CONTROL OF POLITICAL SPACE

IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

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IN THE CANADIAN NORTH:

AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY COLONIALISM

by

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ABSTRACT:

The conflict between native people and resource development in the Canadian north is considered within the framework of a colonial model of development. It is hypothesized that the origins of contemporary land use conflicts in the north can be attributed to the colonization of native people, and that the growing discontent among native people can be viewed as a response to the perpetuation of their colonial status.

Two phases in the historical relationship between native people and the Canadian government, traditional colonialism and neo-colonialism, are defined and the impacts of these forms of colonialism upon native people, and their role in the future development of the north, are examined. Alternative native responses to colonial status are identified and each option is discussed in terms of its likelihood as a choice and the effects of that choice upon the native community. Government control over native people is identified as a major constraint on response choice.

Various means of government control and their effectiveness are considered.

Two alternatives are presented for the future control of political space in northern Canada: continuation of colonial domination or increasing control by natives. It is concluded, on the basis of recent experiences in native communities, that increasing control by natives is the only means through which the political and socio-economic status of native people will be improved.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At this critical stage in the development of the
north, competing and sometimes conflicting land use
demands do inevitably arise and must be resolved.

> Jean Chrétien, as Minister of
> Indian Affairs and Northern
> Development, 1973.

The critical stage to which Chrétien refers is the

confrontation between native rights and resource development

in northern Canada. There are two principal parties in this

confrontation: native northerners, and the resource

developers. Depending upon the circumstances, the latter

may mean corporations or government.

The position of the native people is that they have

lived in the north in harmony with nature from "time

immemorial" and thus are entitled to a share in the benefits

of northern resource development. Many native leaders feel

that a prerequisite to sharing these benefits is control over

the way in which the north is to be developed. Their

uncertain position between two very different cultures, and

their problems of a diminishing resource base for the

traditional hunting, fishing and trapping occupations, add

urgency to their situation. The position of the resource

developers is that native demands should not be allowed to

impede the extraction of resources that are "needed" for

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southern industries. Both multinational corporations and the Canadian government have invested large sums of money for this very purpose.

Unfortunately, the confrontation underway in the north is not nearly as clearcut as this description might imply. A dominant feature of the situation is its ambiguity. No single statement of goals has come forth from the native people and there is a variety of opinions on how to achieve a given goal. Some native leaders are striving for the creation of an independent nation, while others seek only compensation for lands lost to resource development. Some seek to achieve their goals through negotiation and compromise; others are turning to violence. Among white Canadians, in the north and in the south, there is a wide range of attitudes from condemnation of native demands to support of their stands on northern development. The multi-national corporations extracting minerals, oil and gas from the north profess a desire to respect native rights, but their actions often seem totally profit-oriented at the expense of native people and their environment. In the most ambiguous position of all is the government. While it has invested large sums of money into resource development, it is also responsible for the well-being of native peoples. The statement of Chrétien, quoted above, is typical of government policy in the north in that it recognizes that a conflict exists and must be resolved, but it does not give any indication as to how

this resolution is to come about.

The purpose of this paper is not to suggest a solution
to this conflict but to consider, firstly, the source of the
conflict and, secondly, the responses being made to this
situation by both native people and government.

Contemporary land use conflicts in the north centre
around the position of native people with respect to the
benefits derived from resource development. There are two
alternative ways in which to view the basis of this conflict.
One approach is to attribute it to individual failings, such
as inherent inabilities of native people to adapt to white
society, or to the racist attitudes of whites. An alternative
view adopted herein is to consider failings in the overall
relationship between native people and the dominant white
society. The major such failing, with respect to native
people, has been the perpetuation of a colonial relationship
between native people and the Canadian government. This
relationship was established by the government during the
settlement era and has since been perpetuated by government
and business at the expense of the native people.

The contemporary conflicts in the north are viewed,
therefore, as being largely a result of the historical
relations between native people, resource industries and
government. Thus, a prerequisite to attempting to understand
the social and economic problems of native people is to
acknowledge the historical context in which their situation

has evolved. From the very beginning of exploration and
settlement in Canada, native people began to lose their
political and economic self-sufficiency. As their lands were
diminished, their sources of food, clothing and shelter
depleted by white trappers and settlers, and their numbers
decreased by disease, native people found themselves relying
more and more on government assistance for their very
survival. It is only in recent years, with improved health
care, that their numbers have increased significantly. Poverty
and unemployment are still the principal characteristics of
native communities. Native people continue to remain at the
lowest socio-economic stratum of Canadian society and continue
to depend heavily upon government assistance for their very
survival. The persistence of native poverty in the north,
a region which annually produces a wealth of minerals and
petroleum, is creating a situation of increasing tension and
probability of violence.

Both the source of contemporary conflicts over
political space in the north, and the responses being made
to this situation, will be examined within the framework of
a colonial model of development. It is hypothesized that the
origins of the "native problem" can be attributed to the
colonization of native people, and that the persistence of
their poverty stems from the success of government and business
in maintaining their colonial status. Discontent and protest
among native people is viewed, therefore, as a response to

this colonial status and as a search for an alternative to the colonial philosophy of development.

Although native people throughout Canada have, to varying degrees, been victims of colonization, the paper focuses on the north where native rights and colonial development policies are meeting in a direct confrontation. The traditional perception of the north as a "breadbasket of resources" for southern Canada has created strong economic motivations for retaining native colonial status while, at the same time, has given native people equally strong reasons for wanting to gain control over their own lives and resources.

The conflict over political space in the north and the manner in which it is to be resolved are important for several reasons: (1) the value of the land and resources involved; (2) the implications for the natural environment in the north; and (3) the implications for the broader issue of minority rights.

The extent and nature of the land involved in the conflict would alone lend importance to the issue. In this paper, "north" is intended to refer generally to that area of Canada north of the tree line and particularly to the Yukon and Northwest Territories. The two Territories comprise one and one-half million square miles, or approximately 40 per cent of the total Canadian land mass (Rea 1968). In the last decade $2.3 billion in minerals has been produced in the Territories and, in view of the rising price of energy fuels,

the reserves of oil and gas represent a considerable wealth
(Northwest Territories 1975).

Secondly, decisions made in the north will establish
the importance Canadians place on natural environments and
individual liberties in the face of demands by powerful
institutions, such as the multi-nationals, which do not
necessarily have the overall welfare of Canada among their
priorities.

Thirdly, the northern land-use conflict is important
because of its implications for the broader issue of minority
rights. Table 1 indicates that while native people in the
Territories may not be a very large percentage of the
Canadian population (although they do form a majority within
the Territories), the total number of native people throughout
Canada is quite large and growing rapidly. Thus, they are
a minority whose rights can no longer be easily dismissed.
Finally, the northern conflict merits consideration simply
because of the strong possibility of racial violence in that
region.

TABLE 1

NATIVE POPULATION IN CANADA

Province or Territory	Inuit	Status Indians	Métis and Non-Status Indians
British Columbia	-	51,358	60,000+
Alberta	-	32,437	60,000+
Saskatchewan	-	41,071	80,000+
Manitoba	-	40,246	80,000+
Ontario	-	62,187	100,000+
Quebec	3,500	28,409	70,000+
New Brunswick Nova Scotia Prince Edward Island	-	10,487	5,000+
Newfoundland	1,500	-	1,000+
Yukon	-	3,151	5,000+
Northwest Territories	13,500	7,090	10,000+
Total	18,500[1]	276,436[2]	750,000[3]

Source: Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, 1976, p. 30-31.

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[1] approximate.

[2] Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, figure as of December 31, 1974.

[3] approximate.

CHAPTER 2

COLONIALISM IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

2.1   Evidence of Colonialism

It was suggested in the Introduction that the origins and persistence of poverty among native peoples, as well as their growing discontent with their situation, can be explained to a large degree by the colonial relationship they have had with white dominated government and business in Canada. "Colonial" is used here in its broadest sense, that is, the control of an area or people by a more powerful group. The two groups, colonizers and colonized, are usually geographically and functionally separate. Evidence of this type of colonial control can be found in every aspect of the lives of northern natives.

One of the basic elements of colonialism is the way in which systems of local government, justice, welfare, health care and education are established among the dependent people in close conformity with the institutions of the mother country, irrespective of their appropriateness for native needs and interests. Among northern natives the imposition of these systems has had a number of negative effects. The invasion of "southern" institutions into the north has been cited as a principal example of modern genocide (Davis and Zannis 1973). The destructive impact of this process has

facilitated the control of native peoples under the colonial system, since most of their energies are necessarily devoted to survival. In true colonial fashion, the social services provided for the colonized natives are of a very low standard (Frideres 1974). For example, in 1964 government spending on non-Indians was approximately two and one-half times that for Indians, $740 compared to $300 (Cumming 1969a).

Throughout the remainder of this section, evidence will be summarized of the manner in which colonialism in the north has affected native people through the imposition of southern systems and through the provision of minimal services. It should become evident that there are a multitude of political, social and administrative procedures through which the colonizers have controlled native peoples (Adams 1969). This evidence of the colonial treatment of northern natives will be presented under five broad sections: (1) health care; (2) justice; (3) education; (4) welfare; (5) local government.

2.1.1   Health Care

There was little regard for the health of native peoples during the early settlement period in Canada. Although their numbers decreased dramatically upon contact with European diseases, little was done to improve their health. While the attitudes towards native health care have changed, the facilities provided are still drastically below standard for southern communities. In 1970 the population

per physician was 1,667 in the Northwest Territories compared with 692 for all Canada, and non-native populations in the north generally have greater access to health services because they are closer to medical facilities (Davis and Zannis 1973). Native peoples' limited access to these facilities is reflected in their relatively short life span. The average life span for Indians in 1965 was 36 years, for the Inuit, 20 years, and for all Canadians, 62 years (Deiter and Currie 1970). The difficulties native people experience in obtaining access to adequate health care imply that the health care system is not well suited to the native situation. Native people, unfamiliar with medical treatments and the English language, may not adequately understand medical advice. The Canadian Civil Liberties Education Trust (1973) cites a number of cases where Indians did not receive adequate treatment, either because they were assumed to be drunk when in fact they were sick, or because they were unable to communicate their problems to medical personnel. Despite these difficulties, the physical well-being of northern natives has improved. Mental illness, however, may be increasing as a result of new psychological and social strains and conflicts associated with contemporary colonialism.

2.1.2   Justice

A number of studies on natives and the criminal justice system in Canada point to the tragic results of superimposing

southern models of justice onto traditional native communities. Schmeiser (1974) provides ample statistics on the disproportionate number of native people arrested, convicted and sentenced to jail. For example, in Saskatchewan, where native people comprise about 12 per cent of the population, they make up 50 to 60 per cent of the prison inmates. The Canadian Civil Liberties Education Trust (1973) concluded, after an extensive study on natives and the law, that "not only do Indians accused sustain greater penalties, but Indian victims also receive less protection in our criminal legal system" (p. 13). They draw attention to the logistical, financial, cultural and administrative barriers that block effective delivery of legal protection to native peoples. Native people cannot afford justice. Lawyers' fees and bail are usually beyond their reach. Natives are often involved in minor offences with fine/jail alternatives and because of their economic status, such sentences usually result in imprisonment (National Indian Brotherhood 1975). Because probation services are largely urban-based, most native people cannot benefit from them. In general, the criminal justice system is not suited to their needs.

The role of the R.C.M.P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) in implementing this colonial system of justice among native people has been pointed out by Frideres (1974): "it has clearly been demonstrated that the R.C.M.P.'s most important role since its conception has been the control and subjugation

of the natives" (p. 186). The R.C.M.P. has been described
as "deeply involved in enforcing the genocidal and systematic
destruction of native communities" (Davis and Zannis 1973: 139).
Ex-R.C.M.P. officers have been quoted as stating that the
major reason for the disproportionate number of natives in
prison is that the easiest way for R.C.M.P. officers to keep
up their arrest statistics is to charge native people with
minor infractions of liquor and disturbance laws (Davis and
Zannis 1973).

2.1.3 Education

Blauner (1969) has suggested that the constraint,
transformation or destruction of indigenous values, orientations
and ways of life are important components of colonialism.
The "Christianization" of native peoples and the destruction
of indigenous religions in Canada is an example of such
treatment. The religious motivations of traditional colonialism
were usually furthered through the education system which was
often controlled by religious sects. The present educational
system, which is only slightly more suited to native lifestyles,
is often cited as one of the most obvious examples of contemporary
colonialism. During the settlement period native children were
physically forced to attend residential schools. Today the
means of control are more subtle. Adams (1975) and many others
have accused the school systems of negating native history and
culture by providing instruction only in English to children

who often start school with little or no English, and by
teaching within the context of white middle class values.
The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (1976) does not disagree that
education is a good thing, but feels that when it imposes a
foreign culture with little or no relevance to life in the
north, it is a mixed blessing. The educational system is used
as an opportunity to acculturate native children into white
values. An indirect impact is to remove from native communities
essential labour for traditional activities. High school
students and handicapped children are usually moved to larger
settlements. Shifting native children between two cultures
has very strong alienating effects. The net result has been
to break down the close family structure of the native people,
and to force them to turn away from traditional occupations
and depend on welfare. That the system of education imposed
on native people is not suited to their style of life and
their values is made obvious by the extremely high drop-out
rates for native students: only 6 per cent complete high school
compared with 88 per cent for the whole of Canada (Deiter and
Currie 1970). Changes are being made in the educational system
for native northerners, but for many, the damage has already
been done to their cultural pride.

2.1.4   Welfare

The system of welfare programs available to the native
population of Canada has also assisted in perpetuating their

colonial status. As with other social services, native people are only slowly obtaining access to all welfare programs that are available to non-natives (Marszewski 1973). At present, their access to needed assistance is often hindered by financial haggling and political overtones. Davis and Zannis (1973) describe the welfare system as a form of pacification which keeps native people at a subsistence level but stifles any attempt at revolt, while making them "captive consumers" for industrial products. The implementation of the welfare system in the north discourages the pursuit of traditional occupations as welfare support is only easily obtainable if the potential recipient takes up permanent residence in a community and becomes totally dependent on welfare.

2.1.5 Local Government

The virtual non-existence of true forms of local self-government in native communities is further evidence of the colonial treatment of native people. A colonial relationship is only terminated when the subject people become fully self-governing or become assimilated into the political structure of the colonial power on equal terms (Snyder 1962). Neither of these conditions are applicable to Canadian native people. The effective lack of true local self-government among native peoples can be viewed as a direct result of their colonial status (Adams 1969). The failure to allow native people to govern themselves in their local affairs has

created attitudes which greatly constrain their present ability to do so; colonial institutions have undermined their values of self-determination and freedom (Harding 1971).

The situation of Treaty Indians is the most blatant example of the imposition of a European institution upon a native community. Contrary to what is often assumed, the system of chief and band council is not indigenous to all Indian people, but was imposed by white officials as an administrative convenience. It was assumed that the model of the Canadian village with its elected local government, majority rule, and a body of citizens strongly identified with the community, would be adopted by Indians and, in fact, was the only form of local self-government allowed. This form of government was poorly suited to these nomadic people who identified more strongly with kinship ties than a permanent settled community established by the government.

2.2 Phases of Colonialism

It is readily apparent that native peoples in the Canadian north have been, and continue to be, treated in a colonial manner. However, the utility of this colonial analogy depends upon a distinction between two phases of colonialism in Canada. These two phases can be termed traditional colonialism, referring to that which occurred throughout the settlement period, and neo-colonialism, which is in operation today. These two phases will be considered

in terms of the differences in the colonialists' motivations, the role of government, business and native peoples, and the impact on northern development and native lifestyles.

The term colonialism first came into common usage in the 19th century in reference to "the establishment and extension of the political sovreignty of one nation over alien peoples and territories" (Cohen 1973: 10). It is generally agreed that the period of this traditional colonialism was over by the first World War. However, the spirit of colonialism, the desire on the part of a more powerful entity, be it government or business, to control a dependent area or people for economic or political gain, did not die. The racism that was once accepted as an overt ideology and a basis for traditional colonialism is now hidden, and more subtle arguments such as liberalism and anti-nationalism are used to rationalize colonialism (Davis and Zannis 1973). "Progress" is often used as a justification for colonial expansion in the Canadian north.

Under neo-colonialism corporations and government use various tactics to make former colonies so dependent economically that their newly won political sovreignty is ineffective (Cohen 1973). In Third World countries, trade, investment and foreign aid are used. In northern Canada native communities are encouraged to consider themselves as independent through, for example, the creation of local governments. Yet, in effect, they are controlled through

their dependence on welfare, government development programs, and limitations on their control over resources and land.

The period of traditional colonialism in northern Canada began with the first intrusion of white explorers and trappers into the north and continued through the fur trade and the early gold rushes. After this time the government continued to treat native people in a colonial style, but government interest in the north declined and the northern policy during this period can be best described as "developmental laissez-faire" or "ad hoc absentmindedness" (Lotz 1970). While large amounts of valuable mineral resources were extracted by private industry during this period, there was little change in the native situation, beyond gradual improvements in health care and other social services under government jurisdiction.

The period of neo-colonialism began during the late sixties with the development of the "energy crisis" in the Western world. It is generally agreed that this crisis was the creation of the multi-national petroleum corporations.[1] They began assembling mineral claims in the Canadian north as early as 1968 and the crisis peaked about five years later. The energy crisis provided the catalyst for neo-colonialism. The land required for exploration and for pipeline construction, along with the potential for very large profits to be made,

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[1] For development of this argument see McCullum and McCullum 1975, and Davis and Zannis 1973.

resulted in the business sector demanding greater assurance that their interests would receive priority in the development of the north. Simultaneously, the publicity of the energy crisis and the indication that northern development was likely to proceed at an even greater pace and with even larger gains going to the business interests than before, led native leaders to become more vocal in their demands. This, in turn, led to the need on the part of government, to employ even stronger controls on native protest.

The major difference between this neo-colonialism and the earlier period is that a direct confrontation has developed between resource extraction, in the form of oil and gas development, and native rights. The pattern of neo-colonialism in the far north can be described as: first, a natural resource is explored and "discovered," then, if there is sufficient quantity for the find to be extracted economically, a "crisis" conveniently occurs, and finally, there is a rush to develop the resource (McCullum and McCullum 1975). Brody (1975) calls this pattern the "rediscovery" of the north which has taken place with the popular obsession with energy.

In both traditional and neo-colonialism the rationale for expansion originates in the non-native sector of society, but the motives for colonialism have changed in emphasis. Traditional colonial expansion was more a product of diplomatic rivalry than economic motivation (Cohen 1973). The colonial powers were predominantly interested in national security and

political power; the sense of national glory outweighed the material gains. While the colonies were valuable as sources of raw materials and markets for industrial products, colonization was also used to increase feelings of power and national strength through the expansion of empire. There was also a religious motivation. Traditional colonialism was used to further the spread of Christianity (Snyder 1962). Adams (1969: 121) quotes an Anglican Archbishop of this period as stating that "it is God's obvious intention that the English were to colonize and Christianize America."

The primary, and usually the only, motive for neo-colonialism is economic gain. Neo-colonialism is a quest for resource control rather than territorial expansion per se. The political and religious motives of the old colonial powers have been dwarfed by the desires of government and business to reap the benefits of resource exploitation.

The changing motivation for colonialism stems largely from the changing roles of government and business. In traditional colonialism, business was a tool of government, and while it may have profited from colonialism, as did the Hudson Bay Company, it did not direct the methods of colonization. The growth of powerful multi-national corporations has changed the government-business relationship. The predominant characteristic of neo-colonialism is that it is controlled by the multi-nationals. Few old colonial structures can withstand the economic pressures to co-operate with the multi-nationals

and, in fact, they facilitate corporate control by paving the way for resource development (Davis and Zannis 1973). For example, the Canadian government recently proposed that exploration for oil and gas in the Arctic be tax free. It is not surprising that the United States claims to be running out of its own mineral resources, despite studies to the contrary, when Canada is providing hers so cheaply (Brody 1975).

The role of the native people and their subsistence economy is very different under these two types of colonialism. During traditional colonialism the subsistence economy of the dependent people was kept intact with some assistance from the colonial power. The native people were a valuable resource in terms of the provision of a cheap or free labour force to assist in the extraction of resources for export (Davis and Zannis 1973). For example, native people were "an essential part of the early historic period of Canada, especially when they served as suppliers of furs and as explorers for the Europeans" (Adams 1969: 121). Although the colonized groups were seen as inferior and were oppressed socially and economically, they were also seen as a useful resource to the colonial power. As such they sometimes benefited from colonialism in terms of the development of native industries (Snyder 1962).

The situation under neo-colonialism is quite different. Traditional colonialism relied on territorial expansion and manpower whereas neo-colonialism relies on technologically

oriented resource extraction (Davis and Zannis 1973). Because
economic gains are derived from sophisticated technological
exploitation of resources without the need of an extensive
unskilled labour force, the local economy of native peoples
is of little value. In fact, it is usually destroyed through
the resultant land use conflicts. The native population is
no longer a valuable resource and is often a nuisance factor,
considered dispensable. "To see a people as totally expendable
is the ultimate expression of genocide. Nowhere is this more
starkly revealed than in the North" (Davis and Zannis 1973: 38).
The very basis of traditional societies is undermined by the
neo-colonialists.

Under traditional colonialism, the ideology of racism
provided a rationale for ignoring the health, educational
and legal needs of the colonized. Native peoples were looked
upon as inferiors, to be exploited along with other resources
of the colony. With the condemnation of racism, efforts have
been made under neo-colonialism to improve the welfare of
the dependent people. The situation is complicated, however,
by the fact that the multi-nationals, who hold the balance of
power in the neo-colonial structure, force the former colonial
government into a position of providing all social services
for the colonized group. Therefore, most of the economic
gains from the colonial development of the north go to the
multi-nationals, but the Canadian government is left
responsible for providing services to the native people.

Ironically, the need for social services among the native people is, to a large degree, created by the multi-nationals who have forced the people out of their traditional occupations and lifestyles by taking over most of the land for resource development. The perpetuation of the colonial structure, however, does provide a substantial number of jobs for non-native Canadians. For example, D.I.N.A. (The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) alone employed 15,000 civil servants (of which only a small number were native) in 1975, but created only 2,242 jobs (full-time and part-time) for native people in the 1974-75 fiscal year (McCullum and McCullum 1975; Canada 1976). Conditions among the colonized native groups are further worsened by the introduction into the north of large numbers of transient white workers, southern foodstuffs ill-suited to northern dietary requirements, and environmental hazards. Local cultural autonomy is destroyed by the multi-nationals which transmit southern standards of consumption, leading to a misallocation of resources with respect to overall community welfare (Cohen 1973).

A predominant feature of colonialism during both phases is the high degree of centralization in the government agency dealing with the native people, that is, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (D.I.N.A.). The power to formulate policy floats between the field level and Ottawa; at the former there are too many facts and too little effective power, while at the latter there is too much power and too few facts

(Lotz 1970). Decentralization has been an explicit government policy for some years (see Chrétien 1973), but approval from Ottawa is still required for most decisions made by native groups. This centralization hinders the development of government policies that are sensitive to local native problems and needs.

From the preceding discussion, it should be apparent that, with the evolution of neo-colonialism, the situation of native people in the north has worsened in terms of political control. While their physical well-being has been improved, the realization of the north's potential wealth of resources has led to more subtle and more effective controls being placed upon the native people. This has, in turn, resulted in changing responses from northern natives.

CHAPTER 3

NATIVE RESPONSE TO COLONIALISM

The socio-economic situation of native people living
in the north has been described as undesirable, not only by
native spokesmen but also by the government whose stated
goal is to raise their standard of living. The situation
also presents problems for the private sector which is
hampered by the lack of a skilled labour force and, to a
potentially greater degree, by native protests against private
development schemes. There is a great amount of ambiguity
over the best strategy for native people to take, given this
situation. It is not even clear what responses are being made
by most native people. Government spokesmen, who believe
the optimal solution is assimilation, may tend to generalize
that native people are rapidly deserting their culture.
Native leaders who are trying to convince the public and the
government that their position has wide support may suggest
the opposite - that most native people are ready to actively
and perhaps violently protest against their conditions.

The categorization of responses which follows is
based upon the probable impact of these responses upon the
native community. Thus, the responses to discontent labelled
as "negative" are likely to result in a deterioration of the
native position with respect to their socio-economic and

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political status. The "positive" responses have some potential
for improving the native position.

3.1   Negative Responses

3.1.1   Desertion

This alternative response to feelings of discontent
is similar to the "exit" option defined by Hirschman (1970).
It implies a rejection of the native way of life and an attempt
at assimilation into white society. Persons choosing this
option are doubtful that voicing their protests and trying
to gain benefits without loss of their native heritage is likely
to succeed; but they have not completely given up on improving
their situation. They have concluded that it is necessary
to reject their culture for a lifestyle that will, hopefully,
be an improvement over the disadvantages found within native
communities.

Hirschman (1970) suggests that people are attracted
to this option because it is less costly and less dependent
on influence or power than most of the positive responses
discussed below. This is certainly significant from the
viewpoint of native people who have, particularly as
individuals, little or no influence. Loyalty to one's group
may make desertion a less probable choice but this loyalty
has been broken down by the weakening of family ties and the
frustrations of poverty. Native people may also feel they
have little loyalty to a community which offers only a life

of poverty with faint hope of improvement. On the other hand, the native community may discourage desertion by alienating those members who move to a white community (Nagler 1973).

Desertion implies an attempt at assimilation into white society. It is impossible to measure the number of assimilated native people, but an indication of the number who are attempting to become successfully assimilated may be obtained from an examination of the out-migration of native people from native to white communities. The number of Treaty Indians living off reserves indicates that the trend toward such out-migration is increasing.[1] In 1951, 17 per cent of all Treaty Indians lived off reserves; by 1961 this figure had risen to 30 per cent (Frideres 1974). Tables 2 and 3 indicate similar trends. Out-migration from more northerly communities than these may show different tendencies. Seaborne (1972) found that the number of out-migrants from two native communities in northern Saskatchewan was less than 10 per cent of the population. Although there is a high degree of movement in and out of these northern communities, much of it may be temporary in nature (Stabler et al 1975). Table 3, in which the isolated reserves are generally more northerly than the transitional reserves, supports the hypothesis that out-migration rates are lower in more northerly native communities. This can be attributed at

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[1] Statistics for native groups other than Treaty Indians are generally only available for case studies.

TABLE 2

NET MIGRATION RATES FROM AN INDIAN RESERVE

(Location: southern Canada[1], population 400)

Year	Net Migration Ratio as a per cent of population
1921-31	-17
1931-41	-21
1941-51	-31
1951-56	+21
1956-61	-27
1961-66	-7.5
1966-67	-5
1921-67	-118

Source: Denton (1972: 57).

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[1] Name kept anonymous; destination of migrants is two nearby cities.

TABLE 3

PER CENT OF POPULATION RESIDING OFF INDIAN RESERVES

Location	Year	Per cent of Population residing off reserve
James Smith Reserve, near Saskatoon, Sask.	1965	3
	1967	18
	1968	27

Manitoba

	Total Population		
	Transitional[1]	Isolated[2]	Average
1965	11.1	9.3	10.3
1966	15.8	10.2	13.3
1967	17.3	11.9	14.8
1968	20.0	12.0	16.3

	Males, 15-24 Years		
	Transitional	Isolated	Average
1965	9.1	7.5	8.4
1966	15.2	8.8	12.3
1967	15.7	11.5	13.8
1968	17.6	11.5	14.9

Source: James Smith Reserve, Dosman (1972: 8).
         Manitoba, Deprez and Sigurdson (1969: 19-20).

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[1] Average of 28 reserves; all accessible by rail and/or road, but located out of the dominant agricultural areas.
[2] Average of 15 reserves; all accessible by air and/or water.

least partially to a strong attachment to the community and surrounding countryside which is likely to be more significant in the north where isolation and greater reliance on traditional livelihoods have maintained strong family ties. As well, greater distances to urban centres may inhibit migration.

In the Yukon and Northwest Territories, other factors may influence the rate of out-migration. Because of the high costs of transportation and communication, the government has had a greater incentive to encourage relocation of native peoples into urban communities. Native people are "encouraged" to migrate to these centres as the only easy means of obtaining welfare assistance is to become permanent residents of these communities.

While out-migration from native communities is indicative of the number choosing the desertion option, it would be an exaggeration to state that every native out-migrant was deserting his native culture. As mentioned above, migration may be necessary as a result of government policy. It may also become necessary for native people to migrate to gain access to health and educational facilities and to sources of food and supplies. Many of these native people who migrate for such reasons, however, may later choose desertion as a result of their increased contact with white society. Others may become resigned to their situation.

Hirschman (1970) states that for a minority that has

been discriminated against, the desertion option is bound
to be unsatisfactory and unsuccessful even from the viewpoint
of those who choose it because the geographic and social
mobility of such a group is very limited. Frequently, the
migrant's choice of desertion leads to frustration. This
is not surprising as conditions at his destination are often
no better, and sometimes worse than conditions at the origin.
For example, the unemployment rate of Indians in urban areas
in 1971 was 68 per cent (Canadian Association in Support of
the Native Peoples 1976). This frustration may lead the
migrant to return to his native community as do approximately
80 per cent of native migrants (Frideres 1974). Whether he
stays in the urban centre or returns home, the net result is
often resignation, an option which is discussed below.

For the native people of the Yukon and Northwest
Territories, the desertion option may have more permanent
implications. As mentioned above, residence in urban centres
may become necessary to receive essential social services.
As well, northern natives do not have reserves to which they
can easily return as do southern Indians. As a result, the
failure of desertion to remove feelings of discontent is more
likely to lead to resignation within the urban centre rather
than a return to the native community. Alternatively, an
unsuccessful attempt at desertion may lead to violence.

3.1.2   Resignation

Resignation actually represents the "do-nothing" option, but its impacts upon the native people as individuals and as a community can be very significant. This response implies an acceptance of their colonial status as inevitable. Such acceptance may be an active choice or it may represent apathy. The choice is a product of previous failures to achieve change, conditioning by government policy and the feeling of hopelessness that results from extreme, persistent poverty. They see little hope of change or of successful integration into white society, and for many the latter will not even be considered as an option. Native people choosing this response may continue to reside in their native communities unless they are forced to move to white communities or, as discussed above, they become resigned after an unsuccessful attempt at desertion.

Surrogate indicators of the attitudes associated with this option would include alcoholism, intra-community violence, suicide, family disintegration, and mental illness. Often these conditions can be directly linked to the impacts of colonialism. Davis and Zannis (1973), for instance, see the prime cause of mental illness among native northerners as the systematic cultural destruction and consequent loss of identity which result from the colonial imposition of a southern educational system. "Escapisms of withdrawal, alcoholism, suicide, exalted to stereotypes, have been sadly

accepted in the native society" (Newbery 1975: 3). Many northern native communities can be best described as "dying places," that is, places of destitution, squalor, chaos, brutality, and apathy (Newbery 1975). Internal aggression - suicide, fighting and alcoholism - is often attributed to the strong controls by government, police and business.

The treatment of native people as colonial subjects, and the mockery of their customs, religion and languages, has produced long-lasting psychological effects of subservience (Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples 1976). Newbery (1976) concludes that after long denial of work that is significant, the blight of welfare living, and the destruction of their way of life, it is a miracle that the people have survived at all. Because native people have been controlled to the extent that they have had no real opportunity for decision-making and self-initiative, for many resignation is the easiest response. The superior technology of the white man has intimidated many native people and the continued injustices to which the native is subjected have led many to conclude that they cannot fight the combined forces of government, business and white society.

The powerlessness of native people which leads them to resignation is furthered by the weakening of kinship and communal ties. These ties have been weakened by: (1) the turning away from traditional occupations which centered on the extended family; (2) the separations caused by residential

schools; and (3) the necessity of forming permanent settlements rather than nomadic tribes which were based on close kinship ties. The result has been to decrease the support of family and community.

Most of those who choose the option of resignation are unlikely to later choose desertion and even less likely to later choose more positive responses. This is particularly true for those whose feelings of frustration have led to alcoholism or mental illness. They have, in effect, eliminated most opportunities for desertion, as the white community will be even less apt to accept them than previously. As well, most now lack the facilities or the acceptance among the native community to respond in a positive manner within a group. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalization. It was observed by the leaders at the occupation of Anicinabe Park (Kenora, Ontario) that many Indians, who had previously despaired of change and spent most of their time drinking, were coming out to be involved in the protest.

3.1.3 Violence

Native people in Canada can be described as a very alienated group in terms of their attitudes toward Canadian society and its social and political institutions. Gamson (1968) defines political alienation as a conscious rejection of the whole political system and the belief that one has no influence, that the government is indifferent to one's interests,

and that government decisions are generally very unfair. If such an alienated group becomes discontented, it is more likely to rely on violent means to remove this discontent than on persuasion or inducement (Eisinger 1971; Gamson 1968). An alienated group does not expect persuasion to be successful with authorities who systematically favor a conflicting set of interests to their own, while maintaining they are acting in all fairness.

It is very evident that such feelings are widespread among native people (Frideres 1974). Alienation has developed over the last century during which native rights have been pushed aside by the colonial motives of government and business. Because the major resource of such an alienated group is often the capacity to create trouble if their demands are not met, violence and threats of violence have been becoming more numerous.

The Indian Tribes of Manitoba (1971) have stated that "it would be wrong to consider the Indian incapable of deeds of despair if driven to extremes of exasperation" (n.p.). This theme of the increasing potential for violence is found throughout the writings of contemporary native authors. Recent signs of militancy by some native people have made even the most indifferent Canadians aware that native frustration is building and will not likely remain confined to their own communities (Barber 1974b). According to the Ojibway Warriors Society, who occupied Anicinabe Park in Ontario, militancy is only the most visible part of a mass movement of native people.

The primary disadvantage of violence is that it may alienate the authority and the general public to whom the protest is directed. However, for certain groups like the northern native peoples, violence may be the only basis for their bargaining power. Non-violent protests such as strikes and demonstrations occur so frequently that they only invite tokenistic responses. However, violent protest can only win substantial concessions if it threatens the privileges of elites and if it is broadly supported (Edelman 1975).

It can probably be concluded that the incidence of violent protest will increase. Violence will be even more likely if the native peoples lose out on the land claims issue. Frideres (1974) predicts that such a loss would be a psychological as well as an economic defeat and would only serve to reinforce anti-white feelings.

Eisinger (1975) sees violence not as an alternative to more conventional political strategies but as an essential element in the historical development of ethnic consciousness and group solidarity. In considering Blacks and immigrants in the United States, he defines three historical stages: (1) economic adjustment, in which energies are devoted solely to survival, during which hostility from the dominant society can serve to forge ethnic identity; (2) community building, during which the group begins to develop resources and leadership to serve the collective group interests, and (3) political consolidation, in which there is achievement of a

visible breakthrough in the conventional political system.
Whereas violence against the group by the dominant society
is likely to occur during the economic adjustment phase,
violence by the group will occur during the community building
period and will not occur after political breakthrough. He
feels that Blacks are now past the community building stage
and its associated violence. It would appear that native
people are slightly behind Blacks in this sequence and are,
at present, moving from economic adjustment to the community
building stage. This viewpoint suggests violence is highly
probable.

If one accepts that violence is likely to occur,
the question which then remains is whether violence is likely
to be effective, that is, whether it will improve or worsen
the native position. Some native leaders feel that, given
their position, they have nothing to lose through violence –
at worst, they can remain where they are. Others feel that
they are at a turning point now, with the land claims issue
coming to a head, and feel violence would destroy their
credibility with the Canadian public and worsen their position.

Among the Canadian public there has been evidence of
a growing white backlash. This is particularly true of the
public hearings on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline (see
The Globe and Mail (Toronto) May 11, 1976). There are,
however, a number of non-native organizations in Canada which
support the native cause. For example, public opinion played

an important positive role in the James Bay settlement. Although not all native demands were met, the settlement did involve a fairly large sum of money and set a precedent for future claims, primarily in response to the pressure of public opinion.

Thus, despite signs of a growing white backlash, a significant number of Canadian citizens do seem to be favourably disposed towards the native cause. As well, the issues of American dominance, wage and price controls, and the numerous scandals that have shaken the Trudeau government have created an atmosphere in which many Canadians are questioning the control that government should exercise over their lives. "Big government" has become a popular scapegoat. Given this situation, native people may be in a good position to push for fundamental changes in their conditions, however, violence may well worsen their position.

3.2   Positive Responses

3.2.1   Political Mobilization

From the preceding discussion, it should be apparent that attitudes of desertion and resignation, which have been common responses throughout the history of northern colonialism, have only served to further deteriorate the position of native people. In particular, it has weakened their potential political power. As native people realize the negative impact of these responses, many feel violence is the only route left.

The discussion of this option concluded that because violence is likely to alienate the Canadian public it, too, could easily worsen their position. As a result, many native people are searching for more positive means by which to react to their colonial status.

In recent years, a variety of native organizations have been formed to further native interests, and with the development issues heading towards a direct confrontation in the north, these organizations are forming coalitions to achieve common goals. This political mobilization currently underway among native people is a key factor in their potential for altering the course of northern development as there can be no solution to native problems until they have acquired enough political power to demand and receive the self-sufficiency they have lost. The perpetuation of colonialism in the north has succeeded partly because of the basic lack of native political power. This has changed, and the newly emerging political and legal power of native people is unlikely to diminish. Political mobilization is necessarily the first stage in the native community development strategy. What it implies is the development of stronger group solidarity and, more specifically, of native organizations which will focus protests against the neo-colonial structure.

Political mobilization of northern natives is already well under way. Rea (1976) concluded that the effectiveness of native protest is the principal uncertainty in the balance

of decision-making power in the north. He reminds us of the
Alaskan experience with native land claims which "shows that
such organizations can exert strong pressure on the dominant
outside interests involved in northern resource use by
effectively blocking development, and that they can use this
bargaining power to increase the share of benefits accruing
to the native resident population" (p. 230). The remainder
of this section will discuss the three major objectives about
which contemporary native political movements have been
centered.

(i)   Self-Determination

        In the position paper of the Indian Tribes of Manitoba
(1971) the definition of the rights to self-determination
found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is quoted:

   All people have the right to self-determination.
   By virtue of the right they freely determine their
   political status and freely pursue their economic,
   social and cultural development...those having
   responsibility for the administration of non
   Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote
   the realization of the right to self-determination...
   (n.p.)

Most native groups interpret self-determination in the
broadest sense, that is, freedom to live as one chooses
without consulting others. Lloyd Barber (1974a), Indian
Claims Commissioner for Canada, summarizes the native
conception of self-determination as follows: because of
their original land rights, they believe they have a right
to direct participation in resource development and a high

degree of political autonomy within the larger society. A
need for self-determination has always been held by native
people but has been dormant, waiting for articulate political
leadership. The views of Canadian native people are similar
to those of people in emerging nations in the Third World
who were colonized and whose original sovreignty was not
respected. The obvious alternative to this native goal is
integration into white society, theoretically as equals. It
is evident that these attempts at integration have not been
very successful. Barber (1974a) points out that "it is simply
not feasible to think that native people can be brought into
our game just like us when they start with such basic differences
in culture and so heavily disadvantaged from the standpoint
of economic and political power" (p. 1). For such a distinct
and separate people, therefore, special status and autonomy
appears to be the only viable alternative to integration
which is equivalent to subservience, as it generally implies
that native people (not whites) must change radically. The
separateness suggested by the goal of self-determination
already exists - native people simply want to develop a new,
healthier, and more equitable form of separateness. Native
leaders view eventual harmony between whites and natives as
being dependent upon native development on their terms, as a
distinct people, in other words, their successful achievement
of self-determination.

The objective of self-determination implies the desire

on the part of the native people to have a more substantial degree of autonomy in their own affairs, along the lines of the autonomy allowed to provincial and municipal governments. Thus, a greater decentralization of power from the Canadian government is implicit in the community development strategy. It is not an objective of separation but a striving for the right to run their own affairs and thus end their status of colonial subjects. The philosophy behind the Inuit land claim, for example, is their desire to gain some control of their social, cultural and economic destiny so that they can be truly self-sufficient. They want to cast off their dependent role and assert the right to control their own destiny and live as they see fit. It implies self-government, control of native lands and resources and the right to determine native programs and policies. It also implies minimizing the intrusion of white southern society into their way of life.

The desire to control the development of a region in which they form a majority is not an unreasonable request. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (1976) points out that what they want is not really much different from what most Canadians already take for granted. Continued development of resources without concurrent increases in native responsibility only extends the dependency of native people (England 1970). Native leaders feel that gaining a measure of control over development will lead to greater long term benefits for native people than would be possible under continued colonial

dominance and preoccupation with exploitation of non-renewable resources.

(ii)   Cultural Preservation

The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (1976) embraces within its aims the dedication to "preserving the culture, identity and way of life of the Inuit and to helping them find their role in a changing society" (p. 5). Among Inuit and Indians of the north, the native culture is still very much alive as contact with white urbanized society has been limited. However, continued colonial rule is seen as being equivalent to the ultimate destruction of their culture. Adams (1975) concluded that when native people renounce their culture, colonization has been successful.

The preservation of Indian and Inuit cultures has been a difficult struggle against the assimilation policies of the Canadian government. In a nation where large sums are devoted annually to the preservation of the French Canadian culture, it is incongruous that northern natives have only recently obtained approval of curriculum changes to orientate the educational system towards the northern way of life.

One of the first comprehensive studies of Indians in Canada, Hawthorn (1966), emphasized that native cultural autonomy should not be directly lessened by any political, educational or economic change. The issue of cultural preservation did not, however, come to the fore until the publication of the federal government's White Paper on Indians

(Canada 1969). The Indians' response to the proposal that
their special status be phased out was fear that this would
inevitably destroy any hope of maintaining the native culture.
Cardinal (1969) termed the proposal "cultural genocide."

The colonial philosophy of development assumes that
the inevitability of "progress" will necessitate drastic
changes in the lifestyles of northern natives. It assumes
that they will all eventually leave their traditional
livelihoods for wage labour and the "benefits" of technology.
Native people, however, see a place for traditional occupations
in development, as these occupations imply harmony with nature
rather than exploitation and depletion. One of the concerns
of native leaders in articulating this goal is that native
people learn to take pride again in their cultural heritage.
They wish to adapt to the modern world while retaining their
native identity. The fight for native land and aboriginal
rights is, therefore, an important element in the goal of
cultural preservation. Many native people are still involved
in the traditional occupations of hunting, fishing and
trapping and feel that their culture will gradually die if
they are forced to depend on welfare and periodic wage labour.
Associated with this is concern over the manner in which
colonialism has weakened family ties. The family provides
one of the strongest social ties in native culture.

The Yukon Native Brotherhood (1973) has stated
explicitly that they will not "sell our heritage for a quick

buck or a temporary job" (p. 3). Because of the importance attached to cultural preservation, the goal of the community development strategy is to find solutions within the native cultural framework.

(iii)   Socio-Economic Development

While the issues of self-determination and cultural preservation are overriding concerns of native people, the topic of socio-economic development has generated the most discussion. Given the current social and economic conditions in native communities, this is not surprising. Manuel (1975) provides the following facts on conditions among Indians which are fairly representative of conditions among many native people: (1) in 1975 the average earned income for the total Indian labour force was $730; (2) the unemployment rate at best is 53 per cent, at worst, during seven months of the year this rate could be as high as 95 per cent in some areas; (3) 70 per cent of the homes have no running water and approximately 25 per cent use water from known contaminated sources; and (4) 41 per cent of native people are receiving welfare, compared with the national rate of 3.7 per cent. The Ontario Human Rights Commission has identified the most serious human rights problem in Canada as our treatment of native people (Hendry 1969). The dual reality of the north today, rich mineral developments and poor native peoples, illustrates the impact of colonial style development (Lotz 1970).

An economic base is considered to be a prerequisite
to self-determination and cultural preservation. Self-
determination can only be achieved when the native people rise
out of economic dependency, and the "luxury" of cultural
preservation can be realized when basic economic needs are
met. The failure of government programs to create economically
self-sufficient native communities is easily observable. The
conclusion reached by virtually all native groups is that
economic development programs will succeed only when they are
planned and implemented by the native people themselves.
Thus, the objective of socio-economic development implies
development in all aspects of native community life and
development which is controlled by the native people.

3.2.2   Acquisition of a Land Base

As an increasing number of native people have responded
to their colonial status through political mobilization, they
have begun to see hope for re-establishing the land base that
they lost during the settlement period.

The native grievances with respect to land claims are
not new. The rapidly increasing number of land claims is
not evidence, as some might suggest, that native people are
simply jumping on the bandwagon of contemporary protest
movements. Rather, these protests are only being heard now
because until very recently native people have never been in
a position to make their case and insist on their unique rights

(Barber 1974b). The creation of a native land base is an essential element in developing native economic and political power in the development of the north. It can also be described as the first step towards a development policy for the north that takes account of the presence of native people.

The basis of almost all contemporary native protest is that the establishment of a land base is considered essential to their survival as a viable minority culture. George Manuel (1975), as President of the National Indian Brotherhood, defined the land as "the cornerstone, the foundation of our identity as a people" (p. 17). The lands to which native people feel entitled is the symbol of their culture, and they have made it known that they are prepared to shed blood to hold them (Manuel 1975).

There are four basic values which the land holds for native people: (1) the symbolic nature of the land; (2) the economic potential of the land; (3) the native concern for the natural environment; and (4) the opportunity it presents for self-determination (Manuel 1975). The intention of this section is to consider how the native people perceive these values of the land and, therefore, how the land plays a key role in achieving the goal of community development. The importance of the land to native people and the lack of any original settlement of the native right to land (such as a Treaty) in the north, has led to the current conflict over land claims and aboriginal rights. The complex legal issues

of these claims will not be dealt with here as the focus
will be on the potential role of the land base.[1] With regard
to the legitimacy of the land claims, it should suffice to
say that if one accepts the validity of the colonial model
which has been presented, then one should accept as does
Lloyd Barber, the Indian Claims Commissioner of Canada, that
the grievances are real, the claims are genuine, and redress
of some sort must be provided (Barber 1974b).

A number of authors have discussed the special
relationship that native people have with the land, and its
symbolic value to them. Usher (1976) describes the importance
of the land to native people in this way:

> ... the land is more than just a source of food or
> cash. It is the permanent source of their security
> and their sense of well-being. It is the basis of
> what they are as people. The land, and the birds,
> fish and animals it supports, have sustained them
> and their ancestors from time immemorial...Without
> the land, and everything it means, native people
> would lose that which makes them special in their
> own eyes. They would have to become hollow imitations
> of white people (p. 6).

This perception of the land, which stems from the native culture
and system of values, may not be understandable in terms of
white values, but the strength of this position should not be
underestimated. The Yukon Native Brotherhood (1973) stated
very strongly that "without land Indian people have no Soul -
no Life - no Identity - no Purpose" (p. 7). The ethnic

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[1] For a summary of the land claims issue, see Barber
1974a, 1974b, and Indian Claims Commission 1975.

identity of Canadian native people is very closely linked with their relationship to the land. The term Dené, which is the name chosen for the coalition of northern Indians and Metis, is translated as "people's land."

Native people are well aware of the economic potential of the land in the north. The Treaties signed with southern Indians provided only the poorest of the available land so that today this native group has for its economic base, isolated tracts of land of little or no commercial, industrial or agricultural value. The native groups of the north do not want a repetition of the southern experience. They do not want to be excluded from the valuable mineral resources found in the northern land. As well, many northern natives still hunt, fish and trap and thus require substantial tracts of land. A land settlement is the only viable alternative to wage labour which, in the north, is only available sporadically.

The demands of the Yukon Native Brotherhood (1973) are typical of the demands being made by the northern natives. They want a just settlement which will provide them with land and financial resources to develop that land for the benefit of the people living on it. To the native people, control of their own land is necessary for cultural and economic survival. While journalists have often exaggerated the issue to the point of saying native people are demanding over half of Canada, the fact is that they are trying to establish legal right to large areas of land in order that they may obtain

title to at least enough area for their economic survival. The Yukon Native Brotherhood (1973) summarizes this position as: "We are not asking you to give us back our land, we are asking you to let us keep and develop some of our land" (p. 8).

Native concern for the environment is a third reason for their desire to control the use of at least some of the north. James Wah-shee (1975), one of the most vocal native leaders in the north, has pointed out that placing land use controls in the hands of natives would protect native interests and the broader public interests moreso than if corporations are allowed to hold control over the public interest. The present colonial development philosophy has resulted in the native people's traditional reverence for life and land being replaced by "the arrogance of the technocrat and engineer" (Woodford 1972: 120). Native people wish to have control of the land so that they can reside on it as ecological participants, not economic competitors.

Finally, native people view the land claims issue as the last opportunity for them to achieve self-determination. A land base is seen as an essential precondition to this objective. Without control over the land, they will be unable to direct the development of the region in which they live. Brody (1975) concluded that if the land settlements fail to protect native interests, "colonialism will once again have separated people from land they have always thought was theirs" (p. 233). The establishment of native land rights

is the only way to minimize the destructive power of southern
society.

Native people have frequently stated that they are
not against development, but that they are against the type of
development which permits them no role in planning their future.
If self-determination means the freedom to live as one chooses,
then control of the land is essential to it.

CHAPTER 4

GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT OF NATIVE DISCONTENT

The colonial treatment of native peoples by government has been identified as a major source of native poverty and discontent. A predominant feature of this colonial treatment is the disparity between stated and real goals with respect to government policy on native people. The explicit goal of government policy toward native people and northern development is:

> ... to provide for a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents that are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations.
>
> (statement by the Honourable Jean Chrétien as Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, quoted in Brody, 1975: 219)

Because of the government's vested interest in maintaining the neo-colonial structure in the north, and the pressure from multi-national petroleum and mineral corporations, the real goal of government policy seems to have become the management of native discontent.

Once authorities recognize evidence of discontent among one or more groups in society, the question which arises is: "how does one prevent those potential partisans who are injured or neglected by political decisions from trying to change the nature of the decisions, the authorities, or the political system within which the changes are made?" (Gamson

1968: 111). Thus, the role of authorities can be seen as the management of inevitable conflicts arising from their decisions, for the purpose of maintaining the political system. Within the portfolio of the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs there is a basic conflict of interests - native rights and northern resource development - and native people see the real power in D.I.N.A. as being with the Northern Affairs Branch which is more closely aligned with the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources than with the Indian Affairs Branch (McCullum and McCullum 1975). To resolve this conflict of interests the simplest route is obviously to control native protests and favour business interests, as the latter represents substantially greater political influence. Davis and Zannis (1973) suggest that one of the attractions of the north to multi-nationals is that the old colonial structure is still effective in keeping the native people from organizing effective resistance. As most corporate interests in the north are American based, the government has a further incentive to control native discontent - that of maintaining Canada-United States relations. The response that native people as individuals or as a community make to their colonial status will, therefore, be strongly influenced by government actions. The remainder of this chapter discusses the various means by which the government controls native responses.

4.1   Intimidation and Persuasion

The most direct means of control which falls within this category is coercion, that is, the use of force to prevent demands for change in the established order from becoming politicized and influential (Bachrach and Baratz 1970). Examples of the coercive role of the R.C.M.P. in the north have been cited earlier.

Native peoples are also controlled through insulation: giving potential dissidents differential access to authority and to positions involving the control of resources which can be brought to bear on authorities (Gamson 1968). Examples are discrimination in hiring and in the implementation of justice.

Yet another form of intimidation is sanction: the existence of systems to reward the "responsible" and punish the "deviant," where these terms are defined by the dominant group (Gamson 1968). The effect is to restrict the use of resources by potential protestors. Negative sanctions include jailing, holding back funds, and reduction of effective authority. For example, in the enquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, funding of native and public interest groups was curtailed in 1974 when there were signs that serious questions might be raised about the efficiency and thoroughness of Arctic Gas environmental studies (McCullum and McCullum 1975).

Humiliation is also used: government support of native peoples was intended to take the form of compensation for lands ceded to the government, but is treated as welfare "handouts."

Persuasion is a more subtle form of control. Attempts may also be made to persuade protestors that their interests, or at least the interests of the general public, are being well served. Most government publications on the north attempt to persuade natives and the public that their situation is rapidly improving and that large sums are being spent efficiently and effectively for this purpose. The aim is to decrease feelings of alienation which may turn discontent into protest. It is very similar to the encouragement of resignation (discussed below), but it includes more explicit control mechanisms which are undertaken after some evidence of a trend toward protest is observed. Persuasion may be facilitated by the withholding of information regarding the adverse effects of decisions. For example, information on the probable effects of pipeline construction in the Arctic has, until recently, been successfully played down.

Persuasion is also used to encourage native people to respond to their discontent through resignation or desertion. The means of encouraging resignation are primarily the maintenance of native people on subsistence incomes and limitations on their access to public services. The effectiveness of this tactic was made apparent in the earlier discussion of the evidence of colonialism. Native people have been so closely controlled in every aspect of their life that many see little hope for change. The disadvantage of these strategies is that they cannot prevent discontent from leading

to political mobilization at some later date. In addition,
they lead to costly secondary problems such as the creation
of native urban slums, crime, alcoholism and mental illness.

Desertion has been encouraged directly through
relocation grants to assist moves to urban communities, forced
relocation[1], movement of school children and, in the case of
Treaty Indians, enfranchisement (legal rejection of status).
Desertion is also encouraged in more indirect ways. Educational
programs persuade native children to reject native culture and
lifestyles. The acculturation process which goes on in the
schools is particularly effective as it results in many native
children seeing their parents' traditional ways as inferior.
Desertion is encouraged through manipulation of welfare
programs and the minimal assistance to local development
programs. Both of these tactics result in increased numbers
of native people moving to urban centres. One measure of the
government's influence in encouraging this response is provided
by Seaborne (1972) who estimated that two-thirds of the
migration from two native communities in northern Saskatchewan
was the direct result of government sponsorship.

Native people are also persuaded to co-operate with
the government through its paternalistic approach towards
native problems. There are many areas within the government's
socio-economic development programs in which this paternalism
becomes evident. The strong central control, particularly in

[1] see, for example, Lal 1969, Davis and Zannis 1973.

Ottawa, and the failure to use that centralization to develop any type of overall co-ordination, is a prime example (National Indian Brotherhood 1973). Associated with this is the absence of local participation in development planning. This attitude also becomes apparent in the attempts by government to impose various forms of business organizations upon native people. This has led to numerous failures, particularly among co-operatives which should arise out of community interest if they are to be successful. D.I.N.A. also devotes considerable resources to the promotion of establishing small businesses in native communities although it has been pointed out by Hempshell (1973) that on the average only one in seven of all new businesses survive as successful operations.

Another aspect of socio-economic development programs, in which paternalism becomes evident, is the role seen for traditional occupations such as trapping, hunting and fishing. Brody (1975) points out that compared to the cost of subsidizing industrial developments, the sums spent to maintain these occupations have been negligible. There has been no effort to guarantee fur prices or to use welfare to ensure a minimum income to those who choose these occupations. In 1974 incentive grants were offered to trappers but they were far too small ($150 for a trapper who made $1,000) to be effective (Brody 1975). The apparent cultural value of the traditional occupations would seem to warrant subsidization equivalent to that for wage employment, but more money is spent

"modernizing" native people than is spent on identifying their wants.

A final example serves to show how such paternalism can be carried to extremes. A communication from D.I.N.A. to Band Councils regarding the establishment of local government made the following suggestions:

> The Band office need not be a pretentious building...
> The office must be kept clean at all times if the
> respect of the public is to be retained. Sufficient
> even heating is needed, especially in winter, since
> it is not possible for the staff to perform
> satisfactory work in an office under other conditions.
> It is very important that the Band have stationery
> of their own and with an appropriate letterhead.
> This adds dignity to the Band administration ...
> (Canada 1967: 3).

4.2   Confusion

Non-decision, which refers to a "decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker" (Bachrach and Baratz 1970: 44), is also an effective control. The major asset of this control is that it removes the potential for protest rather than waiting until the protestors have gained access to the relevant decision-making arena. Non-decision can take the form of deflecting demands to committees and other time-consuming procedures. This will be particularly effective if the group is weakly organized and/or has difficulties maintaining group consensus and enthusiasm for long periods of time. It has been speculated by some that the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline enquiry falls into this class of

decision. While long drawn out discussions among native people, environmentalists and developers go on, the government continues to take measures to encourage oil and gas exploration in the Arctic. Nearly all environmental studies, to date, have been carried out after basic decisions affecting resource development have been made.

Another type of non-decision is the strategy of re-defining an issue as non-political, that is, defining the protest issue as more appropriately dealt with by technical personnel. For instance, the pipeline issue and the James Bay hydro-electric development were both treated by government as very complex and technical. Alternatively, to accept an issue as appropriate for political decision-making may be to define it as inappropriate for an open power confrontation outside the formal context (Edelman 1975). Potential public support for such a confrontation is diminished if, for example, token public hearings are carried out. If the influence of the protestors depends mainly on the possibility of interfering with established routines, as does that of northern natives, then channelling the issue into established procedures minimizes their power. Issues may also be redefined so as to appear to be less important, or may be defined so as to narrow the scope of conflict and thus diminish its importance in the eyes of the public. Land claim conflicts, for example, are usually defined in terms of one special case of "necessary" northern development so that the conflict will not be

interpreted by the public as a broader, more basic conflict between development and native rights.

Native groups are also confused and controlled by the old tactic of playing one group against another. The original decision of the government to grant Treaty rights only to some native groups created a split that is only beginning to be overcome through coalitions. Adams (1975) views this tactic as a necessary strategy of the colonizers, since to permit the unification of indigenous people would undoubtedly cause a serious threat to the status quo. The Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, a group concerned with the Arctic environment, has drawn attention to similar tactics: the firm categorization of natives, environmentalists, lawyers and others to keep them from forming a united overview; and the division of north and south which generates northern-southern hostility in Canada (McCullum and McCullum 1975).

The government bureaucracy can itself act as a significant constraint on the development of native communities, simply through its size and complexity which confuse native peoples. D.I.N.A., in particular, has been identified as a structural impediment to native progress, created as an internal colonial system to administer the Indians. The immense size of D.I.N.A. is indicative of the problem: from 1965-71, a period during which there was much discussion about phasing out the Department's Indian Affairs Branch, the number of employees increased from 2,766 to 6,238, and

the budget increased from $65 million to $265 million
(Stymeist 1975). In 1975 there were almost 15,000 employees
and the budget was just over $842 million (McCullum and
McCullum 1975). About 75 per cent of the budget is spent on
salaries and 87 per cent of the employees are white (Manuel
1975). Despite the Department's large size, one of its
control measures is to transfer responsibility for the delivery
of services to other federal departments and provincial
governments, who are often reluctant to provide special native
programs. A similar tactic is to transfer administration of
their programs to Indian Bands and then reduce the level of
financial assistance (Marule 1975).

4.3   Incremental Change

The government may make incremental policy changes
to distract native people from more important issues.
Bachrach and Baratz (1970) call this strategy "decisionless
decisions," as they imply no significant structural reforms.
By providing protestors with small victories while leaving
basic dissatisfactions untouched, the attention of protestors
and the general public who may have supported them, is
redirected to these small changes. The James Bay settlement
is a typical example. As with all land claims, the native
peoples demand was "land not money," but they were willing
to accept a just financial settlement. From the newspapers
one would conclude that this was the case as they received

the "generous" settlement of $150 million. However, only
the first $75 million is guaranteed, as the second half is
dependent upon the plant's generating capacity, and this first
amount is paid out over 10 years. What this represents is
only $805 per year per person (Manuel 1975). The selling price
for the land in question was less than $1.50 per acre.

Another example of the use of incremental change
took place after the native protest at Anicinabe Park near
Kenora, Ontario. The six week occupation of the park, which
culminated in a violent clash between natives and R.C.M.P.
riot police on Parliament Hill, resulted in little more than
a visit from the Minister of Indian Affairs. Although the
threat of minamata disease from mercury polluted waters in
this and other native areas is very great, the only government
action, until recently, was to post signs warning the Indians
not to fish (Canadian Association in Support of the Native
Peoples 1976). Action has now begun to stop the offending
company from dumping mercury waste into the river system but
this does not solve the problem of how the native people are
to replace fish in their diet and as a source of their
livelihood, nor does it solve problems in other affected areas.
The tourist trade and the pulp and paper industry hold the
balance of power over native people who are seen as lazy,
unemployed drunkards.

A more specific form of incremental change occurs
when the white-dominated bureaucracy is changed to allow entry

by a small minority of native people. This subtle form of control is co-optation.

Native protestors are allowed to enter the power structure of the dominant white group when the protest is seen as a threat to the authorities and the neo-colonial system. Such participation is defined as co-optative when "the activities of non-elites in decision-making and policy implementation are channeled toward the preconceived goals of the higher authorities" (Bachrach and Baratz 1970: 206). Under traditional colonialism, co-optation occurred, but primarily for the purpose of simplifying administration. For example, government officials on Indian reserves often allowed a small group of families to thrive while allowing the majority to fall into a dependency existence; these "leading families" were created and sustained in return for their co-operation in various forms of local government (Dosman 1972). Co-opted natives play a more important role in neo-colonialism as they help preserve the facade of self-rule and independence. Co-optation has been so successful that many sincere native spokesmen are accused of conspiring with the white dominated government. Government policies in the north have been described as a "monumental process of deception" (Davis and Zannis 1973: 13).

A special form of co-optation is selective participation. For instance, native people are allowed to be represented on decision-making committees, but always as a minority or on

selected, less important issues, despite their majority in the northern population. Selective participation gives protestors the illusion of a voice without the voice itself (Bachrach and Baratz 1970). The public is encouraged to believe protestors have been allowed significant participation so they will perceive them as being fairly treated.

CHAPTER 5

FUTURE CONTROL OF POLITICAL SPACE IN THE NORTH

There are two major options with respect to the
future development of the north: (1) the colonial philosophy
of development which presently dominates the north can
continue; or (2) native people can achieve greater control
over the direction of northern development. The purpose
of this chapter is to discuss the alternative futures under
these two options.

5.1 Future Development under Neo-colonialism

The colonization of Canadian native peoples has had
a dramatic impact in the north. The colonial philosophy has
pervaded all aspects of development. Lotz (1970) suggests
that "the dominance everywhere of Western ideas and Western
models seems to have blinded everyone to the existence of
other ways of approaching the problems of development" (p. 162).
The colonial philosophy of development is to impose these
"Western" models on the traditional communities of the north.
The Dené, the Indian and Métis coalition in the Northwest
Territories, have described the colonial approach to
development as an approach in which the north is viewed as
a "storehouse of resources" for the south; all profits from
development go southward with the resources ("The Dené

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Declaration" 1976). The north becomes merely a hinterland dependent on the south. The Dené point out that the north is losing its resources and getting only welfare and a colonial bureaucracy in return.

The government, in pursuing this philosophy of development, has created a favourable tax climate for petroleum and mining corporations, increasing their profits, size and non-accountability to the Canadian public. These companies have now gained so much control over northern development that it has become difficult, if not impossible, for the government to alter its policy favouring corporate priorities. As well, perpetuation of this philosophy of resource development is necessary "if the link between big business and the Liberal coffers was to be maintained" (McCullum and McCullum 1975: 45). An example of the government's favouritism to big business at the expense of native people in the Canadian north is described by Lotz (1970):

> Despite the world glut of iron ore, the Department
> [of Indian Affairs and Northern Development] stood
> ready in 1967-68 to help Baffinland Iron Mines come
> into production with a subsidy of $25 million. The
> promotors were expected to put up $70 million. At
> the same time that talk of subsidizing this mine was
> going on, two Indian co-operatives in the Northwest
> Territories, at Fort Resolute and Rae, were refused
> further financial assistance from the government
> on the grounds they were costing too much money
> (p. 136).

It has been in the best interests of the extractive industries to "develop" northern resources very quickly. For many native people the pace of change has been too rapid.

It has been sudden, dramatic and bewildering, especially as they are caught between their own traditions and those of a southern society with different customs and values (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1976). Even in native communities in southern Canada, where native people are not caught up in the fast pace of northern resource development, there have been appeals for a slowdown, and that progress be made at the community's speed, not that of the white man (The Globe and Mail (Toronto), March 10, 1976).

The situation in the north is complicated by the government's lack of an overall long term plan for northern development, the potential environmental damage, and the doubts that northern resources are really needed in the near future. In its preoccupation with resource extraction, the government has failed to set forth any clear statement of its goals in the north. It has also failed to moderate the impact of large scale developments on northern people through influencing the location and speed of development (Brody 1975).

Throughout the traditional and neo-colonialism in the north, the "development problem" has been seen simply as how to overcome physical obstacles to the exploitation of resources (Rea 1976). Non-native entry into all areas of northern development has been assumed to be inevitable. Until recently, preoccupation with economic growth has overshadowed the questions of development benefits. If this question was considered at all, it was assumed that

native people would surely gain from such development. So long as there were no apparent losers, the question of benefits was not politically sensitive (Rea 1976). With the growth of native organizations and the mounting protests against the colonial development of the north, however, the benefits issue has come into prominence. It has become rather obvious that only a small, non-resident, often non-Canadian, group is benefiting from northern development. The government's interpretation of this issue is still much narrower than that of the native people. The government sees the solution to the present imbalance of development benefits as being the provision of employment for native people with the northern resource industries. The government has, in fact, devoted significant resources towards this end. The 1974 annual report of the Government of the Northwest Territories, for example, proudly pointed out that "more natives every year find wage employment, settling into the new way of life" (Northwest Territories 1974: 10). Under such circumstances native people are likely to lose all chances of becoming economically self-sufficient as the balance of power with respect to control over political space in the north would remain unchanged. Native people are well aware that employment in northern resource industries will provide only short term benefits. Most of these industries are centered around capital intensive resource extraction which only requires large labour inputs in the initial stages. Therefore,

the net effect is to "generate local dependence on high levels
of wage earning that will not, by the very nature of the
development, be long maintained" (Brody 1975: 225).

The future for native people has been described as
bleak if the colonial concept of development continues.
Native people will be "reduced to a life of marginal semi-
existence in substandard social conditions, the entire fabric
of their culture destroyed" (McCullum and McCullum 1975: 197).

Native people foresee the present colonial style
development as leading eventually to a situation of resource
depletion in which they will be the biggest losers. The
northern environment will have been severely damaged and
there will be little or no base from which to build an
economically self-sufficient community. They realize that the
time to obtain control of northern development is now, while
there are still profits to be made from the northern resources.

5.2   An Alternative Future under Native Control

The future open to native northerners is often viewed
as being a choice between a hunting/trapping economy or an
acceptance of the colonial philosophy of development discussed
above. It is assumed that they will never have any direct
control over political space in the north. Recently, native
spokesmen have begun to voice their objections to this position
and have presented what they consider to be a viable alternative.

Native leaders have embraced a philosophy of community

rather than colonial development which is, simply, "a strategy whereby people are encouraged and enabled to participate actively in planning, decision-making and the implementing of decisions" (Hendry 1969: 59).

This native philosophy implies a broader definition of development and development benefits than does the materialistic, growth-oriented definition associated with neo-colonialism. Within this philosophy there is a place for the traditional hunting, fishing and trapping occupations. Even if long term employment is available, native people also feel they should have the option of carrying on these traditional activities. However, this should not be their only possible course of action. They see this as a legitimate demand since they provided the land from which the resource developers are gleaning their profits.

The crux of the northern development "problem" from the native point of view is: who will control the pace and direction of development. Their philosophy towards northern development is that the native people living in the north should control the nature of the development and should receive the long-term development benefits. The native philosophy is similar to the community development philosophy defined by McEwen (1970) which rests on four basic premises: (1) all persons have a strong desire to better their condition; (2) if they have not attempted to do so it is because of their lack of resources; (3) all persons will take advantage of

opportunities to improve their conditions if the resources
at their disposal are sufficient and if they are allowed to
do so on their own terms; and (4) to be successful, change
cannot occur in only one sphere of community activity. Native
people are seeking the means through which to handle accelerating
change and to facilitate the participation of all native people
in directing change. Development is seen not as a product
of southern technology, but as a process involving native
people.

For such a development strategy to be successful,
native leaders believe it should be controlled by the people,
themselves. Thus the people must have control of a land base
and access to resources.

While the native people feel control of their own
development programs is essential, they also realize that they
will require financial support from the government for some
time. While some might suggest that this would be special,
undeserved treatment, the National Indian Brotherhood (1972)
points out that they are requesting no more than that which
is already received by developing countries and depressed
regions within Canada. Furthermore, these countries and regions
have not ceded immense areas of land to the federal government
in return for this assistance. One example cited by native
leaders is that Prince Edward Island, with a per capita income
of $2,000, is considered sufficiently handicapped to justify
federal subsidies of $6,500 per capita. It was estimated in

1968 that the cash income of northern Indians was less than $200 per capita, and the $50 million economic development fund represents only another $200 for each of the approximately 250,000 Indians in Canada (National Indian Brotherhood 1972). Furthermore, an area such as Prince Edward Island already has a considerably better system of infrastructure than the vast majority of native communities, particularly in the north. Thus, native people believe that the same per capita application of funds used by the Canadian International Development Agency and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in developing countries and depressed regions, respectively, should apply to native communities.

Funding is needed particularly for the development of social overhead capital and for training of the native labour force. The amount of funding would be dependent upon the additional incomes that could be received from resource ownership. Organizations such as the National Indian Brother- hood are simply requesting sufficient support so that native people can reach a standard of living equivalent to that of at least the poorest white Canadians and so that they can eventually become economically self-sufficient.

Native leaders believe that the solution to many of the social problems of native communities, such as apathy, alcoholism and crime, lies in giving members of the community greater control over all aspects of their lives. Thus, the establishment of native-controlled local governments, school

and hospital boards, and courts of law is often recommended
by native organizations. The rationale is simply that no one
can be expected to take a constructive interest in his
community's well-being if he has no say in its management.
This is especially true in northern native communities where
many native people have seen, within their own lifetime, a
change from economic independence to welfare dependence.

The future prospects of native people under the native
community philosophy of development are more difficult to
predict than the prospects under colonialism as native people
in northern Canada have been given little opportunity to plan
and control their own future. In southern Canada, however,
there are a number of cases where, given the opportunity,
native people have shown that they can develop their own
communities very successfully.

The case of the Enoch Indian Band of Alberta (The
Globe and Mail (Toronto), April 9, 1976) provides an apt
example to support this claim. The band had been receiving
substantial oil royalties since the mid-1950's but the people
of the reserve continued to be unemployed, housing conditions
were very poor, and alcoholism was a serious problem. Significant
improvements began to develop on the reserve only after 1971,
for it was at this time that the band received control of
its capital budget. Once they were able to plan for their
own socio-economic development, conditions improved. Today
there is virtually no unemployment, the net income is

11 per cent higher than the national average and the alcohol problem has diminished. The band is developing plans for a long term economic base that will support them after the oil is depleted.

The argument that native people are not capable of adequately researching and designing an economic development program is no longer valid. Manitoba Indian Development Incorporated produced, with the assistance of a consulting firm, a very comprehensive proposal for federal funding of an independent Indian Loan Corporation. Other native organizations have produced similar studies. Skepticism regarding the capabilities of native people in this regard is a pre-judgment, as their lack of resources and autonomy have not permitted any significant demonstration of their capacity to deal with political and economic independence (Barber 1974a). It would seem that native people are correct in stating that development programs will be successful only if they are planned and implemented by the native people, themselves, according to their own interests.

These few examples indicate that the development philosophy adopted by native people does have significant potential for success. The persistent failure of government development schemes in native communities would alone make these native proposals worthy of consideration.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Two very different pictures of the political future
in northern Canada have been presented. The ultimate outcome
of the conflict over political space in the north will depend
primarily upon three factors: (1) the number of northern
native people who choose political mobilization as the means
by which to improve their position; (2) the government's
northern development policies and the manner in which they
restrict native options; and (3) the strength of corporate
interests in the north and the manner in which they influence
government policies.

While casual observation might suggest that most
native people are resigned to their position or have deserted
the native way of life, native spokesmen such as George Manuel,
Howard Adams and James Wah-shee have said repeatedly that most
native people are now ready to turn their feelings of
discontent into action. "It is only a matter of time before
Indians and Metis will restructure themselves on a firm
political basis for a new movement" (Adams 1975: 184). The
same conclusions apply to the Inuit who are experiencing a
growing political awareness and are beginning to respond
through protest. Lotz (1970) concluded:

...What comes from outside is no longer accepted

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without question. People no longer automatically reject their own things as inadequate. The signs of decolonization, of breaking away from outside models that stifle local initiative and enthusiasm, are everywhere (p. 185).

For many years native people were resigned to their situation because there was little they could do to change it. With encouragement from the government, whose native policy began to favour assimilation in the 1950's and 1960's, many native people deserted their culture and tried to become successfully assimilated into white society. It is fairly evident that assimilation has failed. Although this failure led many native people to again adopt attitudes of resignation, an increasing number are beginning to favour political mobilization as the route to decolonization. While the colonial treatment of native people has been borne with apparent submissiveness and resignation, a spark of culture and self-worth has been kept alive and today is helping to form a new spirit of protest (Newbery 1975). The basis of this spirit is a determination that native worth and rights must be recognized and treated with justice. Demands are being made to have past injustices corrected. Native language, culture, land and lifestyles are being re-asserted. It is becoming increasingly apparent that native discontent and, hence, political mobilization, is rapidly developing.

Whether the number of native people choosing this more positive response to their colonial status will be sufficient, depends to a large degree on the success of

government policies which in effect control northern natives.
The resource developers, from both the private and public
sector, may feel it is in their best interests to increase the
strength of these controls. If native discontent is successfully
stifled, and the north is continued to be developed in a
colonial fashion, violence may become a common native response.
If, on the other hand, northern development is allowed to take
the course outlined in the previous chapter, that is, increasing
native control, then native political mobilization will have
become an effective force.

The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada has stated that the most
significant legacy of southern society's intrusion into the
north has been a growing political awareness among the north's
original inhabitants. This political awareness has led native
people to demand the opportunity to once again become
politically and economically self-sufficient. The successful
attainment of this goal will be largely dependent upon the
role they are allowed to play in the development process,
that is, whether their role is one of a colonial subject or a
partner in controlling the direction of development in the
north. In the north, where native people are in the majority,
there is an ideal opportunity for native people to ensure
that a fair share of the profits from resources is put back
into native communities to ensure viability after the wealth
of resources is exploited.

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