be afraid. He got his shoes and parka and ran out of the house. Norbert ran after him and could stop him for a while, yet, he was not willing to go back to the Safe House, as long as her mother was there. The mother was not receptive to the suggestion that she should leave, and Jackie would talk to her someplace else. She was just sitting there, writing suicide notes.

As we did not have a guard, we had to let (5.) go. We could not handle this situation alone with a suicidal mother who refused to see that she obviously shied away her son, and a son who refused to come back as long as his mother was there. We also could not reach the police that fast to pick him up. (5.) said he would go to his father's and check in later.

We informed the father and asked an elder (John Mattinas) to be brought by to help counsel the mother. He was brought by the police shortly after. The elder also tried to convince the mother that for now she should leave the house, come to his place or somewhere else where they could continue their conversation. She did not move.

(14.) had come by meanwhile and brought (5.) the message that he should come back to the Safe House.

(5.) checked twice shortly through the window, but the mother had not left until 21:50. (5.) was not at his father any more, meanwhile and we tried to find him, being afraid he would be sniffing again, and would be picked up by the police. We could not find him.

- Was on his way to the Safe house (chief's road) with (14.) when they were intercepted by the police. The boys ran away, but (5.) was caught by police and peace keepers. He got arrested (as we heard in the morning) because he 'had attacked a police officer' (criminal charges). His father, who was informed in the morning, after the mother had talked to her son in jail, said, that there was a blood stain on (5.)'s pants and that

his son had had a bloody nose, due to apprehension by the police. The police said, that the boy had attacked a police officer and had charged him for that.

His father came to the Safe House in the afternoon telling his son's side of the story, which was about the same as (14.)'s story. The father was concerned that his son was treated unfair.

- (14.): He wanted to run away when he was picked up. Jackie and (8.) were talking gently to him, did not chase after him and he could be persuaded to come to the Safe House. No problems there.
- Had dinner, and then listened too music. Stayed overnight. Had a talk with Jackie the next morning.
 - Had dinner and then retreated to a room listening to music. Left at 21:15.
 - He did not want to be brought to the hospital. He was highly intoxicated, but not aggressive. We phoned his father, who picked him up. He went with his father without protesting.
 - Had turned himself in to the police. That is why we did not get a guard that night (logic?) No problems with the client that night.
 - Wanted to visit his friend (5.). We had phoned (5.)'s father, but (5.) had not been there any more, so we asked (14.) to look for him and bring him the message to return to the Safe House. We would take care that he would not face his mother, if he did not want to, but phone his father in. (14.) left, but did not return till after midnight.
 - Came to the Safe House after having run away from the police. He told his side of the story what had happened to (5.). According to (14.), (5.) was arrested by 7 peace keepers (we don't know if there are so many, but several must have been on night patrol) and held down to the ground, when police arrived. (14.) ran away after. He was sleeping soon after. Next afternoon, after his lunch, he told the story again and seemed very upset about it. He was dismissed home shortly after.
- (13.): Had dinner, talked to Jackie (in Cree) and then listened to music with the boys. Stayed until 23:00
- Had dinner and then retreated to a room with (14.), listening to music. Left at 21:15.
- (15.): - Came in with (8.) and joined the girls

- crocheting. She left at 23:00.
- Listening to music in the living room. Left at 23:00.
 - Just socializing with the other two girls.
 - Although she came in voluntarily, she acted up after she was seen by the hospital. The ambulance driver had expressed his frustration when he was asked to pick her up for check-up at the hospital.
- Her mother could not be reached. On the way back to the Safe House (on foot), she took off several times, but could be persuaded to stay in the Safe House after a long talk with Jackie (in Cree).
- No violent behaviour.
- Relaxing and talking. Went to the wedding dance with us at 22:10. After the dance, she had to be sent home, together with the young man who 'was only visiting', but who we found together with the girls in their room, after we had indicated that visits are confined to the living room. Although they are all over 18, we cannot tolerate that.
 - Playing games. She was picked up at 23:00 by her father again.
 - Had dinner with us and did crocheting with the other girls after. She was picked up again by her father at 23:00.
 - She came in for a visit with her little child during the meeting. When she came back later, she helped the other two girls cleaning the house.
- She became rather aggressive to (9.) and her friends, walking by them saying: "Who wants to fight me?". Jackie was talking to (8.), (9.) and (15.) to say that everybody is welcome in the Safe House and we cannot tolerate aggressivity among the youth here, telling the other girls ((9.) with friends) that, of course they are welcome here.
- (15.) left with (8.) and (12.) at 23:30.
- Also received a little present (framed wolf poster). Was very pleased that she was appreciated. She was sitting with the girls until her father picked her up again (23:00).
 - Watched the home-made video and listened to music with the other two girls. Left shortly after they were reminded to turn down the radio.
 - Retreated to a room and later watched T.V. Before she left, she washed the dishes, together with (8.) and (12.).

(20.): Came in with (9.) and (16.), had dinner and then talked with her friends. Left the note 'Help me'.

released:

- (3.): 0:00
- (4.): 0:00
- (16.): - 19:30
- 23:05
- (18.): 19:30
- (19.): not filled in
- (1.): not filled in (all three cases)
- (17.): not filled in
- (2.): - released from jail Sept. 14
- released from jail Sept. 18
- is still in jail or in a psychiatric hospital
- (6.): released from jail 22:00
- (7.): - released from jail ??
- released from jail Sept. 27
- left Safe House at 19:50
- 01:30
- (8.): - released from jail Sept. 18
- left late morning
- Sept. 21, morning
- lunch
- being over age she was free to go, because she had come in voluntarily (added to our policy)
- left at lunch
- left at 13:00
- left lunch
- left after 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 11:30
- left at 11:30
- left at 14:00
- left at 11:30
- left at 13:00
- left at 13:00
- left at 13:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 14:00
- left at 23:30
- left at 12:00
- left at 14:30, after the meeting
- left at 23:30
- left at 23:15
- left at 23:15
- left at 23:00
- left at 18:30
- (9.): - left late morning

- Sept. 21, morning
- lunch
- lunch
- 23:30 the same day
- 0:00 (after parents were informed)
- after 12:00
- 14:00
- 23:05
- 19:00
- (10.): 18:30 (Sept. 27)
- (11.): - 06:00
- lunch
- after 12:00
- 14:00
- 01:30
- 19:40
- 22:30
- (12.): - being over age and having come in voluntarily,
she was free to go. Left at lunch.
- Left at 13:00
- lunch
- left after 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 11:30
- left at 11:30
- left at 14:00
- left at 11:30
- left at 13:00
- left at 13:00
- left at 13:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 12:00
- left at 14:00
- left at 23:30
- left at 12:00
- left at 14:30, after the meeting
- left at 23:30
- left at 23:15
- left at 23:15
- left at 23:00
- (5.): - he left after he was told he would have to
register.
- 23:00
- 21:00
- n/a police picked him up before
- 10:15
- 10:25, picked up by his father
- 09:30, picked up by police
- 10:15, picked up by his father
- 19:20, went to his father's place
- no information by police

- (14.): 11:30
 - 13:30
 - 21:15
 - n/a father picked him up before
 - 11:00
 - 20:45
 - 14:30
 - (13.): 23:00
 - 21:15
 - (15.):
 - left at 23:00
 - left at 23:00
 - left at 20:00
 - picked up by mother at 12:00
 - 4:40
 - picked up by her father at 23:00
 - picked up by her father at 23:00
 - left at 23:30
 - picked up by her father at 23:00
 - left at 23:15
 - left at 23:00
 - (20.): 23:05
-

Additional information:

The clients (7.), (8.), and (10.) were sentenced to jail in January 1997 for charges brought upon them before this report. They are in Monteith Correctional Facility now. The client (5.) was brought to Awashishuk Centre in Moosonee by Payukotayno and now lives with his mother in Timmins.

Interviews on Video Tapes

(Like the professionals and other community members, solvent abusers were interviewed for the Documentary 'Attawapiskat - Between the Rocks'. This action developed more or less by chance, as it was the solvent abusers themselves who asked if they could talk about their concerns. Two of the interviewees were of legal age ((8.) and (12.)), and the other one ((11.)) was interviewed in the presence of his father. All interviews were done in the Safe House).

Tape 31/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: October 5, 1996

interviewee: name: (11.),
 age: 14, (born: 1982)

21:34:01:05

I will tell you a bit about Attawapiskat. I like it here. I don't mind going to school here. It is fun. I don't mind living in Attawapiskat. I think it's great. As long as I don't sniff, then I don't mind.

I like it here in Attawapiskat, as I can go out on the land. I like it on the land. I can hunt geese or other animals. I like it very much.

21:35:43:03

It's fun to live in Attawapiskat. It's fun to do many things, but not to sniff. And on the land I like to hunt geese. It's fun to do that. I like it, and I don't mind going to school in Attawapiskat. I don't mind it. It's fun here in Attawapiskat. I think it's not boring. I don't think, it's a bad place to live; it's just fun.

I like to play with other kids, and we play all sorts of things. That is what I did in Akimiski (the island, where he went hunting geese with his mother and step-father). I played with other kids, too.

21:35:43:03

Tape 24/Green (Rhino Film/Video) language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: October 3, 1996

interviewee: name: (8.)
 age: 19 (born: 1977)

18:44:02:03

I would like to talk about sniffers. That is harmful for them. I have stopped sniffing, and I just want to talk about it, as it would help others to stop sniffing. It would help them to talk to people that are working in that field for treatment. And the workers (in treatment) should be talking to the youth. And also concerning my personal life, I have sniffed for a long time, and now I feel good in my heart. I'm just happy to share it.

Once I was rushed to the hospital. Drugs are also harmful for you. It almost harmed me. I was put on I.V. That time I bought drugs that someone was selling here. The I.V. helped me. I feel different when I do not touch those harmful substances. That's all I wanted to say.

Where there are substances involved, it would be good for them (the abusers) to talk to somebody, like Jackie here at the Safe House. I talked to her a lot when I slept over at the Safe House. That's what others should do. It will help them a lot. That's all for now,
 wacheeay

18:46:22:02

Tape 46/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: October 8, 1996

interviewee: name: (8.)
 age: 19 (born: 1977)

19:17:19:16

We were out tonight, me, Jackie and (12.), and my three cousins. We went to look for sniffers. We went on each side, each corner of the cemetery, and we found one sniffer at (9.)'s house. Just when I went to him (14.), he ran away, but I went to him again and told him to come. We looked for others, but there were none, and we are happy that this young man came to the Safe House. And also, it seems, that he did not mind coming here and to sleep over. This helps him a lot. He should come here more often to visit and to hang around here. It will surely help him a lot. I want to go back out again tomorrow for sniffers, and I hope this young man and Jackie will support again.

We would like to play in the gym on Thursday nights. I have 12

youth signed up for volley ball, and we would like to see more activities. I hope, (14.) will come here more often. I took his wet socks from him that he won't be cold. That's all for now. I am(8.)

19:19:38:12

Tape 50/Green (Rhino Film/Video) Language: Cree
 interviewer: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
 date: October 15, 1996

interviewees: name: (8.)
 age: 19 (born: 1977)
 name: (12.)
 age: 18 (born: 1978)

15:34:11:17

(8.): I am here with (12.). We would like to talk a bit about sniffers. I would like to go out to look for them. We would bring them here to the Safe House. Here, my cousin, would like to say a few words, and I will give her a chance to talk.

15:37:48:09

(12.): We want to bring sniffers here because we want to help them.

15:38:04:12

(8.): That's the way to help these youths. The youths will be happy to come here (to the Safe House) to help themselves. And we want to support Jackie and Norbert that they can continue to help the youths. Also, we would like to have a gym to play, where we can have activities. This would surely help a lot, when they (sniffers) have activities to do. And also, it would be good to see crafts or traditional things done in respect to our Native culture. When my mom and I were here earlier this evening to have family pictures taken of all of us, the whole family, my brother's kids, she (my mother) asked me to do her a favour, to talk on behalf of her, that my brother is sniffing. She wants me to talk about him. When we see our brother sniffing outside our house, it is very hard on us. We think of our loved one, a brother that has passed away. My deceased brother used to sniff, and we are concerned about the safety of my other brother. We would like to see that he receives help. It's hard on my

mom, and we don't like to see him sniff. He does this all night, all day. He sleeps only at lunch time, after sniffing. We are scared that my younger sibling will do the same.

When I talked to my brother today to ask him why he doesn't come here to the Safe House, he said that he doesn't want to be forced, against his will, to be in custody. I told him that it will be okay here. I invited him to come, but he changed his mind. I asked him what's keeping him busy, and he said: "gasoline is taking up my time". I tried to tell him to let it go, that it will destroy him. I myself feel better since I stopped. I told him that I'm better when I'm at the Safe House, that it helps me. I'm happy that I stopped sniffing. Now, for my brother, I hope somebody can help him or talk to him.

15:44:36:09

(12.) What I like to say about the kids that are picked up is to please bring them to the Safe House, not to lock them up, as it is too harsh. There is nothing to do (in jail). They are only in this one room (cell), nothing to watch. It would be nice..... All the sniffers that are picked up are just locked up. They should be brought here to the Safe House. They're always locked up.

15:45:41:08

(8.): What (12.) just said is that kids feel terrible when they are locked up. It would be better to bring them here, rather than in a cell, where they feel terrible, as there is nothing to do there. Also, the beds are very hard. They should just be brought here, when they're only sniffing, as this is the purpose of the Safe House. So it's better to bring them here. I can understand that they feel pushed around when they're locked up. So, it would be better to bring them to the Safe House. That is the purpose why they made a Safe House anyway, to look after these youth.

And as to what the police are doing, that's not right. They (the sniffers) should be brought here to the Safe House, not to jail.

I know kids who were locked up, and they told the cops that they wanted to be brought to the Safe House. The cops said that the staff must be sleeping. I did not like what I saw there. Those kids said they did more (sniffing) after they had been locked up.

And what we both would like to see is that help is given to those youth that are sniffing, as they might want to be helped anyway, rather than to see them sniff. There are people at the band office who are supposed to help those youth who want to get treatment. I seriously hope that

help will be given to my brother before the problem gets too serious. I love my brother, that's why I talk about him. My mom asked me to do this anyway.

Thanks for letting me talk tonight.

And also thanks to (12.) for talking. It's always good to talk and what she had to say. That's all for now. I am (8.) and this is (12.).

In English:

Thanks and greetings to Peter, the cameraman. Thanks for coming to Attawapiskat. Thanks for letting us talk. It's nice that you came to this community, and have a nice journey tomorrow.

Some Counselling Sessions

(extremely confidential)

1. Counselling sessions on September 19, language: Cree
October 3, and
October 18, 1996

Counsellor: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt

name: (8.), age 19 (born: 1977)

Grieving

She misses her brother who had committed suicide and she sees him and talks to him when she is sniffing. She is afraid of being alone, or to go into the crawl space of her parent's house, because she sees a white figure there. Grandfather told them that this is her dead brother who haunts the family. The priest was brought in once to pray.

Attempted Rape (some weeks ago)

She reported that picked her up one evening just for a ride, but he wanted to have sex after a while, starting to fumble her. She said 'no' and cried as she was scared. She got out of the truck and walked home all the way from the new road behind the rapids.

She reported the incidence to the police. She was scared after she had talked about it and we stayed up with her till 04:00. She said she had terrible night mares. I gave her a dream catcher to take away her bad dreams. We smudged and prayed, and she had a good sleep after.

Possessed by a Devil

She claims that she is possessed by the devil and can feel the devil. She says that her nails grow and eyes glaze and that she can see images of snakes.

Her mother has been telling her to change her life style, to stop sniffing, and to join the Pentecostal Church. She has mixed feelings about that.

Family Situation

One brother committed suicide some years ago. The other brother is sniffing as well. The step-brother beats up her brother. The family got fed up and asked him to leave, but he wouldn't. Instead, the family sleeps in the tent when he gets violent in the house.

Her dad wants her to go to Kashetchewan to her sister, but she

would not like to stay longer than for a week.

On January 20, 1997, the client had to appear in court for charges related to the sniffing she had done at least six months before. She was sentenced and taken out of the community to be brought to Monteith Correctional Facility.

2. Counselling session on September 29, 1996 language: Cree
counsellor: Jackie Hookimaw-Witt
name: (10.), age 18 (born 1978)

The counselling session started with small talk, as the client was too shy at first to say anything personal. After a while he trusted me enough to talk about his situation. In order for not breaking this trust it is very important that these data have to stay confidential, and nothing said in this counselling session will be used against this client or to slander his name.

Grieving/Loneliness

Feels very lonely for his mom and dad, and does not talk to them the way he would talk to me. His parents are separated, his mother living with another man, his father living alone at the moment. The client lives with his grand parents.
I asked him about his relationship to his parents:

Mother: He visits her once in a while, and he likes it when he can go camping with his mother and step-father. His step-father has taught him many things, like traditional skills like trapping etc. He did not know these things before. He doesn't mind this man and finds him okay or even nice.

He is hesitant to talk to his mom about his loneliness, because he is concerned about what her partner would feel and say about it.

I told him it was worth a try, as his step-father is obviously sincere about his relationship to him, having him taught many things.

Father: He said at the beginning that he is missing relationship bonds in his life. His father does not talk to him much.

I told him that I had talked to parents who are concerned and heartbroken and frustrated about their child sniffing. I also mentioned that kids I talked to always said they feel unloved and not taken serious. However, it seems that their parents do love their children, and what is missing is communication which would

allow them to reconnect a bond to their child. I also mentioned to him a bit about Residential School and the negative effects it had on family life, as the bond between children and parents had been broken. I shared my own experience within our family, and expressed my feelings that this is not really the parents' fault, at least, they are not the only ones responsible. This part, the communication between children and parents, would need to be worked on. I told him that his father was one of the concerned parents, and maybe he should try to reach out to him.

Deceased Brother: He mentioned also with tears in his eyes that he missed his brother. His brother has died several years ago while he was sniffing. When he, (10.), is sniffing, he can see and talk to his brother. He becomes sad, when his brother then fades away after detoxifying. He goes back to sniffing, just to see his brother again.

I explained that his mourning for his brother might bring out these images while he is sniffing. His brother, of course, will always care for him from where he is now, and he will always be in his heart.

Violence by Peers

Three older guys always beat him up, and they stop only when he finally lies on the ground crying. He does not know why they do that. He feels, too that these guys encourage other kids to beat and tease him. He feels hurt and angry about that, but he is scared to tell on them.

When he sniffs, he sees trees turning into little beings, and they try to teach him self-defence (karate) and self-discipline, but he does not know what they mean by that. These faces also teach him how to do Karate. He usually goes back to his room after to try out the Karate lessons he had received from these 'faces'. When he cannot do it, he becomes frustrated and angry because he was not able to grasp these skills. So he goes back into the bush to sniff again and to seek help from the 'faces'.

I mentioned that 'self-discipline' could mean protection for himself from being hurt from these guys, and that could be why he sees 'images' or 'faces' teaching him Karate. He said that he knows in his heart that his mind is fighting with him (imbalance).

I told him that he was very smart and very aware of himself, and that his lack of faith in himself and his insecurity is due to his loneliness. I told him that he would know how to protect himself, and that sometimes our minds are powerful. When you are guided by negative energy, you will be in trouble. When you try to keep up positive thoughts, your self-esteem grows and you get strong to resist negativity.

Concern about his brothers (7.) and (11.)

He said that his impression is that his brothers approve of his behaviour and seem to copy it, and he feels bad about that. He is tired and frustrated about being self-destructive for escaping from reality, and he wants to stop that. It is very hard to stay on the good path. He knows he could say 'no' 7 times, but the negativity outweighs his positive thoughts most of the time.

I told him that his mentioning of 7 times is very powerful and that he should keep on trying and not give up. I told him that I could understand his difficulties because he is very vulnerable at this time.

School

He used to be in school, but he had to leave and was told he could only come back when he talked to the principal. He has not bothered with that yet. The reason for his suspension from school was that he lost his temper and was kicking a garbage can in the hallway. He mentioned that he's frustrated that he cannot control his anger inside, that he explodes easily and loses his temper. He considers himself very sensitive. Sometimes he is gas-sniffing only because he gets angry that he didn't get any money.

I told him that parents sometimes feel that they protect their child when they don't give him any money, but, of course, it is also frustrating when he feels he is not trusted, yet, maybe it is not the money he really needs.

Comments by the counsellor:

I mentioned about my own experience with pain, shyness and insecurity and the need to be loved. I told him that I did crazy things myself, just to belong to a group. But I realized that my family was hurting, and by that I realized that they cared. I used to take alcohol when I was scared to do presentations or to talk to people, because I felt brave after. But I got also scared to get addicted and to harm myself with this substance. And I wanted to be strong, and be proud of myself. So, eventually, I took the risk to do the talks and presentations without alcohol. I just believed that I could do it. I told him he might entrust himself in the spirit and pray hard, believe in himself.

On January 20, 1997, the client (10.) together with his brother (7.) had to go to court for charges laid on him half a year before. Both were sentenced for a time in jail and were taken out of the community to the correctional facility in Monteith.

APPENDIX 4

Journal on Activities in the Safe House

From the time of the opening of the Safe House (August 1) to September 10, 7 clients were brought to us by the police. There were 4 males and two females. One of the males was brought here twice. We had one counselling session with four of the clients (who were ready to talk) and filled out four questionnaires. We started a journal once we heard the rumour that the Council was accusing us of not doing our work because we did not have too many clients in the house. We want to point out that we do not have any influence on the number of clients brought here, but that it is up to the police if they bring them here or to prison. We repeatedly asked the police to bring the clients here.

September 10, 1996

15:00

Talk on the phone to concerning her son (2.). (2.) is a chronic sniffer. He was scheduled for the hospital several times but either did not show up, or, when he was brought there by the police, he walked out again. We felt that something had to be done to help (2.), although legally our hands were tied.

(2.) was supposed to get a check-up at the hospital, but he did not show up. Jackie wanted to know what the matter was. His mother was defensive and a bit aggressive on the phone, telling Jackie that her son was still sleeping.

Jackie phoned at the hospital to ask what to do with (2.). His appointment to see doctor Nielson was rescheduled to next morning.

Jackie phoned back at his mother's to inform about the rescheduling.

23:30

A male sniffer (1.) was brought in by the police for the second time. A guard was present. After eating, the client went directly to bed. No disturbing incidences during the night.

September 11, 1996

9:30

Short counselling session by Jackie with the client (1.) before he was dismissed. He explained that he was bored and would like to do more traditional activities. He showed his interest to take part in a camping trip organized by the Safe House. He also took the phone # of the Safe House in order to contact us if he

felt that he needed to talk to somebody.

11:30

Jackie checked in the hospital (by phone) if (2.) had shown up. He had not. Jackie then phoned the father who said that he had informed the police to pick (2.) up. When Jackie suggested that he should accompany his son, he said that he had to babysit and that his wife was out berry picking.

12:00

In order to get some advice, Jackie phoned at John Hookimaw's, an elder and former councillor, who suggested that somebody talk to (2.) directly to tell him that he needed help. The parents were overloaded already.

12:15

Jackie phoned back at (2.)'s father to suggest that he comes to the Safe House for lunch (after inquiring what he would like to eat). He agreed on a counselling session.

15:45

Jackie had prepared hamburgers and fries and brought it over to (2.) trying to get him to the hospital by 16:30 and to start counselling on his sniffing problem.

(2.) stayed in his room and was not receptive. He accepted the food though. Neither Jackie nor the police that came could talk to him. The police constable came out after five minutes. When asked by Jackie how it went he answered: "I told him to come out now because I don't have time the whole day".

Jackie heard from the father that M frequently argues with the police. He argues "like a lawyer", which the police constable confirmed, and the police therefore does not get too much involved.

(2.) also is talking about a big white book he sees that is ripped into half and he had to bring to the federal government to be fixed. This 'vision' would be worth examining. For now, we leave it like that and try again tomorrow to get in contact with the sniffer.

(1.) was present as well. After one remark of (2.)'s father, about sniffers, he left the house, however, he returned right away through the other door, going to a room and playing with the gun. Jackie wondered what this action was about and did not dare to go to this room. She observed that police had just arrived and wondered later if this action had anything to do with their arrival.

September 12, 1996

10:45

Phone call by Jackie at Payukotayno Attawapiskat about material the former child care worker might have left. After Norbert had finished reading the Round Lake Report on Attawapiskat, which we

had received from the health director, Jackie went through the report, trying to salvage some of the information the report was referring to (like the material of the child care worker). Although none of the material could be recovered, the phone call with the present child care worker was very positive and showed cooperation from that side.

Jackie had also talked to the Public Health Nurse several days before for solvent abuse material. She had given some little brochures to the health director. The brochures are very general and do not contain detailed information. We do, however, not phone the PHN again, because she only wants to talk to the health director, and any more phone calls might be interpreted as harassment.

This is not true with other hospital staff who are very cooperative.

September 13 (Friday!), 1996

10:25

Phone call from that her son (2.) had been brought to jail. She would like us to go over and try to talk to him while he was there. Maybe, this time we get through to him.

10:30

Jackie phoned at the hospital to get another appointment for (2.). The Mental Health Worker agreed that she would talk to Dr. Nielson.

We also tried to phone the child care worker if she could come with us to visit (2.) in jail. Unfortunately, she was busy as there was no answer.

10:40

The Mental Health Worker phoned back, saying that she could not confirm an appointment. She said that she had talked to (2.) already and that he had taken off when the police came. She felt it was useless at the moment to talk to him because he himself did not want to talk. According to the police, where she phoned before, he was save in his cell, not being in danger to hurt himself.

We had the impression that we should not visit him but wait until he asked for it.

The action taken by the hospital before, talking to the client although he did not seem to be ready for it, was due to the deputy chief who demanded action from the hospital (forced them to do something, according to the hospital staff).

10:45

Norbert and Jackie went to see (2.) in jail. The visit lasted 20 minutes.

Conditions in jail: There was no light. We had to take a flashlight with us in order to find the cell (2.) was in. The 'prisoner', who was brought in for sniffing, was lying on a thin

mattress on the floor. From the office around the corner you could hear loud music which sort of disturbed the conversation. The 'prisoner' was held for 24 hours.

Talk with (2.): The language spoken was Cree. The talk was altogether positive, but it will need many more outreaches on our side for the solvent abuser to really trust us. He does not trust the institutions and does not feel that the people there understand him. He said he would not go to the hospital again because he was offended by their suggestion to send him to a psychiatric hospital. He does not consider himself crazy. Jackie was telling him about a similar case, where the solvent abuser was treated for his hallucinations. That does not mean that anyone is crazy. Jackie also suggested to Moses to take part in one of our trips out on the land. He was not accepting yet, saying that he knew how to live on the land but had not been out for quite a while. Jackie suggested he could show other youth how to live on the land.

Another suggestion was that he would be dropped off at the Safe House when he was released from prison in order to get a meal. We also suggested that he could come by any time to sleep over, to talk and to eat.

11:50

(2.)'s mother phoned again. She said that she consented to the police to write up charges against him so that he could be sent out to a facility to receive the help he needed. She also asked Jackie to make lunch and bring it to (2.) in jail. Jackie delivered the food with a note to (2.) that he could phone us when he needed support.

12:10

Anita Ward phoned with suggestions of setting up a parent support group. Several phone calls followed where Jackie talked to parents about a first meeting of the support group.

15:55

Phone call by concerning her son (6.). She told about (6.)'s sniffing history. It started in June. He came home once in a while just to change or when he was hungry. She had asked him if the people he hung around with could not feed him. When she got him home once he became agitated, angry and was swearing in his room. When somebody came in he took off. She ran after him but he threatened to hit her with a rod. So she left him alone. He came back two hours later. She was so angry that she told him to get the hell out - he left again. When he came back, she told him again to leave because he didn't listen - he left again and did not come home before 5:00. This time he said that he felt bad and would listen from now on and behave. He stayed home for four days, but he started sniffing again.

She phoned his father, who took him out hunting and camping to Akimiski (for one week now).

Jackie encouraged the mother that it was good that both parents took care of (6.) and help out.

The mother seemed overwhelmed and frustrated.

Jackie gave her the option to join the support group. (6.) could also come and sleep over. Maybe he would confide in Norbert who used to be his teacher in grade 6.

The mother remembered that (6.) was once sent home from school. He admitted that he had problems but told her that she would not understand and maybe just laugh at him or insult him.

James Jacasum (NNADAP) had made an appointment for October to send (6.) out for treatment.

(6.) himself wanted to go for treatment. Jackie gave encouragement again by saying that the treatment might help (6.) to open up and to be able to cope with his problem and to try to break the habit of sniffing.

In the end the mother mentioned again that maybe Norbert could talk to (6.) because (6.) might trust Norbert, as he trusted him while he was his student.

Monday, September 16, 1996

10:10

Phone call by (2.)'s father. His son just came home from sniffing. The parents were desperate. (2.) was supposed to be sent out by the police, but they could not do it over the weekend. The father had tried to get in contact with the police, but did not get through. He asked if we could also try to get through to the police.

10:30

Jackie got through to the police. The constable explained the situation. The police was stuck with an administrative problem and (2.) probably could not be sent out.

Due to the desperate situation of the parents we tried to come up with a solution and came up with the suggestion that (2.) be brought to the Safe House with a guard (preferably the one who works on a medicine thesis). After (2.) had slept off his intoxication we would try a counselling session.

10:43

Phone call at (2.)'s father to talk about our suggestion. He liked the idea and would try to talk the police into picking (2.) up and bring him to the Safe House. The father was also confused about the situation. Of course he wanted to give his son the help he needs. When the constable picked up (2.) last time to bring him to the hospital he had told the father that as soon as (2.) was delivered at the hospital, the chances of charging him, which would be the prerequisite to be able to send him to a facility, would be nil. The procedure

for the Safe House, however, requires for the client to be seen by a nurse before he can be admitted to the Safe House. The father said he would phone the police to pick up (2.) and bring him to the Safe House. If police was not cooperative, he would try to get peace keepers to do the job.

11:35

Phone call to from mental health in Moosonee to discuss the problem of charging sniffers to send them out to treatment.

We cannot depend on justice system. was talking about a case study where a 12 year old sniffer was constantly charged for sniffing, sent out to treatment etc. He ended up in prison for life for murder. Is that what we want?

We have to start teaching the endangered youth about their own culture and roots. We have to start to look at the problem from a cultural/psychological angle, not merely depend on the justice system.

Jackie was also talking about the talk of us getting terminated in the job. was shocked expressing the necessity that there were people working on the sniffing problem who had the training and understanding of the concepts involved with this psychological problem. Who would take over when we were terminated? There is nobody in Attawapiskat with the credentials.

14:25

Phone call from (2.)'s mother that the police did not want to pick him up. (2.) had come home shortly to change his shoes. With the remark that nobody would get through to him, he left again, probably sniffing in the bush behind the cemetery.

We tried to find a solution again, trying to involve the peace keepers. Although wanting to go out and try to talk to (2.), Jackie was scared that he might get violent when we do not have a back-up.

14:40

Phone call at a peace keeper's to ask for help by the peace keepers. The peace keeper confirmed that there was friction when the sniffers were brought to jail. She tried to reach peace keepers that would phone here.

15:00

Phone call at the police. Talk to Wes Luloff if we could have a guard in case peace keepers bring sniffers. There was no objection by NAPS. The Attawapiskat police supervisor was in town. We agreed on the case (2.) not to take any action yet, because there was a gun involved. The police would take him into custody for several days and we could come over when he was detoxicated to talk to him. Maybe we would get through to him this time.

21:35

Phone call by the police if we could bring food over for the sniffer they had in custody. We made spaghetti. The client in jail was (6.). We did not have an opportunity to talk to him because shortly after eating, (6.) was picked up by his father.

Tuesday, September 17, 1996

9:00

Phone call by (2.)'s mother who wondered where her daughter was. She said that (2.) had stayed home last night. We keep in touch.

9:10

Phone call by the health director. He made an advance to evaluate the facility. He demanded the files on the clients who were staying here and he told us that there were not enough clients. Jackie tried to explain that this was out of our hands. The police picks up the clients and they decide if they have to be brought to jail or into the Safe House (when clients are violent or when weapons are involved). The health director did not want to hear about that, still insisting that there were not enough clients.

Jackie also tried to tell him that we were in contact with the parents. He also did not want to listen when Jackie told him that the files contained confidential information which we could not share with anybody unless we wanted to lose the trust some parents had in us already.

The health director also wanted the names of the sniffers we took out on the trip 'by ourselves'.

We did write a report to the council at that time, yet we kept the names confidential.

9:15

Jackie phoned at the band office to talk with the deputy chief. The deputy chief phoned back right away. She said that she was at the meeting with peace keepers and police last night and was talking to Jackie about the concern of what peace keepers can do or cannot do without police involvement. Jackie suggested that the peace keepers were employed by the First Nation, not by NAPS and that we maybe could find a solution.

9:25

Phone call at a lawyer in Timmins (free consultation) about handing out client's files to our boss. The lawyer confirmed that the files, containing confidential information, could not be given out.

11:00

Phone call at NAPS station in Attawapiskat. We invited the police chief over to discuss our cooperation with the police and how to involve the peace keepers.

He came over shortly after.

He explained the situation of the police that they had to follow certain procedures. There is no by-law concerning the peace keepers' involvement in the sniffing problem. For now, their involvement has to go through the police.

We agreed that the police had to follow certain procedures and that we understood their situation. NAPS agreed that we would be informed if clients were picked up and that we would have access to counselling them in jail. The less dangerous cases would still be brought to the Safe House. There is absolute understanding between the police and the Safe House on this. We all agreed that building up a work relationship and trust on the parents' side would not happen overnight, but that we were starting to make things roll.

NAPS also confirmed the way files were handled. Files by the police constables were not handed out. What they did was to write a report on the issues and concerns, not mentioning the names.

We are sure that we can cooperate with the police in the future. Both parties know that we have different approaches and that things have to be like that. Despite the different approaches, which come with the different jobs, we can work together.

12:00

Norbert brought food over to jail for the sniffer (7.) who was held there for charges related to sniffing last night. Norbert also made an attempt to talk to (7.). (7.) was very shy, but at least the communication line is open now. This is also an example of how cooperation with the police can work in the future. It was NAPS's suggestion that we could talk to (7.); we were asked to come over.

Things are starting to work.

At the police station Norbert was also talking to the guard about taking sniffers out for hunting trips. Norbert and Jackie would take two sniffers on the trip during cultural leave. The guard would go with two locals, also talking two sniffers with them. We will coordinate our efforts and write a report after.

afternoon

Jackie was talking to mental health and NNADAP about starting a support group for elders and sniffers. The time for the meeting was set at 11:00 on Wednesday, September 18. Parents were informed.

15:00

Jackie went to the band office to inform the health director that he could not have the files due to their confidentiality. Jackie went in to inform the health director about the files. Although he still insisted to get the files because he is 'part of the team' Jackie told him she could not hand out the files.

17:00

Visit by the elder John Mattinas who talked about the meetings concerning the building of the treatment centre and the Solvent Abuse Committee.

Wednesday, September 18, 1996

9:10

The NAPS coordinator knocked at the door inquiring about today's meeting with the parents and if the police would be kept out. We told him that this was a parent support group meeting, but of course he police could attend. He knew about the meeting by the peace keepers coordinator. We had the feeling that somebody must have told him that we wanted to keep the police out.

9:20

The police phoned that there were two sniffers, (2.) and the girl (8.), kept in jail. We went over to bring them breakfast and to attempt to talk to them again. (2.) was still cautious and avoided to talk too much. (8.) agreed to come over to the Safe House when she needed to talk. We will continue trying to get through to (2.).

11:00

Meeting with Mental Health, NNADAP, local Payukotayno, one elder and one parent for forming a support group. The meeting went well. We agreed on a soft approach towards the parents. Only one parent had shown up although two others had agreed to come. The people are still too shy about the issue to come on their own. We will have to work on the outreach.

Thursday, September 19, 1996

Desperate phonecall by (2.)'s mother about bloodshed in her house. When there was trouble at 4:00 she phoned the police already. The police had not shown up. At 7:00 a fight between brothers had escalated.

We phoned the police, but nobody answered. We ran to the police chief's place to tell him about the situation and we phoned the ambulance and the peace keepers. When we arrived at (2.)'s house shortly after. The peace keepers were already there providing First Aid.

What happened:

(2.) and his brother were arguing about gas. The argument escalated into a fight until there was blood all over and (2.)'s brother was lying on the floor. (2.) got arrested by the police. Conclusions: I cannot help but write up a short analysis of the situation. This outbreak of violence was supposed to happen and we warned about it. Jackie was talking to everybody involved (deputy chief, health director) that peace keepers should be involved picking up gas-sniffers because they can act differently

than the police due to their different job description and due to sniffers being afraid of the police. When the Safe House was about to open, everybody was stressing that sniffers need counselling and should not be thrown into a cell. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the House's operation we were not even told when a sniffer was picked up. Somebody must have given the police directions to throw sniffers into jail. I suppose this because when we were finally talking to the police they were very cooperative. I did not see a problem there. Yet, there is still the opinion around that sniffers should just be thrown in a cell. Nobody really seemed to want to do anything.

We were organizing parents and care givers meanwhile and took some action at least, but we did not have any authority. We realized in the two talks we had with (2.) that he was hurting very much and therefore had shut down completely. In order for him to open up, a very gentle approach had to be applied. Now things escalated.

8:00

Jackie phoned a councillor to talk to him about this situation. He said that the council were talking about that the day before and had decided to set up a committee to deal with the problem. Meanwhile things are getting worse and worse. If the sniffers are continuously handled in the rough way they are handled, with the excuse that they are violent, violence will increase altogether.

9:30

We invited the parents and several elders to the band office for an emergency meeting and to support the parents who were afraid that the violence will continue as soon as their son was released from prison. Deputy chief and councillors present were asked to join the meeting. The chief could not attend because he was busy. The meeting was chaired by Jackie Hookimaw-Witt. The plenum of the meeting tried to find a solution about what to do with (2.). immediately. Jackie could talk the hospital into seeing (2.). for a psychological assessment the same week. The parents agreed that (2.). had to be taken out of the community for his own and the community's protection.

12:30

Directly after the meeting, Norbert and Jackie were asked to the health director's office. Norbert went there in presence of the councillor Gabriel Fireman. He was told that their job as Safe House couple was terminated by the Council. The job as Safe House couple was terminated and would be posted. However, Norbert and Jackie should, on recommendation of the health director, apply again. Norbert thanked but refused. When the Council, as representatives of the people of Attawapiskat wanted the House Couple to be dismissed, it had to be accepted. There was obviously no trust in their work on the side of the Council.

The health director asked Norbert several times to reconsider, but with the posting of the job, the present House Couple was dismissed and this fact had to be acknowledged in Norbert's opinion. Norbert said, however, that Jackie and he would work until the job was posted and a replacement was found or, at the latest, until the end of October.

19:00

The girl (8.), the one we had visited in jail and had offered help whenever she needed to talk to somebody, came to the Safe House with a friend (9.). Both girls had obviously sniffed but had not been heavily intoxicated.

The two girls had also asked if they could sleep over. The parents were informed and asked for their consent.

We were asking for a female guard, who was not available, so Jackie stayed up until 4:00 to make sure that the girls were alright.

Friday, September 20, 1996

The two girls slept until 10:00. Jackie was talking to them more and they opened up more and more. There was trust built up in a relatively short time. The girls were in and out of the house, talking and playing games, and had asked if they could stay over again. Jackie asked them to stay away from gasoline, because the smell gave her a headache. The girls promised to do so.

The example with the two girls shows how we would like the Safe House to function in the future. The ideal situation is when sniffers come on their own to talk and seek help. We are hoping that this will increase.

23:00

The two girls came over to sleep here again. This time we got a female guard who stayed on next morning when we left for the bush for cultural leave.

Cultural leave until Monday, September 30

Wednesday, September 25

21:00

The two girls came over after we had just arrived, asking for Jackie. Jackie was not in yet.

Shortly after, Jackie met the under age girl's (9.) parents who told her that her daughter should come home.

When Jackie talked to the girls, they went home, not sniffing that evening. (note: (9) is (2)'s sister)

Thursday, September 26

19:00

Phone call by the police if we could provide supper for two sniffers that had been brought to jail. Norbert went over, delivering the supper.

Friday, September 27

17:00

Phone call by the police if we would like to talk to the sniffer (10.) who would be released shortly. Jackie asked if he could be brought over to the Safe House.

The police delivered him shortly after and Jackie had a long counselling session with him. (Counselling session is on file). (10.) opened up, yet he did not show up at night to watch movies.

22:00

The two girls (8 and 9) came over warning Jackie that somebody was spreading rumours about us to their parents that we would talk publicly about them beating their children. Jackie phoned the parents and the one that was spreading the rumours. It turned out that the one spreading the rumours had told Jackie something that she supposedly had told him.

Saturday, September 28

23:00

The two girls came over again to talk. Jackie promised to look for money to buy (8) sneakers so that she could return to school.

Sunday, September 29

18:50

(8.)'s father phoned, threatening Jackie about what she was supposedly spreading about him. Even though Jackie tried to tell him that she never said anything and that it actually was exactly the other way around, that something was said about us, (8.)'s father did not understand and threatened to take Jackie's life.

19:30

Report to the police about what had happened. We decided not to press charges, but, for our own safety, to put the incidence on the police report.

20:00

Jackie phoned the health director who was in Timmins, reporting about the incidence and hoping he would work on it when he returned to Attawapiskat the following day. After all, he is our employer, having to look after the safety of his employees.

21:00

Phone-call at the police again, after Jackie saw (8.)'s father walking around in the village. This time she asked the police to try to talk to (8.)'s father because she was scared he would

follow up on his threat.

I cannot help but comment on this incidence. It seems to be usual here that when rumours are spread that you believe them no matter what, and once you made up your mind you just hit in any direction, because, of course, you cannot be mistaken.

We will draw the consequences from this incidence, asking for leave now. The letter for the acceptance of the dismissal was written to the Council already, saying that we will stay on until the end of the month. If a job for \$12,000.00 a year where on top you do not get paid (our back pay from March to now) is life threatening, however, each of us can do without it. As this is not our mistake, we will ask pay for the end of October.

Monday, September 30, 1996

8:00

After a long talk with Jackie, we decided to stay on until the end of October.

The police informed us that they had not found (8.)'s father the night before, yet, the emotions had cooled off meanwhile.

Nevertheless, we expected the health director to follow-up as soon as he would come back to the community at lunch.

Jackie met the chief at the store. The chief had told her that (8.)'s father should be dismissed from the council.

16:00

The chief phoned that he would be available for an interview on camera for the documentary on Wednesday.

No visitors that day.

Tuesday, October 1, 1996

10:00

Phone-call at Labour Code of Canada. Talking to Peter Jacony(?) about our dismissal.

Peter Jacony phoned the band office shortly after, talking to the health director.

11:00

Phone call by Mr. Jacony concerning his conversation with the health director. The health director had told him that we had been in the Safe House since January and that he had dismissed us for reporting to the Council instead of reporting to him (lack of cooperation). Mr. Jacony informed us that we were eligible for back pay, and that we could turn to him in case of any more problems.

14:00

Jackie saw our job posted at the store. Applications should be

sent to the health director. We were still waiting for our written dismissal. No visitors that day.

Wednesday, October 2, 1996

8:30

Norbert left for the interview with the chief in the delta (goose camp). Jackie stayed to tend the Safe House.

10:20

The health director came over with the interim deputy chief, checking up if we were still in the Safe House. He said that we were not dismissed yet, however, he would have the power to do so. He accused Jackie to be confrontational and uncooperative and asked why Norbert was not "at work". He was yelling at Jackie, obviously trying to intimidate her. The interim deputy chief told Jackie in Cree that she had only come to check if somebody was still in the house.

The health director was accusing Jackie of lying about the threat because he believed the councillor who had said he had never uttered this threat. He did not find it necessary to clear the situation, as Jackie had suggested, by meeting all the parties involved and find out what actually happened. For him, this case was closed. He solved the problem by stating that the threat had never taken place. Jackie felt that her employer did not care about her safety.

At the goose camp, the chief had brought up the issue again and had told Norbert that he would ask for an investigation of this case. If it would turn out that the councillor had actually uttered this threat, the chief would recommend the councillor's resignation.

20:00

(8.) came over with laundry of her family that she asked if it could be washed. Jackie agreed for this time, saying that we would not be able to do that in the future, as there was a laundromat business in town.

Thursday, October 3, 1996

16:30

Norbert went to the band office picking up a form for the funds Jackie needed for (8.)'s request to purchase new sneakers for the school.

18:00

(8.) came over to pick up her laundry.

20:00

(8.) and (9.) came over to talk with Jackie. After the talk, (8.) asked if she could talk in front of the camera, which she did, talking about her experience with the Safe House. This time they had also brought another friend, (12.) with them. After the interview on camera, Jackie was playing "Sorry" with the girls for relaxation. The girls had suggested to Jackie to buy crochet needles and yarn for the girls for activities in the Safe House.

The three girls stayed over night. We received a consent form from (9.)'s parents for the stay over night, because (9.) is still under age.

Friday, October 4, 1996

The girls were sleeping all morning.

16:00

Jackie phoned at the band office for a purchase order to buy supplies for the Safe House. Among the supplies were food and the crocheting material for the girls.

17:40

The police brought a sniffer, (11.) and a guard to the Safe House. (11.) was shy at the beginning. After eating his soup and sandwich he was lying on the couch watching T.V. and sleeping in between. Norbert was preparing Souflaki meanwhile inviting everybody for dinner.

19:00

Late dinner. After dinner (11.) opened up playing cards with the guard and Jackie and showing a drawing of his he had with him.

21:00

The three girls came in starting their crocheting. Even (11.) got interested and took up a needle. (12.) turned out to be quite an expert. (12.) and (8.) showed Jackie how to crochet. (9.) did not involve herself directly in the activity, but she was observing. She seemed a bit depressed and when asked by Jackie she just said that she was sad, not wanting to talk about it. She went home at 23:30 because she had laundry to do the following morning. The other two girls stayed over. None of the three girls were intoxicated that evening. We told (11.) that he could come to the Safe House any time he feels like talking or relaxing.

The guard reported a little incidence the next morning. She had found (11.) in (8.)'s room when she was checking up.

Saturday, October 5, 1996

11:00

Jackie had a talk with (8.) about the incidence, telling her that she would jeopardize the Safe House.

13:00

The girls left the house.

15:00

Norbert had gone out with the documentary film maker, encountering three sniffers in the bush (1., 13., and 5.). Norbert talked to them shortly asking them to come to the Safe House instead of sniffing outside. Norbert later informed the police of the whereabouts of the three. Obviously they had stopped their activities for the day because the police did not encounter them. However, none of them showed up at the Safe House.

16:30

(11.) came in for a visit. He was clean that day. He was talking to Norbert for a while, showing another picture he had drawn. Norbert was giving him some tips in drawing.

17:00

(11.)'s father came in for an interview for the documentary. After the recording on camera, we were talking to (11.)'s father. He consented for (11.) to stay over that night. (11.) also said some words in the camera and left shortly after, saying that he would return that night.

18:30

(11.) came back bringing a friend with him. We informed the parents that they were here. The three girls came shortly after, crocheting and playing "Sorry" with the boys.

18:50

(11.)'s brother, (7.) who Norbert had visited in prison, showed up and joined the group for a while.

19:10

The elder John Mattinas came for a visit. He was pleased seeing all the youth in the house and greeted each of them personally. (9.) went home again at 12:00.

That night we could not get a guard and Jackie stayed up until 4:00 to watch the youth.

Sunday, October 6, 1996

4:20

(11.) asked Norbert to sit with them for a while. The youths were scared a bit because the door to the laundry room had opened all of a sudden, and, as they had had similar experience already in (8.)'s house, they thought there was a spirit in the house.

(11.) went to bed shortly after. Norbert and Jackie were sitting with the girls until 6:00, smudging and talking about the girls' experience.

6:00

Everybody went to bed.

11:00

Norbert and Jackie got up preparing food for the youth. They had a late breakfast at 11:30 and left the house shortly after.

18:00

(11.) came back with his friend. We informed the parents again and got their consent that they could sleep over again. Some little girls, Jackie's nieces, had been over already for a visit.

18:40

(8., 12. and 9.) showed up, joining in the activities. (9.) still seemed a bit depressed, yet, she was still not ready to talk about it.

Conrad Iahtail from the drum group showed up shortly after. We were talking with him about the possibility for the drum group to come over one night and drum for the youth in the house.

We tried to get a guard for that night but were not able to get one. It became a long night for us again.

19:30

The two boys retreated to their room. The door to the room's hallway was open, so we could watch the activities in the room's tract of the house.

19:40

Norbert saw that somebody was let into the house through the back door. He checked the boys' room and found (5.) with them.

Norbert told (5.) that he was welcome in the house, but that he should check in through the front door so that we know what was going on in the house. Our procedure is also that if gasoline smell is detected that the client has to be seen by the hospital first before being admitted to the house. Also, the parents have to be notified.

Although (5.) left shortly after, we saw it as a good sign that he had shown up voluntarily.

Having had no guard available for that night we had to stay up again until 6:00 the next morning to watch the youth in the house. The police had not found a guard for that night, and the peace keepers only work until 2:00.

Again, none of the youth who had come was smelling of gasoline. That means that the girls had been clean for two weeks now. They had shown up almost every day ever since we had visited (8.) in jail.

Monday, October 7, 1996

9:00

Norbert and Jackie got up, not being able to sleep that night.

12:00

The youth had breakfast and left the house shortly after.

19:00

(8. and 12.) came by again. As they are of legal age we did not need a consent form for them to sleep over. Nevertheless, they wanted to talk about their problems and we stayed up until 3:00 next morning.

Tuesday, October 8, 1996

12:30

The two girls left the house again. We could catch up with our office work.

19:00

(8. and 12.) came back. Again they were crocheting and talking. Later in the evening they suggested that they would help us looking for sniffers in the bush and trying to bring them to the Safe House.

22:00

Jackie and the two girls went out looking for sniffers. They came back with (14.) who they had picked up in the bush. (14.) had run away first but could be persuaded by the girls to come to the Safe House.

He was not highly intoxicated. Nevertheless, he was seen by the hospital and we got a consent form from the father that he could sleep over.

Again we asked the police for a guard but could not get one for that night.

We had to stay up again until early morning.

Wednesday, October 9, 1996

11:00

Breakfast.

The youth left the house again shortly after.

18:00

(8.) and (12.) came back.

18:40

(14.) came in voluntarily. He brought (5.) and (13.) with him. (5.) and (13.) stayed until 23:00. (14.) stayed over night again. None of the youth was smelling of gasoline.

Having no guard available we stayed up again.

Thursday, October 10, 1996

11:00

Breakfast. The girls left shortly after. (14.) stayed for a while to talk before he left as well.

18:00

(8., 9., and 12.) came back to the house. They were crocheting again and talking to each other. Jackie sat with them.

18:30

(11.) showed up, standing in the porch. When Norbert asked him why he did not come in, he first said that there were too many girls. Then he said he was embarrassed because his jacket smelled of gasoline. He said that his brother had worn the jacket that day. Norbert suggested that he took off the jacket and it would be washed. (11.) himself did not smell of gasoline, so he could be admitted.

We informed (11.)'s father and he consented again that (11.) could sleep over.

19:00

Joel Wesley, the school's Native Studies teacher came over for a visit, bringing special "moss-tea" with him. We let the youth try the tea.

Jackie joined the youth group again.

As (9.) wanted to stay over that night, she went home to get a consent form from her parents.

We stayed up that night again because we did not get a guard.

Friday, October 11, 1996

4:30

We could go to bed after everybody went to bed. Norbert and Jackie could not sleep that night being concerned that there was no guard.

10:00

Joel Wesley came over for a guitar session. The youth had got up and were listening.

11:00

Joel Wesley was talking about the medicine wheel and traditional teachings for almost two hours. The youth were listening, leaving at around 14:00. They said they would come back at 18:00 for the drummers.

The same day the drum group was scheduled to drum for the youth.

16:00

Conrad Iahtail came over to inform us that the drum group was cancelled. They had been scheduled for drumming for the youth and to give a short demonstration and interview on camera. We were told that that is why they could not show up, because they were careful with cultural exposure, drumming for a camera.

20:00

(8. and 12.) showed up, bringing another friend, (15.), with them. They were crocheting again, still trying to teach Jackie.

23:00

(15.) left. (8. and 12.) suggested they would go out for an hour again to look for other sniffers.

23:30

The girls returned without having found sniffers in the bush. Jackie stayed up with them until 3:00 the next morning counselling them with their problems.

Saturday, October 12, 1996

3:00

Jackie went to bed.

11:00 breakfast. The girls left shortly after.

17:00

(14. and 13.) came for a visit. They retreated to a room after having had some dinner, listening to music.

21:00

(8. and 12.) came back, also retreating to their room.

(14. and 13.) went home shortly after. We were wondering why (11.) had not returned and got the information that he had gone hunting with his grand father.

No other incidences that night.

Sunday, October 13, 1996

13:00

(8. and 12.) left shortly after brunch.

18:00

(8. and 12.) returned with two of their friends, one of them being (15.) They were listening to music.

(8. and 12.) stayed over again. The other two girls went home at around 23:00.

Monday, October 14, 1996 (Thanksgiving)

13:00

(8. and 12.) left again.

It was quiet during the day.

18:00

Three drummers showed up surprisingly. Unfortunately there were no clients for this session. The drummers promised to come back the following week (Wednesday), as they would like to involve the clients in drumming to keep them away from sniffing.

21:00

Relatively late, (8. and 12.) showed up. Jackie went out with them again to look for sniffers in the bush. The weather was pretty bad with rain, snow and cold. They did not bring any sniffers in that night.

Tuesday, October 15, 1996

13:00

(8. and 12.) left the house.

Again it was quiet during the day.

18:00

(8., 12. and 15.) came to the house. (12.) wanted to speak in the camera. As she was shy, she had herself taped together with (8.) The two girls were talking about their activities in the Safe House again and what they plan in the near future. They showed awareness of the role they were growing into, taking responsibilities to reach out to those who were still sniffing.

20:00

(15.) went home. The two other girls went out again looking for sniffers.

No incidences that night.

Wednesday, October 16, 1996

No visitors to the Safe House beside the four little girls who show up once in a while.

Thursday, October 17, 1996

19:00

(8. and 12.) returned, going into the counselling room with Jackie.

20:00

(5.) came over for a short visit, listening to music in the living room. The two girls seemed a bit depressed that night. They too were just listening to music.

(5.) left at 21:00.

We stayed up that night being concerned about the girls.

Friday, October 18, 1996

2:30

(15.) knocked at the door asking for (8.) (15.) was highly intoxicated with gasoline, stammering and staggering. Jackie tried to phone first police and then peace keepers for bringing (15.) to the hospital but did not get through to either of them. We finally phoned in for the ambulance.

When the ambulance arrived shortly after, the ambulance worker expressed his frustrations that he was called in for that case. In front of the intoxicated girl he said that he was not a taxi to be called in for such a case. We tried to talk to him that we had to have sniffers seen by the hospital first before they get admitted to the Safe House, that we did not have a truck ourselves so we could bring her to the hospital, that we were no doctors to be able to assess the situation and that we had tried other routes already by phoning peace keepers and the police. The ambulance worker just got angry explaining us that we did not have any business calling him for a case like that and that we would have to pick up the girl from the hospital.

We also had to tend the house at the same time. (8. and 12.) volunteered to accompany (15.) to the hospital where she was seen by the nurse on duty.

Meanwhile Jackie phoned the mother. The mother told Jackie that we should bring (15.) home after the hospital.

Jackie phoned the police again. This time we could reach a constable who promised to pick (15.) up at the hospital and bring her home.

When we checked by phone at the hospital 20 minutes later, nobody had shown up and the ambulance was not willing to drive her back. We tried to inform the mother and ask her if she could pick up her daughter because she had a truck, but nobody picked up the

phone.

We had to close down the house and go to the hospital ourselves.

(15.) got angry, telling us that she did not want to be brought home because she had had an argument with her mother.

At the hospital we tried to get in touch with police and peace keepers again but did not get a response.

(15.) was meanwhile running out, with (8. and 12.) following her. We had to make a decision fast because (15.) wanted to go back sniffing.

We ran after her. Jackie tried to talk to (15.) (in Cree) to come back to the Safe House, but she ignored everybody heading straight to the bush.

Jackie took her arm directing her to the Safe House. (15.) did not resist. At the Safe House she stayed in the porch, however, repeating again and again that she would go back to the bush sniffing.

Jackie got desperate. Norbert asked her to try it again because he did not believe that the girl actually wanted to go to the bush sniffing. He himself could not do anything because (15.) did not respond to English. After a while (15.) agreed to stay in the porch. Jackie switched off the light. still talking to the girl. After a while, (15.) finally came in. As we did not want to lose her again we promised that she could stay in the Safe House that night. Nevertheless, we wanted to inform the mother about this step, yet, nobody picked up the phone.

Jackie stayed up with the girls until 5:00, calming down (15.) and thanking the other two girls for their support that night.

12:00

The mother came to the Safe House to pick up (15.). She was thanking us that we had taken care of her daughter the night before, understanding our decision why we did not walk her home that night.

15:00

(15.) came by with her mother's truck, inviting the two girls for a ride. She had a short talk with Jackie, thanking her for not letting her go back sniffing the previous night.

16:10

A police constable came over after we had phoned. We were discussing last night's situation and the position we were in, being left alone completely. The constable agreed that the situation was bad and expressed his frustrations that there were no protocols in place the police could follow. He agreed that there should be somebody (health director) to write the protocols and coordinate the efforts of everybody involved. He suggested we call a meeting with everybody.

20:40

(8. and 12.) came back going into the counselling room with Jackie. Shortly after, (5.) knocked at the door asking for (8.).

He was highly intoxicated but he expressed the wish that he could stay at the Safe House. (14.), also intoxicated, was with him. We suppose that (8. and 12.) had picked them up. Jackie tried to explain to the two boys that we had to bring them to the hospital first, but they refused. Jackie got in touch with (14.)'s father. The father suggested that he would pick up his son himself, which he did shortly after. We could not get in touch with (5.)'s mother. As he still did not agree to be brought to the hospital first, we called the police as we were concerned about his health.

21:15

The police picked up (5.) bringing him home. (5.) was angry and frustrated when he left with the police. We asked ourselves if we had made the right decision. Maybe we should have tried harder to talk him into being brought to the hospital first. As we got informed later, his mother suggested to throw him into a cell, which the police did.

23:50

We received a phone call by the police that they would bring (5.) to the Safe House after they had him seen by the hospital.

Saturday, October 19, 1996

00:37

(5.) was brought in by the police. We were told that he had asked to be brought to the Safe House. As our procedure required that he would be seen by the hospital first, he was brought to the hospital prior to being admitted to the Safe House. The guard who came with the police, a medicine student, confirmed that (5.) was highly intoxicated and had had a racing pulse. The hospital had even wanted to keep him overnight, but he was sent to the Safe House because the guard, being the one who had assessed him at the hospital, could also watch him here.

2:00

After having talked to (5.) about the situation before, that he had to be brought to the hospital, and after giving him something to eat and drink, we finally went to bed.

10:15

(5.) was released from the Safe House, picked up by the police.

13:00

(8. and 12.) left the house.

18:00

(8.) came to the Safe House with her younger sister and with (15.) and (15.)'s sister who had been here occasionally. The girls were just relaxing and talking. None of them had a

gasoline smell on them.

22:00

(8.)'s sister left, going home. (12.) showed up. The girls left shortly after, telling us they would pick us up for the wedding dance at 23:00.

23:15

(8., 15. and 12.) came in with a young man. Together we went to the gym for the wedding dance. We stayed until around 1:15. The girls were still staying at the dance.

Sunday, October 20, 1996

2:00

The girls came back bringing (15.) and the young man with them. We told them that (15.) and the young man could visit until 3:00. They all had to stay in the living room.

4:40

Jackie was checking up. She found all four in the room of the girls. She sent (15.) and the young man home, explaining that we cannot tolerate visits any more.

13:50

(8. and 12.) got up having their brunch we had prepared. They left shortly after. Before they left Jackie was talking to them about going back to school. As they have become kind of volunteers in the Safe House already it would be a good idea to finish high school and consider a career in social services.

Monday, October 21, 1996

15:30

Phone-call at NAPS in Sioux Lookout. Talk with Lawrence Martin about how to handle cases with sniffers that are under age. Jackie was referring to the case of (5.), who was first brought into the cell, and then to the hospital. The other concern talked about was the cooperation with the ambulance. The concern again was the missing protocols for everybody involved how to go about in cases like this. The efforts are not coordinated yet. We are considering a meeting with peace keepers, police and Payukotayno to organize the cooperation.

19:00

(8., 15. and 12.) came back to the Safe House. They were going to the room talking.

20:00

(15.)'s sister showed up as well. The girls were playing games in the sitting room.

20:30

We were writing up house rules involving visitors to the Safe House. The Safe House would be closed for visitors at 23:00 and the clients staying in the house would not be able to leave after.

We would also suggest that a guard is available all the time during the night, as the house couple should be able to sleep at night in order to function normal during the day (office work, counselling etc.).

There are no protocols in place to regulate procedures with clients. We try to call a meeting with police, peace keepers, Payukotayno and hospital the following day.

23:00

(15.)'s father showed up to check if his daughter was in the Safe House, as she had told her parents the last few days. He picked up both his daughters.

The other two girls wanted to stay at the Safe House again. Yet, they wanted to go out again to look for sniffers. Jackie was talking to them about the situation, making them aware of the curfew at 23:00. Furthermore, the legalities and dangers of picking up sniffers were discussed with the girls. We will have to regulate this as well in the protocols.

Altogether, we support the role the two girls are growing into, taking up some responsibilities and initiative to help their fellows.

Our next target will be again to convince the two girls (both of them over 18 years of age) to go back to school and complete their high school education. We will have to talk with the school about that issue as well, as these girls would need some special support, at least at the beginning, in order to keep them in school. This issue will be priority!

23:30

The girls decided to go home.

Tuesday, October 22, 1996

10:30

Phone call by Lawrence Martin concerning the age of people who could be brought to a cell. The age is 11 years. For safety reasons the children in jail are, however, to be looked after every 15 minutes by the guard or matron on duty. The same would apply for the Safe House. Lawrence confirmed that the guards hired by NAPS were meant for the Safe House and should be available any time they are needed.

Norbert suggested the meeting with all people involved. Lawrence informed him that Wes Luloff was in town only shortly, but he

would return to Attawapiskat the following Thursday. We would be able to meet him then.

14:55

Norbert went over to the high school, checking out the possibility of (8. and 12.) to go back to school. He was talking to the acting vice principal at the high school who was assuring that there would not be any trouble for the girls to return to school. The academic record and assessment of the two girls would be available the next morning. There was even the possibility for home studies, if the girls still have problems with attendance at the school, yet, this possibility would have to be discussed with the associate director. When the girls did show up again that night we would talk to them again. Norbert agreed with the vice principal to get in contact again the following morning.

19:00

(8., 12., 15.) and (15.)'s sister came back to the Safe House. The two girls who had been here regularly had not slept here for two days, yet, they always come back in the evening. (8.) did not feel well, feeling a bit dizzy.

20:30

We had a late dinner with home made spaghetti, neapolitan style. All our guests, including one older niece of Jackie, ate with us. (8.) went to the hospital shortly after because she still did not feel well.

The other three girls were crocheting again.

As in the weeks before, the girls coming here seemed to have stayed clean, as we did not detect any gasoline odour.

(9.) had not shown up for two weeks now. We were wondering why. At the beginning of her visits, her parents told us their concern that she is hanging out with (8.) too much. They were afraid that (8.) would keep her sniffing. All we realized at the last two visits was that (9.) looked depressed. She did, however, not talk about it. While she was visiting, she did not have a gasoline odour at her.

21:10

(8.) came back to the Safe House. She felt better. The hospital had diagnosed high blood pressure.

23:00

(15.) and her sister were picked up by their father again. We made arrangements with (8. and 12.) that they could go out and return at 0:00, as they are over age. The idea of going back to school is still undiscussed.

Wednesday, October 23, 1996

11:00

Phonecall at the NNADAP worker's office to prepare for the meeting.

The mental health worker was informed as well. As she would fly out on Friday and be away for the whole next week, we will have to hold the meeting on Thursday morning.

17:50

(8.), (12.), and (15.)'s sister came by for a sandwich and left again at 18:45.

21:00

(8. and 12.) came back and stayed overnight. They expressed their wish to take part in the meeting the following day, and that they want to be involved as volunteers.

Thursday, October 24, 1996

9:15

Phone call by Peter Jacony (?) from Labour Canada concerning the termination of our job at the Safe House.

11:00

Meeting with the NNADAP worker, mental health, PHN, and Payukotayno child care worker concerning cooperation with the Safe House. (8. and 12.) were present as well. It was agreed that there are protocols missing which regulate the cooperation among the agencies in cases involving gas sniffers. Another agreement was that none of the agencies involved felt interfered with by the work of the Safe House but supported cooperation with it. As there are no protocols in place we were asked to set them up and give them to the band office for approval. Each participant agreed that the Safe House couple plays an important part in dealing with the solvent abuse problem, and that people working here should have strong counselling skills. The protocols should not hinder their work at the Safe House, but assist it. The mental health worker mentioned that she had referred several clients to the Safe House already when she got to a dead end with her counselling sessions. We said that we would do the same with our counselling. The Payukotayno worker informed the plenum that Payukotayno was just paying home visits that very moment, filling out assessment forms they had developed for that purpose. That would make it easier for everybody to deal with the problem. The NNADAP worker suggested that there should be a curfew by-law by the Council to make it easier for the police to pick up children at night and control the sniffing. We mentioned that anybody could talk to sniffers when they spot them in the bush. This would be better than just ignoring them or just chasing them by police or peace keepers. It might just be the approach why some of them become violent.

We were also suggesting that the two girls who have worked with us in the Safe House would be tied in as volunteer workers, creating a peer counselling group. They had been pretty successful in picking up sniffers, yet we were not backed up in this issue by any by-law or protocol.

The child care worker, the NNADAP, the mental health worker and the PHN representative gave us full support in the issue of writing up those protocols.

We will write them up, give them to health director and Council for approval, hand them to every agency for add-ons and then decide on the next meeting how the final draft would look like. It was also mentioned that the Safe House could be an independent organization that would have access to funds from the private sector. We will write up a proposal and give it to the council. Jackie was also suggesting that we should get gym time for the sniffers that come to the Safe House. We will have to expand our activities if we want to keep the clients interested in this place. The child care worker suggested that we join the prevention worker from Payukotayno who is just organizing gym time for the youth. We will contact the prevention worker to discuss if we could have gym time for the Safe House, or if our clients could join the groups he is organizing.

The meeting was over at 14:30. (15.) had come for a visit with her little son. Everybody left after the meeting.

18:00

(8., 12., and 15.) came back to the Safe House, just relaxing.

19:00

(9.) was phoning, after having stayed away from the Safe House for two weeks. She got charged that morning for joyriding. Her absence from the Safe House she explained by (8.)'s presence there. She said, as her mother had said before, that (8.) is bad influence on her, and that she had new friends now, friends that liked her. Jackie tried to explain that we could not send anybody away from here but that we had to help everybody that showed up. She also explained that (8.) had stayed away from solvents since she had come to the Safe House. We could not send her away now.

We were discussing this situation and would try to solve it. There is more to the story of (9.), we are sure, but we cannot send anybody away from here. (9.) had also warned us that (8.) would be lying and that she was hostile towards Jackie. We do not have any prove of that and we will still work with (8.). If there are defects, we have to try to correct them rather than judging her for that.

On the other hand, we of course also have to try to get (9.) involved in the Safe House again. Jackie will phone her tomorrow when the girls are out of here and try to have a counselling session with E. We have to show her that she is also welcome here and that problems can be solved.

We will not send anybody away but rather try to get people together to talk their problems out.

The girls present at the Safe House were watching TV.

8:30

The four girls were starting to vacuum and clean the house.

9:50

(8., 12., 15.) and her sister left the house saying they would come back later.

10:05

(8.) came in surprisingly. She brought two friends with her (20. and 18). The three girls were talking to Jackie. They got a dinner made by Jackie.

(9.) was telling Jackie that Payukotayno had come over to her house that afternoon, but that she hadn't wanted to talk to them.

10:45

(8., 12, and 15.) came back. The girls were shy with each other. But (8.) was sitting with them after a while, talking.

(15.) went by the girls saying: "who wants to fight me?"

(9., 18., and 20.) left at 11:05, reminded by Jackie that they could come back any time. They left a paper on the table where a cartoon cries: "Help me. Help me!"

There was tension between the two groups. (15. and 12.) remarked that the three other girls had come to spy on them and that they would therefore not sleep over that day. Jackie had told them that nobody is spying out anybody at the Safe House, but that they could also come back whenever they liked.

We will have to watch that no gangs build up in the Safe House. The next attempt we will make is getting the two groups together. We all have to talk this out. This will be the first serious problem solving for our permanent guests.

Friday, October 25, 1996

10:50

(9.)'s mother phoned, asking why we did not have any meetings any more and if we were still working. Jackie told her that we had a meeting the day before. One of the issues was the parents' involvement. It is hard for us to get in touch with the parents when, first we do not know which kids are involved in sniffing (we did not get a list), and when the parents we know and invite to the meetings do not show up or talk to us.

(9.)'s mother also complained that Payukotayno had come to her house and did not want to talk to her. Instead they wanted to talk to her daughter only. (9.) had refused to talk to them. They had been four people. Jackie explained that of course they would have to talk to (9.) herself, because you cannot force help

on anybody. It had to come from the youth themselves. Why (9.) might not have wanted to talk to Payukotayno might have been because there were four people showing up and she was just intimidated by that fact.

Jackie told (9.)'s mother that (9.) had been at the Safe House the day before, talking about that issue. She was reminded that (9.) could come by any time.

Jackie also discussed what activities could be done with the kids. She told the mother that we would work with the prevention worker of Payukotayno concerning gym time for Safe House clients. Jackie was discussing the sniffing problem as also being a social issue for the kids. Kids need to hang out together. They need to be in groups, like adults do too. As there is not much to do in Attawapiskat, the kids hanging out together start sniffing (as expression of their problems) and the adults play bingo together, or cards.

(9.)'s mother mentioned if we could organize something like a pow-wow for the kids. Jackie said that this was a good idea. We had contacted the drummers already, and we could at least start drumming in the Safe House. For Halloween we are planning a little Halloween party.

14:20

We met the band manager to discuss the dispute we have with the health director. We were surprised when he asked us when we would leave the house in order for the band "to finally start operating the Safe House". This approach seems rather odd because not only do the clients and their parents and the other services involved know that this house has been operated for two months now, the council did receive a report about our activities already. The tactics seems to be to ignore the issue. The band manager agreed with us that it will be the clients who suffer when this house will not operate any more and that the better approach would be to solve the problem rather than playing political games. We offered our help (for free!) if our successors needed help in the operation. The band manager agreed that it would be hard to start over again and to rebuild the trust the clients had had in this institution already.

The matter of confidentiality of clients files does not seem to be comprehended by Council and administration because whenever we mention it we meet deaf ears.

16:45

Phone call from the public fundraisers that Jackie could pick up the funds she was asking for our clients (like sneakers for (8.) so that she could attend school again). Jackie was buying gifts for our most frequent clients as appreciation for their work with us.

18:30

(8., 12., and 15.) and her sister came by. Jackie presented the presents; also for (9.) who showed up shortly after. It was

heartwarming to the joy especially in (9.) when she was given her present.

I guess, what most of the clients need is some attention, some feeling that people do care about them.

It feels sort of strange to write this down at this moment when one thinks that officially we do not have clients at all. How mighty is bureaucracy and what actually counts in the end - that something is done about the sniffing problem or that certain political moves are followed? The future will show.

20:00

Phone call by police that a client will be brought in in one hour.

21:00

The guard started his work, waiting for the client.

21:15

(5.) was brought in by the police after having been seen by the hospital. He did not seem highly intoxicated. He joined the three girls in the living room right away.

His father came in shortly after, talking to his son first and then with Jackie (in Cree).

(5.)'s parents do not live together. The mother is presently under investigation for child abuse. (5.) had a bruise at his forehead and he said that he had been tied and hit. The father was inquiring if he could get custody for his son. Jackie promised she would contact Payukotayno about this case, and if it would be possible to keep (5.) here until a decision was made.

21:55

Jackie phoned at Payukotayno discussing the case and finding out what could be done to help in this situation. Payukotayno could solve the problem. The father will get custody.

23:00

(15.) was picked up by her father again. The other two girls left shortly after, not staying overnight that night.

23:40

(11.) and his brother (7.) showed up. There was no gasoline smell, so we could admit them to the house. They stayed until 1:30.

Saturday, October 26, 1996

9:30

(5.) had his breakfast. He went into the counselling room with Jackie after breakfast getting a counselling session for 20 minutes.

His clothes were washed the night before.

10:25

(5.)'s father came in with the police to pick up his son. The guard could leave. (5.) went home with his father.

19:00

(11.) came with his friend for a short visit. He just had some spaghetti and was watching TV. They left after @ 1/2 hour.

19:35

(15. and 12.) came to the Safe House. (8.) came shortly after.

20:10

(5.) came in with his father. His father said that the police was looking for (5.). He had brought him over asking if we would look after him for the night again. Jackie phoned the police asking for a guard for the night. There might be problems with the mother claiming back her son.

We took (5.)'s pulse and found it a bit fast (12 in 10 sec.) and decided to have (5.) seen by the hospital as he had been sniffing in the afternoon. Jackie went to the hospital with (5.) and his father. Norbert waited in the house for the police to drop off the guard.

20:50

The guard appeared to start his job at the Safe House. (5.) came back with Jackie shortly after. (5.) had been assessed in the hospital. He did have a racing pulse, which settled, after he was explained that he could stay with his father. (5.) had been upset because the police had shown up with his mother to reclaim him. That was when he ran out of the house and his father brought him to the Safe House. The police had not been informed by Payukotayno that (5.) had been placed under the care of his father. He had been assessed for bruises the day before. The bruises were supposedly inflicted on him by his mother. The guard and Jackie informed the police what had gone on. (5.) had settled down.

The girls had brought a video (home made) which they were watching in the room. Later they were listening to music.

23:00

Jackie had told the girls to stop with the music as it is in the house rules. (5.) was sleeping already. The girls left the house.

Sunday, October 27, 1996

8:30

We got up preparing breakfast for (5.) and the guard. Jackie was talking to (5.) again. Everything was cleared by then.

9:30

The police picked up (5.) and brought him back to his father.

17:00

Four little girls, among them (8.)'s little sister came for a visit. They were playing with the rocking chair trying to fall over. When they had been reminded by Jackie not to do that, they left shortly after.

18:00

(8.) came by wanting to talk to Jackie. She told her that her sister was complaining that Jackie had looked mean at her. (12. and 15.) came shortly after, first retreating to the room and then watching TV.

23:00

The girls left after they had volunteered to wash the dishes.

Monday, October 28, 1996

1:30

Knock at our bedroom window. The police brought two clients, (5.) and (14.), who had gone to the police to be brought to the Safe House. They had been seen by the hospital before. The police did not provide a guard, because the clients had come voluntarily. Yet they had brought consent forms from the parents. Const. Louttit explained that there would be a guard only if the police picked up the clients. The fact that the clients were brought to the hospital by the police and that the parents were signing consent forms made this matter an official one. We do not understand why we did not get guards. It is also strange that (5.)'s mother had signed the consent form although (5.) had been placed under his father's custody. The police had ignored that fact already the night before.

We admitted both clients, yet there are some questions open:

- How will the band account for this work?

After having talked to the band manager on Friday, we were left with the impression that the band's official opinion was that this house was not opened yet. We had been asked to leave so that this house could be opened. What about the facts that we had been receiving clients for over two months now and that we had worked with the police on that?

- When do we have access to guards?

As we are no robots we would sort of have to sleep at night. I know that the health director thinks otherwise and that he had convinced the council of this strange notion, yet, we are only human beings and function according to our biological limits. We will need guards whenever clients are brought in at night, especially when we were working during the day, seven days a week. The pretext of the Council that we actually do not work does not change these facts.

We would like to have these questions cleared. As we obviously cannot discuss these issues with anybody here, due to the power struggle that is going on, we will write a report to NAN, asking

for some support from there. The fact that we did not leave this place although we did not get paid and on top got only trouble from the 'leaders' will be quoted as our commitment. We saw the need for this house by the clients we received, and we could help many of them. That is why we kept it open. Looking at the clients we received and their growing trust in us (they come voluntarily now) makes it worth the trouble we otherwise received. Should this Safe House ever be officially operational, however, much more commitment towards solving the problem by the leaders would be needed. Nobody can stand the pressure put on the Safe House couple for the last few months and nobody would be able to work 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. I guess, a capable health director would have worked out a schedule for guards and other relieve workers long ago. The attempt on his side to avoid this issue by pretending that we are non existent might impress the Council but it will not convince anybody who ever worked professionally on similar cases. This is certainly not a good example of goal oriented problem solving and casts a bad light on people who are supposed to receive clients from other communities in their possible treatment centre. The practice for critiques who make aware of this kind of mishandling a problem is to dismiss them. We were dismissed already. Will they continue like that or will they eventually try to solve the problem instead? The problem of solvent abuse does not go away by avoiding to cooperate with those who work on the forefront.

The other issue which became obvious tonight is the lack of cooperation by some police constables in the guards issue. How are we supposed to handle these cases when no guards are available? We had checked with Sioux Lookout already and got the information that the guards are for the Safe House, no matter if clients are picked up or come voluntarily. We will have this checked out again.

2:00

We went to bed, checking on the clients several times during the night. The two boys were sleeping soundly. While checking on the boys we realized that there was a strong draft in their room (the first bedroom on the right) although the window was closed. This will have to be fixed. We will report it to the band administration, although we are not sure that anything would be done about it with the report coming from us.

10:15

Phone call by the NNADAP worker that (5.)'s father would come over this morning. The two clients were still sleeping and we decided to let them sleep as they would not be picked up by the police anyways.

10:45

(5.)'s father came to the Safe House asking for his son. He had been informed by the police, after we had phoned the police that

he should be informed. As he only speaks Cree, Jackie was talking to him. She offered that (5.) could sleep over at the Safe House for the next three nights, as at home conditions were very crowded. (5.) seems to think that he could sleep here only when he was sniffing. We do not want to promote this thought. This case would ask for another consideration and protocol for what the Safe House is for and how this could be solved. (5.) is sleeping in the kitchen at home. Until he is stabilized, we suggest he is welcome to sleep over at the Safe House when he needs a break. We can still offer this with the average of only two clients a night we still operate on. When the Safe House will be more established in the future, similar cases will have to be regulated in order to keep the House open for everybody.

The story the father told sheds a completely new light on the sniffing history of (5.). It is not quite clear how the mother received custody of her son because the parents are obviously not divorced. Since 1992, however, there has been a file about the mother abusing her son physically. The history of charges against the father, laid by the mother, seem very fishy and are presently under investigation by the father's lawyer. If his story should turn out true, the police would have played a peculiar role in the whole issue, laying charges on the father without investigating what had actually happened.

We can only go with the information we got from the boy (5.) himself and by our observation of father and son when they are in the Safe House. According to the son, he is sniffing because of the physical abuse by his mother. He himself also uttered the wish to stay (or be placed) under the custody of his father. The abuse seems to be verified by the hospital files.

- It is legally odd, however, that the hospital does not give the father access to these files.

- It is also odd that Payukotayno, who was investigating against the mother, wants to send (5.) to a facility, **on recommendation of the mother and against the will of the boy himself.**

- Another odd occurrence is that the boy wanted to place charges on his mother for physical abuse and was told by the police that he could not do so **before they checked with David Nakogee in Cochrane.**

15:30

Jackie phoned the Legal Aid Clinic in Moosonee to get some legal advice for (5.)'s father, who asked her to do so.

The information Jackie got confirmed our bewilderment about actions by police and hospital.

The information was as follows:

- The father has the legal right to get access to the hospital files of his son. The hospital is to share this information with him.

- The police has to follow up if the son wants to press charges against the mother.

- In the case with Children's Aid, the boy is to be asked for his

wishes and Children Aid can decide from there. They cannot keep him completely in the dark.

As (5.)'s father was referred to us by the NNADAP worker, we try to keep him involved and left a message at the band office for him to phone us.

For now, we will try to get police, the father, (5.) himself and the hospital together to talk the situation out. This is what we try to do this afternoon.

Later, the mother should get involved as well as Payukotayno, the institution who makes the final decision what will be done with (5.).

For the sake of the child, an immediate decision should be made about custody, (5.) himself should be asked for his own feelings, the charges against the mother should be taken seriously, but, the mother should be as much involved as the father in the long run.

15:45

The mother phoned at the Safe House to make her own statement. According to her, Payukotayno supports her and they made the statement that there was nothing wrong with her tying up her son (referring to the bruises he had on his wrists). This shows clearly that, in order to be fair to everybody involved, that both mother and father have to be involved in trying to find a solution. The problem cannot be solved by keeping one parent out of it, which was done first with the father and would be now with the mother if the father was to get full custody.

The physical abuse charges should, however, be taken very seriously for the sake of the child. This will have to be discussed with the father and the mother.

The follow-up phone call by the mother shows how deep the problem runs. She said that everybody is against her and that she would kill herself if things got resolved without her. We see this as much as a cry for help as (5.)'s indication that he will not stop sniffing when things are decided over his head. The father might have the same feelings. He seemed rather fragile when he was talking to Jackie.

This example shows that problems cannot be solved when one part of the people involved is just overpowered and kept out by legal manoeuvres, being it the boy himself, the mother or the father.

16:00

We phoned the NNADAP worker to come over and try to help out in this delicate situation.

16:15

Meeting with Safe House couple, (5.)'s father, and NNADAP worker. The NNADAP worker emphasised that there has obviously been child abuse on the side of the mother as expressed by (5.) and as shown in the files of the hospital.

Jackie remarked that (5.) himself had expressed the wish that he could stay with his father in Attawapiskat. The father confirmed

this wish and would be happy to take his son in. Both Jackie and the NNADAP worker also emphasised that Payukotayno wanted to send (5.) out for treatment and that this issue had to be dealt with. There had been abuse and the boy was sniffing. This circle had to be broken. Norbert was mentioning that the mother should be involved in the decision. She should not feel disempowered by legalities. She obviously did not see her actions as abuse and she might not understand why her son is taken away from her. It would also not be good for the child himself to lose any of his parents. He does have a father **and** an mother and should be positively made aware of this fact. Deep inside, every mother **and** father is concerned about the wellness of their child, it is just a matter of interpretation what this wellness is.

Resolution:

We all agreed on the following points:

- As it presents itself now, the child should be taken under the care of his father.
- To sort things out for himself, he should go for treatment now, and when he comes back, live with his father. The father should be supported by the band to get adequate housing for this purpose.
- The mother should not be left out, however, and in the long run a solution has to be found where both mother and father are involved in the upbringing of their son. As the abuse was real, the mother should receive counselling in order to stop the abusive behaviour. She should also be involved in any decision made about her son.
- (5.) himself should be involved too. He should, in the end, feel comfortable with both, his mother **and** his father and should understand that both parents love him and support him. This would certainly speed up the healing process.
- The NNADAP worker will contact Payukotayno today and arrange a meeting tomorrow. Payukotayno and the mother should be present on tomorrow's meeting. All people involved should talk this issue out (including (5.) himself) so that everybody feels comfortable with the decisions made tomorrow.
- For tonight (5.) should stay in the Safe House again.

17:00

Jackie phoned Payukotayno (Francis Sutherland) concerning their support to get us a guard tonight. They could not do anything, because (5.) was supposedly not under Payukotayno's care. They could not get involved phoning for a guard. They confirmed, however, that (5.) was still placed under the care of his mother.

17:15

Norbert phoned the police about a guard. He got the information that there would be guards only when the sniffers are apprehended by the police and when they show violent behaviour. Norbert was

reminding of the catch 22 situation that we could get a guard when we send out the boy to sniff so that he could be apprehended by the police. Yet, that would beat the purpose of the Safe House. The police mentioned that, as the Safe House was installed by the band, it would be the band's responsibility to provide and train guards. This again shows that the concept of the Safe House was either only installed half-heartedly by the band, or that the health director failed to provide proper schedules for the workers here. Instead, when crisis situations come up, the workers are dismissed. What actually happened is that they are completely left alone in crisis situations. Does the health director actually care about the operationality of the Safe House or is the opening of this facility just make-up to make people look good. There needs to be a lot more commitment! The police also said that according to Payukotayno it was the father who had custody of (5.) and should therefore look after him. Norbert said that we got the opposite information by Payukotayno, that custody was still with the mother. There seems to be some confusion in this case.

Jackie was phoning Sioux lookout meanwhile to discuss the situation with Lawrence Martin.

17:30

(8.) came to the Safe House. She made a courageous suggestion. As she had been the one convincing (5.) and (14.) two nights ago to come to the Safe House she would take the responsibility to guard (5.) for this night. We are very grateful for this suggestion, yet we would have preferred to get a guard because we are afraid of an escalation in this conflict were we are caught in the middle of a mother and a father trying to get custody for their son and a youth who did not really approve to the solution the Children Aid Society had found for him. What if he wants to run away before Payukotayno picks him up the following day?

17:45

Lawrence Martin phoned back. He had tried to find a solution by phoning the hospital. The hospital would take (5.) in for the night. We will have to discuss this when (5.) wakes up.

17:55

Jackie phoned (5.)'s mother who had left a message while Jackie was in the store. She wanted to come over to bring clothes for her son. Jackie had told her about the meeting we had today and the meeting we will have tomorrow. The mother was grateful that we wanted to involve her. Jackie assured her that we try to find a solution that satisfies everybody because we are convinced that both parents love their son, but she reminded the mother also that we will have to respect the wishes of her son. The mother agreed.

For now, we see that as a good sign with both parents talking to us and, for now, trusting that we could find a solution. This

would be part of the responsibilities of the Safe House, to solve local problems with involving local people. It really would not take much if the authorities would support this kind of project. Of course, this approach might be unorthodox, but it might just work in a Native community, because all people really do care. They just have to be trusted and treated in a fair way. Why could it not be resolved like that? (I once heard that "we do things different around here". Maybe we should start to do so finally!) Yet, for that there would have to be a support system in place so that we are not alone in crisis situations. We will involve an elder.

(5.) was asked by Jackie if he had any problems with his mother coming over. We gave him the alternative that we would talk with his mother some place else, or that he could stay in the room while she was here. He said he would not have any problems and that he would talk to her in our presence.

19:10

(5.)'s mother came by. She brought the clothes and sat down for a while to talk to (5.) and Jackie. This experience was too emotional for (5.). After about three minutes he got up and said he would leave for his father's house. One could see his fearful reaction when his mother tried to hold him back. There is a lot that has to be dealt with in this case. It might be too much for the boy to face his mother yet. Norbert went after (5.). (5.) assured him that he would come back later. He seemed very shaken up and could not be calmed down by Norbert. We did not want to use any force, nor would we have the legal authority to do so. In our opinion, using force would also not be the right thing in this situation, because we are still trying to build up trust in the client. We will have to be very careful. Unfortunately, we do not have any guard and we do not have anybody we could turn to right now. We will try to involve an elder who could advice us in this situation.

19:30

Jackie phoned at (5.)'s father's neighbour to make sure that (5.) arrived there. We received a phonecall shortly after that he did arrive there, but had gone out again to (9.)'s house. We are concerned that he might get into sniffing again. We will try to pick him up.

The mother is writing suicide notes all over meanwhile. Jackie phoned the police if they could help us locate the elder John Mattinas and bring him over to the Safe House for counselling.

20:15

(14.) showed up. We will try to get to (5.) through him. Meanwhile, John Mattinas was brought over by the police. (14.) went out looking for (5.). We told him to tell (5.) to

phone us when he wanted to be picked up. John Mattinas and Jackie meanwhile counselled the mother. She was only talking about herself feeling sorry for herself. John tried to tell her that she should give (5.) some time, that she should leave the house with John so that he could come back. He made this suggestion after he and Jackie saw somebody peeking through the window and then disappear. John and Jackie thought it was (5.) checking up if his mother was still here. The mother would not listen to the elder. Instead she phoned the police and asked them to apprehend (5.). She also explained that she did not abuse her son. The bruises they found were supposedly inflicted on him by himself. His father had told him so. His father is always out to get her. Shortly after she explained that her tying up her son was okay, which was confirmed to her by Payukotayno and the police. She is in deep denial stage. She was also telling John and Jackie that they should go into the welfare office to claim the cheque for her so that the father would not claim it. According to welfare arrangements they both live together still.

20:45

(11.) came with a friend. They went to a room playing music.

21:50

The mother finally left with John Mattinas. She was phoning shortly after, complaining that the police does not want to take action without Payukotayno involved. She asked Jackie to phone Payukotayno for her. Jackie tried to tell her that when she had phoned Payukotayno before, they did not want to get involved. We are afraid that the mother really makes things worse. She will need a lot of help, but we do not know who should give it to her. John Mattinas had tried, but he got frustrated as well. We will now try to find (5.) before the police finds him and provide a safe place for him again. The best thing for now will be that Payukotayno will take him out and that he will be placed under his father's care when he comes back.

22:30

(11.) left with his friend. We went out for 1/2 hour to look for (5.). It was difficult as we do not have a vehicle that would give us a wider range. Although we were convinced that (5.) would come back, we were concerned of an arising conflict in case the police runs into him. We did not find (5.).

Tuesday, October 29, 1996

1:30

Knock at our bedroom window. It was (14.) asking if he could come in. He told us that the police had arrested (5.). They both wanted to run away, but the police had caught (5.).

We phoned (14.)'s father to inform him that his son was here and to ask if (14.) could sleep over. We got the confirmation from the father.

As the police did not phone us to inform us what happened we left things as they were that night.

8:00

(8.) phoned. She had heard what had happened and expressed her being upset that "Payukotayno had picked up (5.)". Jackie calmed her down, explaining the legalities in this case. We do not want hostilities being built up.

11:30

Jackie finally phoned the police. She was asked why (5.) had not stayed in the Safe House. Jackie told the supervisor that this was the reason why we wanted to have a guard and she returned the question why (5.) was not brought to the Safe House and why nobody had phoned us to at least provide him food. The supervisor had told Jackie that (5.) got arrested and charged for assaulting a police constable (when he was resisting arrest). The fact is still that (5.) was arrested first and during this arrest he tried to resist. What was the reason for his arrest? The police did phone us though earlier this morning, but we must have not heard the phone ring.

12:45

Phone call by the police that the mother will come over to pick up (5.)'s clothes. She picked up his clothes five minutes later.

13:40

Norbert phoned the NNADAP worker to inform him about what happened yesterday. The NNADAP worker is also concerned about (5.) not getting the understanding and help he needed. Presently (5.) is in jail, having to face his mother. The NNADAP worker still wanted to go ahead with the meeting, trying to get in touch with Payukotayno. We all agreed, however, that this meeting should take place without the mother for now that things do not turn worse again. The NNADAP worker promised to phone back as soon as he got in touch with Payukotayno.

13:50

Norbert just received a strange phone call by somebody who wanted to talk to Mary Witt. He tried to get Jackie on the phone but the man had hung up. He had phoned back some seconds later but hung up again when Norbert had picked up the phone.

13:55

The NNADAP worker phoned back to confirm that the Payukotayno worker was on the way to Attawapiskat. She would phone us as soon as the plane had arrived.

Jackie had been on the other line meanwhile talking to a lawyer

about the case. She was discussing if tying up the child was okay, as (5.)'s mother had claimed and as it was confirmed to her by the police and maybe even by Payukotayno (according to the mother's statement she made to Jackie and John). The lawyer will fax the information about cases like this. She could not believe that the police would support a practice like this. She was reading out the law to Jackie:

CRIMINAL CODE

Section 265(1):

a person commits an assault when
(a) without consent of another person he/she applies force intentionally to that other person, directly or indirectly.

Section 265(2)

This section applies to all forms of assault including sexual assault with a weapon, threats to a third party, or causing bodily harm and aggravated sexual assault.

Section 269

Everyone who unlawfully causes bodily harm to any person is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years.

14:15

(14.) got up having his lunch. He confirmed what we had supposed that (5.) would have come back to the Safe House voluntarily.

(14.) stated that (5.) was on his way to the Safe House when he got arrested by the police. Of course, now the question is open why he got arrested.

14:30

(5.)'s father came to the Safe House. He was commenting on (5.)'s arrest last night. According to him (what he had heard from his son), (5.) got assaulted by the arresting police constable who pressed (5.)'s head back, pressing his nose until it bled. He cleaned up the blood right after to destroy the evidence, yet there is supposedly a bloodstain on (5.)'s pants. According to (5.)'s father, the constable's actions got covered by the supervisor. On top, the police constable will press charges against (5.) for "assaulting a police officer". It seems the boy is criminalized. Why would anybody want to go that road, making a criminal out of a boy who actually needed help?

15:00

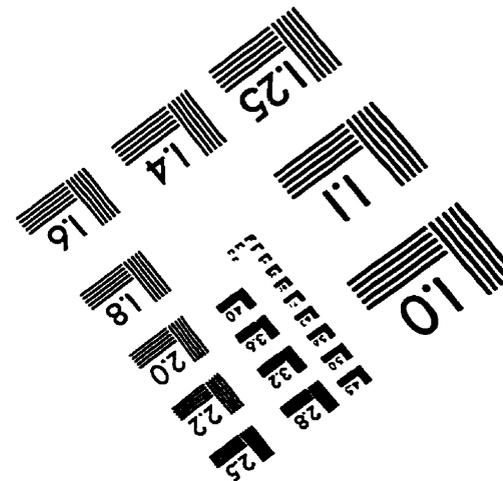
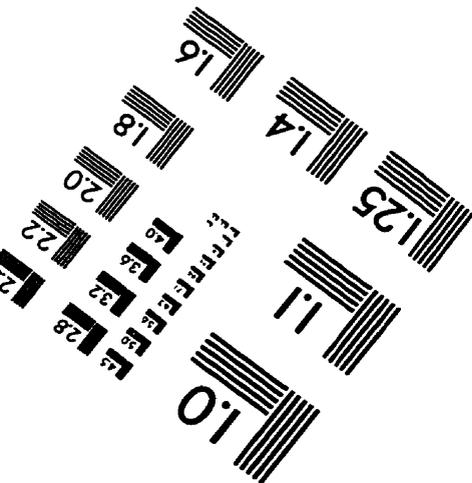
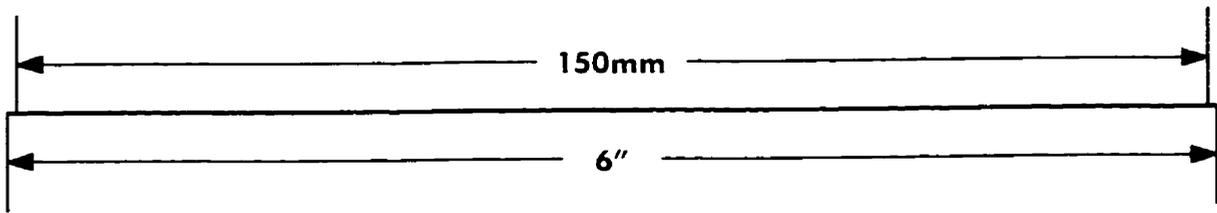
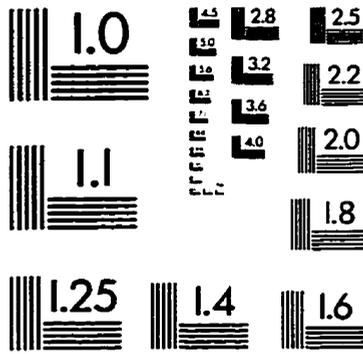
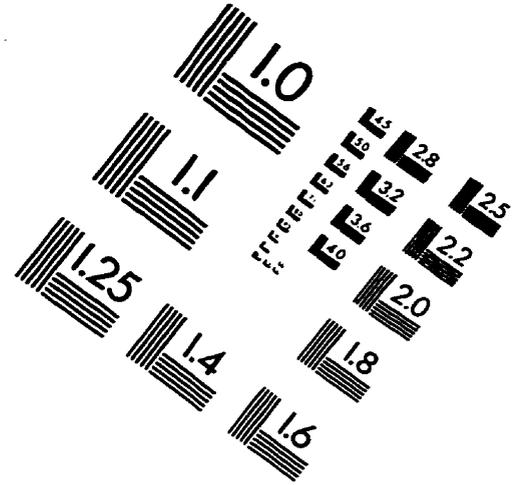
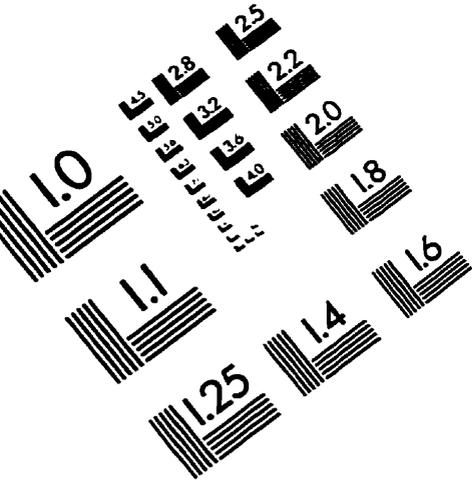
(5.)'s father wondered where his son was and asked us to find out. Jackie phoned Payukotayno but first got the information that they would not know where (5.) was. It was finally confirmed that (5.) was there and wanted to see his father before he would be taken out.

The father went over to Payukotayno.

As we could not reach the NNADAP worker we assume that Payukotayno did not want to meet with the whole group, just wanting to take the boy out with the plane at 16:00. We will check with the NNADAP worker later.

(14.) was sitting with us sharing his experience from last night. He said that (5.) had been on the way to the Safe House when he was intercepted by peace keepers. (14.) had heard the screams and was running over (at the road where the chief lives) to see what was going on. According to him there were about seven peace keepers holding (5.) down. The police came shortly after. We were wondering how (5.) could have assaulted the police officer under these circumstances, yet we leave this questions to the professionals who will deal with this case. We feel that we are getting deeply involved into the pain of the sniffers. However, as Safe House couple trying to get the trust of the sniffers in order to help them, we think this would be our mandate. This mandate, being advocates for the sniffers, seems to be completely misunderstood and taken too personal by the people involved, including those who set up the Safe House. We, however, think and will recommend that there has to be somebody who acts on behalf of and with the agreement with sniffers when this problem should be dealt with. It is mandatory that all sides have their input, particularly the sniffers themselves, because healing has to come from inside themselves. It cannot be imposed on them and the attempt to make them into criminals will actually only lead to producing criminals, not healing the youth that needs help. Part of the problem seems to be the isolated actions of the different agencies which would have to be coordinated in order to really work goal oriented, if the goal is really to help the sniffers. An analysis of all this will follow later, once we have viewed all the files and reports of former interventions (since 1992). The diary entries will end here because we have to leave in two days, due to our dismissal, and we will have to close all the other files meanwhile.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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