

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL FACTORS
AFFECTING THE STATUS OF CANADIAN NATIVE WOMEN

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Patricia Sawchuk
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**A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The legal status of Canadian native women has become a subject of controversy during the last few years. In particular, the status sections of the Indian Act¹ have been the cause of bitter debate both within and outside of the courts. To understand the issues under examination it is first necessary to be aware of what is meant by the special status that Indians have and how the status sections of the Indian Act differentially apply to male and female Indians.

It is the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that the status of Canadian native women as determined by the Indian Act is a product of the development of a dependency relationship between native peoples and the Canadian government which has resulted in the internalization by many people of Indian ancestry of dominant society values and ideology.

The Act is a product of the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

¹The date of the first Indian Act is 1876. Major revisions followed in 1880 and later in 1951. Sections 11 and 12 of the present Act are those under dispute with regard to the status issues.

This proclamation first set forth the policy to be used in dealing with Indians and stated that Indians had land rights both within the British colonies and in areas surrounding the colonies. The proclamation was issued by King George III and in addition to the Indian policy which it contained, it defined the boundaries of British colonies in North America.

It was this document which first set apart the rights of Indians from those of other inhabitants in the country.

The proclamation guaranteed the rights of Indians to continue living on any land within the dominions or territories of the British government, which not having been ceded to or purchased by the Crown, was still reserved for the Indians.... All private persons were forbidden to buy any Indian lands in the colony; if the Indians wished to sell their land, only the Crown had a right to buy it (Ornstein 1973(III):54).

This laid the basis for the special relationship which was to develop between native peoples and the federal government, a relationship shared by no other ethnic minority.

The issue of special status for Indians works both for and against those affected by it. The Indian Act represents both a tool of domination of the federal government and a lever with which the Status Indian population can bring pressure to bear on the federal power structure because of the commitments the federal government has made to

Indian people. Since status is a legal issue, matters of cultural affiliation and background are often ignored. Schisms have developed in the native rights movement because of this issue. The distinctions between people who are status, non-status, enfranchised and Metis have resulted in controversies within families and on reserves.

Briefly, section 11 of the Indian Act states who is entitled to be registered as an Indian.² Section 12 covers those categories of people who are not entitled to be registered Indians.³ It is specifically section 12(1)(b) that has been objected to by Indian women who have lost their status through marriage to a non-Indian Status person and by those in sympathy with these women. The point to note in this section of the Act is that male Indians are not affected in the same way as females. Reference is made only to "a woman who married a person who is not an Indian ...". Males are not included and it is this which has become the crux of the issue.

An Indian man may choose to marry whomever he pleases without jeopardizing his own Indian status or that of any children he may have. In addition, if he marries a non-Indian Status woman, this woman has Indian status conferred

² See Appendix 1.

³ See Appendix 2.

upon her. She becomes what may be termed an "instant Indian". Legally, a new Indian is added to the band list and Indian Register and the children of such a marriage are legally regarded as Indians. An Indian woman faces quite another set of circumstances.

If an Indian woman chooses to marry a non-Indian Status person, her name is removed from the Indian Register. This is followed by enfranchisement.⁴ Any children born of this union will not have Indian status. The woman will no longer be permitted to live on the reserve or take advantage of any rights she previously had as a member of the band. She will no longer be an Indian in the legal sense of the word, and thus no longer the responsibility of the federal government.

It was in 1970 when Jeanette Lavell, an Ojibwa woman from Manitoulin Island, married a white man and proceeded to protest the enfranchisement procedures which would automatically follow. Her efforts in the courts received national

⁴"Enfranchisement is the process by which an Indian gives up both the benefits and burdens of the Indian Act. The enfranchised Indian is obligated to dispose of any interest in reserve lands which he may have and to cease active participation in the reserve community. In short, enfranchisement means that an Indian is expected to surrender his special legal status as an Indian and join the Canadian community at large"(Cumming and Mickenburg 1972:7). Upon a woman's marriage to a non-Indian Status person, this is an involuntary procedure. See Appendix 3.

attention and other native women began to speak out on the status issue and its effects on Indian women. Lavell's case, along with that of another enfranchised Indian woman, reached the Supreme Court of Canada in 1973, which resulted in even more attention being paid to the issue of native women's status in this country. Since then there has been an upsurge in the native women's movement and a mushrooming of native women's organizations across the country both on provincial and national levels.

The issues which have emerged concern not only native women, but all native people and the ramifications of changes in the legal status of native women will affect all native peoples for generations to come.

An understanding of the native peoples' point of view cannot be neglected when examining the legal aspects involved in the women's status issue. One cannot merely clamour for "equality" before the law without first realizing the consequences of such actions for the native population as a whole. To destroy the Indian Act may provide native women with the same equality that other women have (which is a doubtful advantage in many cases), but at the same time would sever all of those special ties between the federal government and the Indians of Canada which provide the only equipment the Indians have to employ in their relations with government.

This relationship as a whole may be examined in terms of a dependency relationship, whereby since early contact times native peoples have been rendered dependent, first economically and later legally, with the Indian Act still today laying the ground rules for Status Indian - government relations. The native population has been drawn into the economic mainstream although maintaining a peripheral position with regard to power and authority. As Carstens (1971: 129) has pointed out,

The Indians of Canada who are under the Indian Act and live within the economic, social and territorial confines of reserves are not wards of the Government as some have argued. They are members of little colonies within the borders of the dominating nation.

Native peoples exist in a special relationship with the federal government and with society-at-large. They represent a group apart, the "first citizens", "citizens plus" - in other words, their place in the Canadian mosaic is unique. Native peoples were here first and were conquered. Their relationship with the federal government has developed over time with native people representing the "satellite" factor in relation to the "metropolitan" interests of mainstream society.

Theoretical Framework

It is my contention that the complex relationship which exists between the native peoples of Canada and the federal government may be interpreted in terms of a dependency model and that the position and status of native women may be fitted into this model as an integral part of the total structure. The fostering of government policy which methodically and effectively weakens by degree the strength of the native people in Canada bears strong resemblance to the situation analyzed by A.G. Frank in Latin America (see Frank 1967, 1969b; also see Amin 1972, Carstens 1971, Davis 1971, Wallerstein 1973). Though the bases of Frank's model of analysis are drawn from broad economic and political relationships (both national and international), the model can be easily restructured in terms of the internal situation existent in Canada. The objective of this thesis is to formulate an analysis of this model in terms of the status of Canadian native women.

Like the Indians of Latin America, Canadian Indians are not isolated from the cultural and economic mainstream of the country. They occupy a peripheral position with regard to the government and economy and are placed in a position of low status and inhibiting mobility with little in the way of effective means of controlling their situa-

tion. Whereas in the past Status Indians depended mainly on the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for economic funding for development projects, they are now being pushed towards other sources.⁵ When they approach other sources, they face the question: "Why not go to Indian Affairs?" Native peoples, particularly Status Indians, have had to go to Indian Affairs for so long that when they do attempt to branch out to other departments of government, they must contend with inquiries about the rationale for their doing so from other departments and in some cases, provincial governments. In addition, funds from other sources tend to be short-term oriented, with the result being that many projects that are funded are doomed to failure when the initial economic support is dropped.

The native population may be exploited indefinitely because of the nature of their position in the socio-economic network of the country. When they pressure the government it is of such small significance that it is virtually of no threat to the dominant factor. Native peoples are only encouraged to act out their demands in a way which can be monitored and kept in control by those governing. It is the established organizations and their leaders who are listened

⁵A relatively small amount of money is now channeled into Economic Development by the Indian Affairs Branch. For example, in the 1974-75 fiscal year, \$27.2 millions went to Economic Development, whereas \$30.9 went to Administration, \$162.8 to Community Affairs and \$164.5 to Education. Source: DIAND, 1975, Annual Report for 1974-75.

to. The radical organizations are the ones who receive derogatory treatment by the press and other media and who receive no formal recognition by government. It is the latter about whom the most rumors are spread and who are made to appear as if they were a threat to national security.⁶ The more conservative leaders, those who work safely within the system with the government and not in open opposition to it are the ones who are listened to, and who, it is important to add, become part of the very bureaucracy they wish to change in the process of attempting to do so. A certain amount of dissent can be tolerated by the system. Those who dissent are motivated by small gains - gains never large enough to penetrate the super-structure.

The colonial situation in Canada was one of white arrival, settlement and domination. The impact of the fur trade in particular on native society cannot be overlooked in analyzing the colonial situation. With arrival and settlement came the appropriation of lands and displacement of the native peoples, if not permanent elimination (e.g., Beothuk). Compensation for land losses was small in comparison with what was given up and this policy has continued into the 1970's (James Bay settlement).

The texture of Indian life was altered considerably as

⁶ See Maclean's, 18 October 1976, pp.26-40 for examples of such allegations by the R.C.M.P.

these changes came about. People who were formerly self-reliant became dependent. Subsistence patterns changed. Acculturation began and proceeded through many stages.

A decrease in the population of the Canadian Indian was achieved in part through enfranchisement. Both men and women gave up their rights as Indians to become "just like any other Canadian." The imposed enfranchisement of Status Indian women who married non-Indian Status persons acted to eliminate and continues to do so, not only the women's names from their band lists, but also those of any children born of the mixed unions, thus enforcing by law a system of patrilineal descent reckoning. By decreasing the Status Indian population, the government further lessens its commitments. Indians who enfranchise can make no special claims upon the government for medical aid or educational assistance.

It is not hard to see that a wedge has been driven into the native movement, causing dissent and unrest. Sexual discrimination which has been written into the legislation has caused a major upheaval in the cause of native rights. If the Indian Act is kept intact, legal definitions will continue to cause schisms within the movement while true cultural identity and commitments will be neglected as much as possible. Historically, decisions regarding status and band membership were left to the individual bands. Now that power rests with the federal power structure, the government.

It is proposed that the whole question of native people's rights (including those of women in particular) is being used as a tool by the federal government to maintain the dependency situation and the low socio-economic position of the native population. Though this is not done deliberately or written into policy statements, it is certainly what is inevitably happening.

In the words of Dr. Howard Adams, a Metis leader from Saskatchewan, we can clearly hear the essence of the radical native spirit which has developed in reaction to the government's policy:

We have to start dealing with our heritage on a broader scale. When we do that we know that it really has been crushed by the system we live under, the kind of imperialist capitalist society we live in. It is not accidental that our culture has been destroyed. That is part of the system, because in order to keep us oppressed, keep us powerless, it must destroy our heritage, because that is a way to weaken us.

Over the years the system has done that. So now, once again, we must work to revive our heritage. Wherever the imperialist system goes, it's part of the scheme to make the native peoples of all countries appear as though they were sub-human.

That has an economic meaning to it, because what it says, you see, is that if we can make these people really sub-human, then they will have no civil or human rights. Then,

we can exploit them; we can use them. We can make them trap the furs and bring them in and steal from them with a few drinks of rum. And that's good enough, because these native people are only sub-human (Adams 1974:20).

In analyzing the situation to be found in Black Africa Samir Amin arrives at similar conclusions, the most significant being that the societies affected by colonial takeover are not to be looked at as occupying a space somewhere along the road to modernity and independence, much less equality with those by whom they have been subjected, but instead can only be seen as societal configurations which have been stymied before ever having the chance to change their destiny. Though he is describing Black Africa, the theoretical model applies equally well to Canada and her native peoples.

... the traditional society was distorted to the point of being unrecognizable: it lost its autonomy, its main function was to produce for the world market under conditions which, because they impoverished it, deprived it of any prospect of radical modernization. This 'traditional' society was not, therefore, in transition (to 'modernity'); it was completed as a dependent society, a peripheral one, and hence a dead end (1972:115, emphasis in original).

Terminology

For the purposes of this thesis the definitions for "hinterland" and "metropolis" that Davis (1971) proposes in "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland versus Metropolis", will be employed.

Hinterland means, in the first instance, relatively underdeveloped or colonial areas which export for the most part semi-processed extractive materials - including people who migrate from the country to the city for better educational and work opportunities. Hinterland may also usefully denote urban under-classes as well as rural peasantries and rural proletariats. Metropolis signifies the centres of economic and political control located in the larger cities. Further, the term may denote urban upper-class elites, or regional and national power structures of one sort or another (12).

The terms "native" and "Indian" are often used interchangeably, however "Indian" generally refers to "Status Indian persons" whereas "native" refers to all people of Indian and Inuit descent in the country. In most instances I favor using the term "native" because I have found that it is what many people themselves prefer. For one thing, it eliminates the issue of legal status. When the government uses the term "Indian", what is meant is Status Indian persons. When "native" is used, it refers to Status, non-Status, Metis and Inuit and is therefore less precise and

covers people not included in the coverage of the Indian Act.

The women I am writing about are of Status Indian ancestry and have lost their Indian Status because of marriage to a non-Indian Status person. Technically (legally) they are not to be called "Indians". Culturally and genetically they are of course as "Indian" as they were prior to their marriages. It is for this reason that I tend to use the term "native" because it is all-inclusive and is also the term used by many of the native women's organizations themselves which include both Status and non-Status Indian women.

Relevant Literature

The anthropological literature on the legal status of native women is very sparse. A few articles have appeared during the last few years and the issue has been mentioned in some of the more popular works on the contemporary native scene (e.g., Frideres 1974), but as yet, no major anthropological or sociological analysis of it has come forth. It is for this reason that the research for this thesis is based for the most part on articles (academic, commercial, and native press), conference reports and statements by native people when questioned on the issue of women's status.

In "Proposed Changes in the Legal Status of Canadian Indian Women: The Collision of Two Social Movements", Weaver (1973) analyzes the Indian rights movement and the women's liberation movement and the way in which they have met and clashed. The complexities of the relationship which exists between the two are lucidly described and the article serves to explain the reasons behind the "collision" which has occurred.

Cara Richards, in an article entitled "Onondaga Women: Among the Liberated" (1974), presents a composite picture of a typical Onondaga woman and demonstrates that Onondaga women still hold much control in their communities today. Though the Onondaga reside in New York State, they are a part of the Six Nations peoples (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk and Tuscarora) and are Iroquoian speakers who traditionally followed a matrilineal system of descent. As such they are representative of these groups, some of whom are living in Canada today.

"Native Women - Past" by Marlene Castellano analyzes the roles played by Huron and Ojibwa women traditionally. This article appears in a collection entitled Portraits: Peterborough Area Women Past and Present which was published in 1975 as part of International Women's Year activities.

Edith Whetung, of Curve Lake Reserve, near Peterborough, Ontario writes of contemporary native women in another article

in Portraits. In "Native Women - Present" (1975) Whetung presents us with brief glimpses into the lives of native women of Peterborough county who are active in community affairs.

In her M.A. thesis of 1969, Julia Cruikshank discusses and analyzes the role of northern Canadian native women in social change. Her research involved talking with women of Indian ancestry who considered themselves Indians regardless of their legal status and in her thesis she traces the impact of white contact and imposed change on women's position in the family and community.

The relatively new magazine, Native Perspective, a publication of the National Association of Friendship Centres, has presented a number of brief articles on native women and the status issue. Some of these will be mentioned in Chapter Three.

There is a book forthcoming from the Department of the Secretary of State by Mrs. Jean Goodwill, which features articles on prominent native women across the country.

In recent years, a number of anthropological studies of women from a cross-cultural perspective have appeared, but very little has been devoted to native women of North America. In addition, little attention has been given to the "traditional" status positions of native women in most of the ethnographic literature. Though it is now too late

to reconstruct the "traditional" scene, the time is appropriate for an analysis of the contemporary processes at work regarding legal status and the social changes being experienced by Canadian native peoples. It is intended that this thesis will make at least a small contribution in this direction.

Contextual Framework

While the status of Canadian native women in itself has not been dealt with in any great degree in the anthropological literature, it is an area which deserves attention and development. The status of women in a world context became an issue in the 1960's and 1970's and culminated in International Women's Year 1975. The study of sex roles cross-culturally has become a popular topic in anthropology curriculums at many universities and included within this is the status of women. These subjects have been studied from both historical and contemporary perspectives and have served to demonstrate that there was (and generally still is) an ignorance with regard to the role that women have played economically in the development of world history.

Native women have not been spared inclusion in this milieu of ignorance and the lack of recognition of their importance in the ethnographic literature is explainable

in part by the fact that the work that went into the writing of ethnographies was largely done by men or supervised by them. Thus the role of women received little attention, while the status of men as warriors, hunters, food-providers and physical protectors was glorified much as the role of men in contemporary Western society as business leaders, politicians and educators has been boosted at the expense of the females who in many cases fill equally important roles.

This is a situation which has developed because of involvement (once intimate, now peripheral) with mainstream society over time. It is because of the colonial encounter that native peoples became entwined in the value system of dominant society, and thus native women have been relegated to a lower status position than was often the case in early and pre-contact times.

Issues dealing with both the status of women or sex roles cross-culturally along with those of colonialism and dependency have become significant areas of research in recent years. It is intended that this thesis will bring together in an anthropological framework the status of Canadian native women and the dependency relationship of native peoples and the federal government of Canada. How the status of native women fits into a model of dependency relations will be analyzed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Research Methods

The idea for this thesis emerged while listening to native women discuss their needs for better representation in the native organizations which have tended toward being male-dominated. My interest in the voluntary organizations of native women led to an analysis of the place they occupy in relation to the other native organizations and the federal power structure. The women's organizations developed to meet a need for the representation which was not being provided by the men in the established organizations. The women wanted to have their own voice. In particular, those who were fighting to change the status sections of the Indian Act needed an organization through which their opinions could be better expressed to other native peoples and to the federal government.⁷

The data used for this thesis included conference discussions and reports, radio interviews (CBC), newspaper articles, native newspapers and magazines, in addition to personal contacts with native people. No formal interviewing or rigid interview schedule was employed, but a number of informal discussions about the issue of women's status took place with both native men and women. Since the issue is

⁷This is not to imply that native women's organizations are radical in a political sense, but rather that they provide a more conducive atmosphere for airing opinions on such controversial issues as women's legal status.

both politically and emotionally charged, people had fairly strong opinions and it was found that the open-ended question, "How do you feel about the women's status issue and the status sections of the Indian Act?" was most appropriate. This would generally lead to a lengthy discussion. Since the sample of people consulted was a selective one, dependent on those who were most accessible to me, the range of answers received was narrow in scope, all taking the same basic position on the issue. If a larger population had been consulted, the results might have been different.

Thesis Format

Chapter 1 is designed to provide the introduction and background for the issue of native women's status.

The second chapter will offer a description of the Historical Background on the Status of Native Women in terms of native society traditionally and the legislation imposed after White contact.

Chapter 3 will present the situation as it exists in the 1970's, with specific reference to court cases, women's organizations, outside influences and the native rights movement.

Chapter 4, The Dependency Dilemma, analyzes the colonial relationship which exists between the federal govern-

ment and the native population, how this has developed and become institutionalized and how it is being challenged today. The dependency model will be used to interpret such elements as the fur trade, the market economy, the metropolis-hinterland relationship and how this may be applied to the women's status issue.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE STATUS OF NATIVE WOMEN

This chapter will present some historical background to the contemporary issues under consideration and will focus on the impact that white contact and imposed legislation have had on native social organization and particularly, the status of women. It is not intended to be a history, but rather a historical perspective on contemporary themes. The salient point is that status decisions were formerly internal ones among the many native societies, that is, the power to make decisions on status issues was within the realm of the local political structure (band, tribe, nation). Since the inception of the Indian Act this power is held by the federal political structure which represents a force external to traditional native societies. Similar structural changes are also to be found in the concept of land, land use and the reserve system, all of which are evidence of a move away from a historically oral and practical (ecologically speaking) tradition which was of necessity flexible, to a formally legalized system of rules sanctioned by the dominant political force.

Though historically the status of native women varied from nation to nation it is significant that it was a communally agreed upon status within each group. Traditional status was an integral part of societal structure and was not something to be impressed or imposed upon people by an external political power. In 1869, legislation was passed which provided for the removal of Indian status from Indian women who married non-Status Indian men.¹ It is this provision which was incorporated into the Indian Act following and which remains intact today. The intended purpose of this was to keep non-Indian males from residing on reserve lands, and as was feared, to eliminate the possibility of their eventually alienating these lands from the Indians by gradual takeover..

With the writing of the Indian Act (1876) this became further entrenched as Indian policy. Not only did the Act transform an oral tradition into a form of written legislation based on the tenets of the dominant society, but it also placed within the realm of the federal power structure rights which belonged to a formerly independent people. Tribal governments became virtually powerless as white rule took over. The role of chiefs changed and new chiefs with

¹Canada, Statutes. An Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs, and to Extend the Provisions of the Act 31st Victoria, Chapter 42. 32-33 Victoria, Chapter 6. Assented to 22 June 1869.

whom it was easy for administrators to work were often selected by the people on the outside (i.e., the dominant society).² These chiefs were to act as middlemen between the masses of people they represented and the federal government. Only a limited number of people from the native population would be consulted by white administrators, while the majority were left in the dark about what was being planned for in their lives. The traditional power structures were undermined and change was forced to take place.

The Indian Act provided for people of different Indian nations to become Indians in a general sense for purposes of expediency, to be dealt with as a homogeneous, conquered group who lacked internal diversity or identity. Distinctions were not made for societies which were matrilineal or patrilineal.³ Canadian family law imposed a new structure,

²Leacock (1954) refers to the "outside" chiefs among the Montagnais-Naskapi as being those who were selected by the Indian Affairs administrators and who did not achieve this "chiefly" status as far as the internal affairs of the band were concerned. Cf. Helm and Leacock 1971:367.

³As of the 1869 change in the status definitions pertaining to women, "the bilateral and self-determining criteria for Indian status gave way to a patrilineal system of definition" (Weaver 1973:7). Prior to this, a woman did not lose her status in a mixed (Indian-white) marriage and the children of such a union had Indian status as well.

and one which was alien to a number of those people it applied to. Because strict rules were not necessary before and not a part of traditional culture, it was not realized what impact such rules could have when imposed by an outside power. Customarily, decisions were made by the people directly concerned. With the establishment of the Indian Act, this right was removed and incorporated into law as set forth by the federal government.

While in dominant white society in Canada women generally have had the same kind of status position (families have tended toward male domination, although this has been changing in recent years), in traditional native populations the status positions occupied by women varied to a large degree. In high-ranking families of the West Coast, women occupied high status along with others in their family line. Among Plains groups, women were prominent in Sun Dance ceremonies and the vows taken as part of the rituals. Women of the Huron and Iroquois societies held positions of relatively high status due to their role in the agricultural economies. Provisions were not made for this type of variation in the Act and the specific sections referring to status. Rather, it was ignored by the federal government on the premise that if the native population was to be properly administered, it would have to be on the dominant society's terms, which in this case meant basing the concept of the family unit .

and the legal implications of it on Canadian family law, the basis of which is to be found in the British tradition. Family organization was to follow that of the majority Euro-Canadian society: male-dominated, male-centred, and with women occupying a lower status position.

The interdependent roles of men and women which were so vital to subsistence and existence were glossed over without regard to their importance in relation to the position of women. The fact that women were economically, socially, structurally and politically important to their societies was ignored by the dominant power structure (if an awareness even existed) to the point that the rights of these women were trod upon and diminished by a legislative process over which the women themselves had no control. The Indian Act laid down for them the consequences of a marriage to a non-Status Indian or non-Indian Status person. Their personal freedom in such a matter was curtailed by the external power of the state. The legislation which discriminated against them did not equally apply to men. They were singled out on two counts, one because they were Indian, the other because they were women.⁴

Prior to the Act, a much greater flexibility existed.

⁴ Proposed new changes in the Indian Act may lead to the inclusion of men in s. 12(1)(b), or a revised section thereof. This would result in an even further loss of the Status Indian population.

Interdependent roles were the norm for men and women. Though this role relationship continued in many cases, the status positions underwent change. The contributions made by both were necessary for survival, and thus the position of women was recognized as significant. Decisions were not made arbitrarily, but in consultation. Though women's work may have been very hard, that of men was no less so. All work contributed to the maintenance of the group. Though this type of situation continued even after the Indian Act in varying degrees, depending on the amount of white contact, acculturation and changes in subsistence patterns, the equal (or almost equal) position of women was belittled by the new legislation which was formulated by the government, internalized by many Indians, and which eventually led to severe problems of identity and cultural affiliation. Indian women who once had important roles within their societies and still today are structurally important in their families, have been stripped of the dignity and freedom of choice they once had.

By reviewing some of the ethnographic literature, the importance of the interdependent roles of males and females and the structural, economic, social and political significance of Indian women historically will be demonstrated such that the shift which has taken place to the legal and external control over native peoples will become clear.

Whatever the history of formally delineated kin groupings may have been among American Indians, an adverse change in the status of women subsequent to European contact is clear. Early observers noted the high status of women as evidenced by such things as the inheritance of houses and land in the female line and the considerable influence women held in the making of group decisions. However, some writers saw the hard and heavy work done by Indian women as evidence of a low status.... Indeed, the economic contribution of Indian women to the group was considerable; they tended the crops and gathered wild foods, snared small animals, manufactured clothes and utensils, often built the houses, and so on. Where men brought in virtually the entire food supply, as among the Eskimos, the work of women preparing skins for clothing and other purposes was still essential.

That such work led to a more egalitarian than subservient status follows from the structure of Indian society. A woman's duties were not carried out in the confines of the nuclear family, in which women were socially and legally secondary to men. Rather, women worked as part of a group of related families that usually shared the same house, lodge, or tipi and constituted the socioeconomic unit on a day-to-day basis.... According to the principle of consensus, in Indian society decisions were not made for others... (Leacock 1971:22).

Writing of a number of groups, Jenness notes the position of native women generally. Like Leacock, he too points out that women did have rights and status and were not merely forms of property. However, he does tend toward stressing the hard work and "drudgery" aspects of women's

existence. Still, the importance of this work for the benefit of group survival is not overlooked.

Women as well as men had their avenues of advancement. Many enjoyed high rank on the Pacific coast through the accident of descent; among the Iroquoians, a few became matrons of maternal families. The great 'sun-dance' festival of the plains Indians brought together all members of a tribe, from far and near; yet the Blackfoot and the Sarcee could not hold a sun-dance except in fulfillment of a woman's vow, and the woman whose purity and self-sacrifice permitted its celebration enjoyed fame and honour throughout her days (1932:162).

Burgesse worked and lived with the Montagnais of the Lac-St.-Jean area of Quebec from the 1930's onward and has stressed the equal importance of women's work and women's position there. He notes that:

In theory the Montagnais woman is regarded as being inferior to the male, but in practice she is equal to him in every respect and, in some families, she is by far the more dominant partner (1944:1-2).

Much of the women's influence is "wielded from behind the scenes and it is very, very rarely that a woman will take any public part in tribal affairs" (2). And so, though a woman's decisions may not be voiced loudly or publicly, they are no less important because of this. Failure to recognize women's influence on the part of administrators because it may be of a more subtle nature has undoubtedly

contributed to a lack of recognition of women's status within both the family and community on their part.

Similarly, many of the ethnographic accounts have been written by men and a bias on the part of some can undoubtedly be seen. In many situations, male researchers simply do not have the opportunity to observe women and their daily activities to the same degree as those of men, and a misinterpretation or lack of interpretation of their importance or contributions can result. As Rogers (1975) has stated, with regard to peasant studies in particular,

... it should be pointed out that the theoretical basis for assumptions of androcentrism may be found, in part, in the way problems related to power, control, and decision-making have been approached in conventional anthropology (727).

If anthropologists limit their interests to the formal level of political processes, assuming it to be the most significant, men will obviously appear to be dominant, and women to be relatively powerless (728).

This holds not only for peasant society studies, but for other areas of anthropological research as well.

The earlier "family" units of the Montagnais-Naskapi as reported by Leacock (1968) were distinctly different from those of Euro-Canadian society:

... the basic socioeconomic unit was not the nuclear family but the

multi-family group inhabiting a lodge, although the breaking away of individual families apparently began early in cases where Indians attached themselves to missions or trading posts (9).

It was with such contact that the family structures began to change and approach a form more akin to the British and French with whom they were in contact.

The Wallises (1955) report that the Micmac men in the areas they studied in 1911-12 and the early 1950's would choose the spot where the tent would be set up and then they cleared the land. The women would bring along the household supplies and proceed to fix up the interior of the structure after the men had set up the basic frame. While the women were performing their tasks the men would go hunting (29).

Their descriptions of aboriginal Micmac life are similar to Jenness' in stressing the hard work which the women did, however the essential nature and importance of the work is also cited. The work of both sexes was necessary for survival and neither sex could be said to have had an easy life.

In aboriginal Micmac society women suffered from the many disadvantages and few benefits customary to a primitive food-gathering culture.... they nevertheless were essential to the life of the group and sometimes were so recognized (243).

Micmac women, as presented through the words of my male informants appear to have shared most of the economic pursuits of the men. Frequently a man and his wife fished from the same canoe. In war, women carried arrows on their back with which to supply the male fighters, and themselves used the bow and arrow against the enemy (245).

The Wallises' work is significant because it was done by both of them, working as a team, in contact with both Micmac men and women. They expressed the opinion that more information on women in particular could be obtained as a result of Ruth Wallis' presence than would have been possible had Wilson Wallis been working alone.

In describing the position of women among the Huron and Iroquois, Carr (1884) emphasized the high status he observed women possessed. Of them, he stated:

It is they who constitute the tribe, transmit the nobility of blood, keep up the genealogical tree and the order of inheritance, and perpetuate the family (231).

And of the men:

... they act merely as the representatives of the women and to aid her in those affairs in which it would not be becoming for her to appear and act for herself (232).

Perhaps Carr sounds a bit romantic, but nevertheless, it is clear where he saw the power to lie.

Castellano (1975) also points out the important roles

played by Huron women.

In addition to the tasks of food production, preservation and preparation, and the domestic chores related to child care, hospitality and clothing making, Huron women participated in many activities practised primarily by men. They gambled; they belonged to curing societies; they participated in ceremonies including those confirming political appointments (19).

Trigger (1969) fails to accept the great importance of women among the Huron that has been put forth by others but he does acknowledge their power "behind the scenes" politically. It is unfortunate and probably indicative of his own bias that he glosses over the stability they provided while their men were away from the villages for long periods of time. Because of the working habits of the women in the fields, they were in possession of much knowledge about village political affairs and as such could be most instrumental in influencing their men in decision-making. Huron women were important socially, economically and politically and represented a stable force in confederacy life.

In her excellent ethnography of the Hurons, covering the period 1615-1649, Tooker (1964) indicates that on the subject of births, the Jesuit Relations reveal that "Girls were preferred: the Huron rejoiced more in the birth of

a daughter than a son, in order that the country's inhabitants increase" (122). Again, the value of women was made clear. The biological capacity for reproduction was stressed, but nonetheless, it was seen as very important for the society and its future. Her analysis of women's position in Huron society appears to be more conclusive than Trigger's.

Jenness notes the importance of agriculture in Iroquois society and the part women played in food production as a source of their importance to the society (1932:137).

The position of Iroquois women and the economic role they played historically has been analyzed by Brown (1970). Control over food and its distribution entered into all aspects of life and this control was possessed by the women. The economic organization of the Iroquois was dependent on the matrons who were entrusted with the decision-making in many areas of activity. Distribution of food as well as other forms of wealth in general was in the control of the matrons. It was the "position of power over basic resources and important decisions" that was significant in establishing the position of Iroquois women, more specifically, that of the matrons (152).⁵

Women's virtues and roles as reported by Hassrick for

⁵Cf. Friedl 1975 on women's autonomy and power over distribution of resources.

the Siouxs in the period 1830-1870 were set forth as straightforwardly as were those of men.

The ideal female virtues were also four in number and included, as for men, bravery and generosity. But the significant difference in the expected behavior for females was expressed in the last two feminine virtues: truthfulness and childbearing.

Bravery for women was closely equated with fortitude for men. Generosity was expressed in terms of bountifully producing clothing, skillfully preparing foods, and then sharing these with others (1964:39).

With regard to tipi ownership and control:

In theory, the tipi belonged to the woman - it was her property and her responsibility. As if to crystallize this concept, the dwelling was thought of as a woman and names for the various parts were generally feminine.... In practice, however, the woman was not the sole proprietor. Her husband exercised certain rights and assumed certain responsibilities (186-87).

Thus again we see the embodiment of valued elements of the society expressed in terms of the women.

In The Effects of White Contact on Blackfoot Culture, Lewis (1942) notes the changes which came about in Blackfoot social organization because of the fur trade economy and the imposition of a "commercialism which permeated Blackfoot life" (34).

The increased burden of preparing

provisions and tanning put new demands upon female labor and increased the economic importance of women. Polygyny grew to an extent unprecedented for the Plains (38).

Here we have evidence of women as representative of an important aspect of culture, but in a different light from that of the traditional perspective. Women's value was enhanced economically and appreciated, but in a very mercenary way:

... men with large herds [of horses] were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women) (40).

The concept of women as economic assets was carried to an extreme as a result of commercial expansion in the West.

Summary

Native women were important structurally, economically and politically among most groups traditionally, as can be demonstrated most clearly in their economic value to their bands or tribes. By economic value I do not mean the commercial aspects of status which were to be found among the Blackfoot and which represent an extreme case, but rather the role the women played in subsistence and group maintenance as partners in an interdependent system of labor and organization, either with their husbands or

work groups (e.g., as among agricultural peoples where women would work together tending crops or where women went out gathering together).

Women also represented a stability factor among those groups where men went out hunting, trading or raiding. It was the women who stayed in the villages, tended the crops, looked after the children, and provided the food for the men who were traveling. As such, they were also socially important, as among the Iroquois, in that it was the women who prepared meals for guests and visitors at feasts. Control over food preparation and distribution was an important factor in establishing the influence of the women.

The value of women to native society was to be slighted when federal legislation applicable to native peoples came into being. Women who were once very important in the maintenance of their groups were to occupy a lesser position, not unlike that of most other women in the dominant society as far as legal matters are concerned.

Now native women are placed in an inferior role through the vehicle of legislation which has been internalized by many native peoples themselves. The status of native women is no longer left up to the family involved, the band, tribe or nation - it is decided by the Minister of Indian Affairs or his representative (Indian Act s.109(2)). Thus, an outside, politically powerful observer, in the

form of a minister of the federal government, has been delegated as the one who administers over the legal status of countless people with whom he is in little or no contact. What has occurred is that native peoples have allowed many of their number to be victimized by Canadian legislation which was written for the very purpose of their management by the federal bureaucracy.

The leaders of the established male-dominated organizations, as well as many of those people who work for the government in a number of administrative capacities, have learned to live within the dominant system (though still occupying a peripheral position themselves) and are not about to be threatened by any of the more radical or militant members of the native population. By lending support to such people as Lavell and others more outspoken than she, they would put into jeopardy the prestigious position they occupy with respect to the dominant political structure - that of spokesmen or representatives, who have for all intents and purposes joined the ranks of the middle class white collar bureaucracy.

It is because of this situation that the native rights movement and the native women's movement have been factionalized. The compartmentalization which has occurred has only made easier the maneuverability of native peoples by the powers that be. The contemporary arena of status

issues involving native women will be discussed in the next chapter. An analysis of the development of this situation will be presented in the final chapter, using a dependency model.

CHAPTER 3

THE STATUS OF NATIVE WOMEN IN THE 1970'S

Introduction

The 1970's have witnessed the emergence of native claims upon the government which have evolved into full-scale court cases, causing not only much publicity but also a new awareness in the thinking of both native peoples and the political planners. The question of aboriginal land rights has sprung up in some of the provinces and Territories¹, and both the provincial and federal structures have felt the pressure. No longer can aboriginal rights be pushed under the bureaucratic carpet - claims must be listened to and considered with care, for the very foundations of this country's political and judicial structures are being tested. The government is having to account for its previous dismissal of such matters and the voices of native peoples can no longer be easily stifled.

One of the most prominent cases to come before the

¹e.g., in Quebec, the James Bay Hydro-Electric Power Project, and in the Northwest Territories, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

Supreme Court in the summer of 1973 was that of Jeanette Lavell, an Ojibwa woman, formerly a member of the Wikwemikong band on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, where she was born and raised. In December of 1970 when she married David Mills Lavell, a white man, Ms. Lavell knew that she would lose her status as a registered member of her band and proceeded to petition that the impending procedure be reversed. She appealed the automatic decision of the Department of Indian Affairs that she be enfranchised because she had chosen to marry a non-Indian. In June of 1971 an Ontario County Court judge dismissed her appeal (Lavell vs. Attorney General of Canada, 1971, Ontario County Court). Later, however, in October of the same year, the Federal Court of Appeal ruled in her favor and stated that Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act was in contravention of the Bill of Rights which guarantees equality before the law (Lavell vs. Attorney General of Canada, 1971, Federal Court of Appeal). This decision prompted the Supreme Court of Canada, through the Attorney General, and with the support of the major official Indian organizations of the country to appeal the Federal Court of Appeal's decision.

At the same time that the Court was dealing with Lavell's claim, another enfranchised Indian woman was fighting to regain her legal Indian Status. Yvonne Bedard, an Iroquois from the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario had in

1964 married a white man. Consequently, she was enfranchised, losing her right to reside on the reserve. After separating from her husband in 1970 she returned to her reserve with her two children and was granted permission to remain there for six months. This period was later extended another six months. A further extension was refused. Ms. Bedard was occupying a house which had been left to her by her mother, but it was decided by the band council that she gave up her rights to such property when she married a white man and that she should be ordered to leave.

Chief Isaac said it is not band policy to allow non-band members to live on the reserve except in the case of people who perform essential services, such as funeral directors, teachers and clergymen (Globe and Mail, 9 September, 1971).

Ms. Bedard also appealed her enfranchisement in the lower courts (after separating from her husband) and won (Bedard vs. Isaac, December 1971, Supreme Court of Ontario; Bedard vs. Isaac 1972). The Six Nations Band Council appealed the decision and like that of Ms. Lavell, her case went to the Supreme Court.

The ensuing court proceedings for these cases brought forth some of the strongest feelings yet voiced by the Indian population (whether for or against the Lavell-Bedard cause) and were to bring to a head many of the existing confusions

surrounding Indian Status, the Indian Act, the special position of native people with regard to the government, the constitutionality of our laws, and the government's lackadaisical attitude in coming to grips with these issues in the past. On August 27, 1973, in a close 5-4 vote, the Court ruled that Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act should be upheld² and that the Bill of Rights could not be applied to this section (Supreme Court decision, August 27, 1973, Attorney General of Canada vs. Lavell, and Isaac vs. Bedard). The Indian Act was upheld, the corporate interests of the Status Indian population as a whole were maintained, and the rights of individual native women were pushed aside temporarily.

The case of another woman, Mrs. Mary Two-Axe Early, came to public attention in the summer of 1975 during International Women's Year activities. This woman, a grandmother in her sixties, was served in absentia an eviction notice from the band council on her reserve. She is legally a non-Status Indian and a widow (from her marriage to a white man) of almost 40 years who wants the right to be buried on her home reserve (Nahanee 1976a:15). In her own words we hear the voices of many native women who face

²Sections 11 and 12 of the Indian Act appear in Appendices 1 and 2.

similar problems:

I was brought up on my reserve
All I am asking for is the right to
live in my little cabin and die there,
and that has been denied to me. For
speaking out, for saying I want my
birthright back from the government,
that I want the right to live on my
reserve, I have been given an evic-
tion notice, because we dared defy
our band council (Mary Two-Axe Early,
in Nahanee 1976b:23).

Ideologies

The basic elements of the special legal regime which exists for the Status Indian population are the traditional economic pursuits (hunting, fishing, trapping), the provisions for reserve communities and the laws applicable on them, and the definition of people entitled to reside on reserve lands. It is the latter, which involves the status sections of the Indian Act, which is vital to an understanding of the corporate group interests many Indians have fought to maintain, over and above the interests of individual native women.

The status provisions of the Indian Act were designed to perpetuate the reserve populations and to maintain them from infringement by whites and other non-Indians. It is for this reason that provision was made (in the 1869 amendment to the Act, Canada Statutes, section 6) for the automatic enfranchisement of Status Indian women who married

non-Indian Status men and for that of their children as well. No such provision was made for Indian Status men who married non-Indians, but instead, their wives legally became "instant Indians" upon marriage and the children of such marriages also had Indian Status conferred upon them. The reasoning behind this distinction in treatment was that customarily women moved in with their husbands when they were married, took their husband's name, and in essence, left their parental home, family and often, community.

It was argued by those opposing Lavell and Bedard (i.e., most of the provincial Indian organizations) that to allow non-Indian men onto the reserves when they married Indian women would create an upset or unbalanced situation. They would be occupying lands which were to be occupied only by Status Indians - they would be "taking up space" which had been set aside especially for band members. In other words, they would be trespassing.

Many Status Indians claim that the abolition of the Indian Act (or any part thereof which refers to the status of women and enfranchisement) would create a situation wherein white men, after marriage to Indian women, would move onto the reserve and take over. By so doing, the fact is being overlooked that Indian women who desire a change in the Act have not asked that white men who marry Indian women become "instant Indians" as do white women (or others) who marry

Indian men. On the contrary, they are simply asking for the right to choose what to do about their own status and that of their children, as native people.

Non-Indian wives who gain Indian Status are not considered as trespassers. Not only are they allowed to live on the reserve with their husbands, but they can share in all of the benefits of other band members, for they themselves become band members upon their marriage - in the legal sense of the term. By allowing these women to move onto the reserve, a new name is added to the band list and the Indian population is thereby increased.

A decrease would occur when a Status Indian woman marries a non-Indian Status man and is enfranchised.³ Her name would be struck from the band list and Indian Register. Both she as an individual and the band as a whole would suffer as a result: she would lose her Indian status and all that it entails and the band would lose any monies that might be paid to her as a member. If she were not enfranchised and were to have children, the Status Indian population would thereby increase and the government's commitment to the group would be greater, rather than diminished. This aspect is not generally considered, as the feeling of many Status Indian people, both men and women

³See Appendices 4 and 5 for the statistics on enfranchisement and decrease in population.

alike, is that if an Indian woman chooses to marry a non-Indian, she deserves to be enfranchised and ordered to leave the reserve.

The idea of family unit maintenance has been stressed by many native groups and their supporters. They feel that if an Indian woman were to retain her status after marrying a white man, and if he were allowed to live on the reserve, this would disrupt the present provisions of the Indian Act which specifically state that reserve lands are for band members only (sec. 18) and as these non-Indian men would not become band members, there is no provision for them to move onto reserves.

What has been overlooked in this argument is that although the new nuclear family (woman, husband and possible children) which has been formed will remain intact, the female member of such a unit will be forced to separate from her family of orientation⁴ and from all of the other people with whom she was raised and in contact with on her reserve. These ties are not recognized in the legislation, as provision for their maintenance is totally lacking.

Another factor which merits at least brief mention here is the fact that illegitimate children of a Status

⁴"Family of orientation" refers to the family in which the person is raised as a child and by whom she is socialized (Schusky 1965:7).

Indian woman inherit their status from their mother, except in such cases where a protest may be made (Indian Act, section 12(2)). Therefore, if either Jeanette Lavell or Yvonne Bedard had simply not married their husbands, but had established common law relationships, then they would have retained their status and conferred it to their children as well. It was submitted by Lavell's lawyer, Clayton Ruby, in the Supreme Court hearings,

... that the operation of the Indian Act in the circumstances of this case affects the 'position of the family'; it is worth noting that if the respondent had foregone marriage to David Mills Lavell and given up her right to a lawful family (that is, settled for a so-called 'common law' marriage), she could have without question remained an Indian... (Supreme Court 1973:7).

What has been written into the legislation regarding legal status has left for Indian women who marry non-Status Indians two paths - either a legal marriage and forfeit of their status, or a "common law" arrangement, "illegitimate" children, and retention of Indian status. The latter "choice" is of course not in keeping with the idea of family which is so strongly entrenched in our society and which is supposedly preserved in the laws of this country.

Another point in favor of a woman remaining unmarried, in addition to retention of status, is the fact that an

unmarried Indian Status woman (who is in need) can receive about three times as much money in social welfare than can a separated (and hence, married) Indian woman with the same number of children (Frideres 1974:22). Thus there is another consideration in favor of remaining unmarried and hence having what the law terms "illegitimate" children, but yet, children who will have Indian Status.

Conflicts Within

The description of these cases provides a backdrop for the conflicts which have arisen over the status issue within the native rights movement. Status Indian women feel discriminated against because they are enfranchised if they marry a non-Indian Status man and the same procedure does not apply to Indian men who marry non-Indian women. Many Status Indian men and women also resent the fact that these women are reacting against their forced enfranchisement, feeling that they deserve to lose their status if they don't marry Indian men. The legislation which enforces the status provisions was written by whites, but has come to be internalized by many Indians. Those who have neither accepted nor internalized it claim that those who have are brain-washed.

While the Indian Act has many inappropriate sections, it is all that the Status Indian population has to work with

right now in its dealings with the government, and therefore many Indians wish to keep it intact, even if this is done at the expense of others. One of the many controversial issues which arose during the court proceedings on the status question was that of the Drybones Case (Regina vs. Drybones 1969, Supreme Court Record, 1970). This was the first major Bill of Rights case to go before the Supreme Court.

Joseph Drybones, an Indian trapper in the Northwest Territories, was found intoxicated and faced more severe penalties than would have a white man found intoxicated in the same circumstances. In the decision handed down, the liquor sections of the Indian Act were declared inoperative because they discriminated against Drybones because of his race. These sections allowed harsher treatment of intoxicated Indians than for intoxicated whites. As a result of this case, it was argued on behalf of Lavell and Bedard that Indian women faced harsher treatment than Indian men regarding their status (Supreme Court 1973, Respondent's Factum) and that a precedent had already been set in the Drybones case. Indian leaders opposed this, fearing that the whole Act might be overturned.

The confusion which exists between the two cases being compared on these grounds is that the Lavell-Bedard status issue comprises a basic part of the special legal regime for Indians, while the question of liquor laws and penalties

for their abuse are but minor, peripheral factors. Therefore, those who opposed a change in the status sections claimed that the Drybones case should not be cited as a precedent for such change. The status system which exists as part of the legislation reserved for Indians is indicative of the policy which has been used to deal with the Indian population historically. If it is not maintained, then the whole Act must be revised. Work on this is presently being undertaken by native leaders.

The Indian Act and Indian Identity

The Indian Act is the official embodiment of Indian policy in Canada. The Act represents a charter for Indian Affairs and serves to crystallize power in the hands of the federal government. It must be stressed that it is a statement of policy and not a guarantee.

Sections 5 to 14 of the Indian Act deal specifically with who is or is not an Indian in the legal sense of the word. It is these sections which separate Status Indians from others of Indian ancestry and from the rest of the Canadian population. It has been argued, as for example in the White Paper of 1969 (Canada 1969) that if the Indian Act were repealed, the special legal status accorded Indians would disappear and that this would be advantageous for the eventual integration of Indian people into mainstream society.

In other words, the special status of Indians is looked upon as a form of discrimination which separates them from the rest of the population and which is responsible for their lack of successful merging with dominant society. By removing the status barriers, this part of the division between the two segments of the population would be eliminated.

Other considerations must however be examined. By doing away with the Indian Act and special status, the federal government would be freeing itself of its responsibilities and special relationship with Indian people, which have been maintained and developed over many generations. The Status Indian population of over one quarter of a million people would lose their status as Indians and would be left to melt into mainstream society. In essence, a policy of termination would take effect.

Reserves would become municipalities which would be subject to taxation in each province. People would be forced to integrate and to lose the sense of community and security which reserve life fosters. People already living in a poverty state would be worse off because they would no longer have the house and land now available to them tax-free on reserves. But from the federal government point of view, this process would bring equality and equality is what is impossible if the Indian Act exists and the

special status sections within it continue to distinguish Canadian Indian citizens from other Canadians.

This was the crux of the policy statement of 1969 - that Indians are living in the poor socioeconomic state that they are today because they have retained separate status. And the only way to change their situation is to have them integrated with everyone else and alienated from their reserve lands. It was felt by the government that separate status has been a detrimental force with only negative ramifications.

What the White Paper did accomplish was the rapid politicization of native organizations, which, though exhibiting a less than united response to the government's proposals, did demonstrate that there was unanimous agreement on the fact that change was called for and that it had to be implemented by both sides, and not by the federal government acting alone on behalf of the Indian population.

Those who wish to retain the Indian Act argue that it is necessary to do so until aboriginal land rights are settled. The Act and the treaties are all that bind the federal government to keep its word to the native people, except for the British North America (BNA) Act. The federal government's responsibility for native peoples is set forth in the BNA Act, section 91(24). The government has jurisdiction for native peoples regardless of whether or not

they are on a band list, although this responsibility is not readily acknowledged.

If an individual possesses sufficient racial and social characteristics to be termed a 'native person', he will also be considered an 'Indian' within the meaning of the British North America Act. This means he is within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, irrespective of the fact that the same individual may be excluded from the coverage of the Indian Act (Cumming and Mickenberg 1972:9).

Without the Indian Act and treaties the Indians fear they may lose all claim to their lands and this fear is not unwarranted. This is one of the major points made by Cardinal in The Unjust Society (1969:140-41,152-55). During 1973 and 1974 plans were made by the James Bay Corporation for a major power project in northern Quebec. The land to be used for the dam construction and power stations has not previously been surrendered by the Indians and Inuit occupying the area, but claims made by the native peoples that the project be stopped carried little weight with either the Quebec or federal governments.⁵

Quebec's Native people were understandably outraged at the project and the effects it would have on their lands and their

⁵Approval for the project has since gone through and a land settlement has been made with the Cree and Inuit in the area.

ways. It came as an overnight surprise to them. Many, indeed, learned of it from the news media after it was announced - an indication of how completely excluded Native people had been from all consultations about it (Richardson 1973:2).

Without the special rights which Registered or Status Indians now have, they would become just another segment of the statistical poor with even less pressure to exert on the government than they have now. If treaties were to be reviewed with the possibility of being discredited as was proposed in the White Paper, then many of the rights people now have with regard to their land would no longer exist. When the treaties were signed (pre-Confederation treaties 1781-1850, and post-Confederation from 1871-1923) they were considered both legal and necessary, the belief being that Indian lands had to be signed over before settlers could have access to them. The formulation of the treaties was done on the initiation of the government, not the Indians. If Indians now lose these special rights and agreements, then even their land, which in most cases is their last viable resource, would be forfeited. They would then be left to resort to the "aboriginal rights", as set forth in the BNA Act and which are insured "to native people by virtue of their occupation upon certain lands from time immemorial" (Cumming and Mickenburg 1972: 13).

The situation which has arisen over the issue of status and the Indian Act has become a breeding ground for dissent. Not only are there conflicts within the native movement itself, but there are other outside influences which have become involved. One of the more prominent ones is the women's liberation movement and the nature of their concerns deserves special attention.

Outside Influence - The Women's Liberation Movement

As the cases of Jeanette Lavell and Yvonne Bedard began to receive public attention and support, their cause was picked up by the women's liberation movement and other white liberals. Being basically a middle-class movement it was doomed to create an unpleasant situation when attempting to ally itself with the native rights advocates. The native rights movement, though heterogeneous in nature (representing native peoples of all ages, backgrounds, etc.) is basically oriented toward corporate group interests at the band level and the special rights of the native population as a whole. These rights are of a "special" nature and the Indians are the only separate and distinct group in the country who had such provisions made for them. These rights (along with their inherent drawbacks) are stipulated and protected in the legislation. The maintenance of them

is vital to the survival of the population and to their identity as a special people to whom the government is morally and legally obligated. When these rights are threatened, as in the case of the Indian women's status issue, the conservative elements of the native movement will strike back. This was done to the confusion of the sympathetic white liberals who had thought that the Indian Act should be destroyed and that this was what the Indians were fighting for.

The women's liberation movement claims to have as its goal the "liberation" of women from whatever bondages they may be held in. The acting out of this ideology is done at the expense of other concerns. This is what caused the misunderstanding which occurred when the movement clashed with the native movement: the non-native women failed to understand the native viewpoint, the special nature of their rights and the threat they felt when they thought that a section of the Indian Act which they considered crucial might be rendered inoperative, thus weakening the entire Act and very possibly, their future as a people.

Another pressure from the "outside" came in the form of the Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women. This Report devoted six paragraphs to the status of native women and like the women's liberation movement demonstrated a lack of understanding of native rights ideology. These

sections culminated in recommendation number 106, which states:

We recommend that the Indian Act be amended to allow an Indian woman upon marriage to a non-Indian to (a) retain her Indian status and (b) transmit her Indian status to her children (Canada 1970:410).

It is clear-cut and to the point, but misses the depth of interpretation necessary for such a recommendation. It does not mention at all the status of the husband in a mixed (Status - non-Status) union and does not go into residence rules and implications this would have for reserve populations. Though on the surface such a recommendation looks straightforward enough, in reality it represents another example of the confusion surrounding the complexity of Indian Status.

If the Indian Act were to be abolished, the Department of Indian Affairs would go with it, as would those basic rights which have provided Status Indian persons with the impetus with which to pursue their claims upon the federal structure (cf. Whetung 1975:29).

While the decisions against those women who have gone to the courts to try to regain their legal Indian Status have been considered defeats by the women's liberation movement they have been accepted as victories for the native rights movement which is struggling to retain whatever

independence it still has from federal power. The decisions were a crushing blow to the women's movement because a precedent has now been set which has demonstrated the ineffectual nature of the Bill of Rights when applied to the question of women's rights and sexual discrimination in particular. The clashing of these two social movements has caused a rude awakening among white liberal groups who had previously thought that the two movements were in actuality only one with the same goals.

Clearly, the Indian Act discriminates against women by reason of sex and even more clearly, this violates the Bill of Rights⁶ which prohibits sexual discrimination. As women and as native people these women face a unique situation of discrimination that does not affect other women in Canadian society or Status Indian males. The question of whether the Bill of Rights could take precedence over the Indian Act was in 1973 brought before the Supreme Court of Canada and the decision handed down states that it cannot. It cannot take precedence over any act of Parliament even if such an act is found to be discriminatory. The basis of the Indian Act was set forth in the BNA Act and therefore exempt from being overruled by other legislation.

⁶According to the Canadian Bill of Rights, discrimination on the basis of race, sex, national origin, color or religion is prohibited.

The situation as it exists today is in a state of flux. The cases of Lavell and Bedard which have come before the Supreme Court have brought into the open many problems and discrepancies in the legislation which until this time had been hidden or simply glossed over. Now it is clear that much work is needed, not only by the government and government-sponsored organizations, but by native peoples themselves.

Government Intervention

The federal government came out strongly against the Lavell-Bedard cases when they went to the Supreme Court. It totally backed the position of the established, male-dominated organizations, and made funds available to them for legal counsel, transportation to and expenses in Ottawa at the time of the hearings, while the women who went paid their own way (Lavell 1974; Weaver 1973). In the event that the Court ruled in favor of removing the Status sections of the Indian Act, the government offered to provide funds for the re-writing of the Act to the major Indian organizations, while the hearings were going on (Lavell 1974). In this way, the women would be defeated through one course or another.

The government succeeded in providing enough support

for the male-dominated organizations to win their case. The Indian Act was kept intact. The conservative element of the native rights movement was kept happy while the more radical group was again made to realize that the paternalistic manipulation of native peoples which has become an institutionalized part of Canadian law and policy for them, was not only still in existence but also was going to be perpetuated for some time to come.

The Status sections of the Indian Act articulate who may or may not live on a reserve and this is dependent on one's status as either an Indian or non-Indian. The reasoning behind these provisions is that they protect the reserve population.⁷ If in the process this means that some Status Indians, namely women, may be forced to enfranchise and legally lose their status upon marriage to a non-Indian, then this is considered to be their problem and of minor concern to the group as a whole. What the government has been able to put over is an ideology which allows for a confusion of territorial or property rights (laws pertaining to reserves) and the personal, cultural ties (birth, family, kinship, tradition) of a people whose very existence is dependent upon them.

⁷Non-Indians can be permitted to live on reserves at the discretion of the band council. Generally such persons include teachers, clergymen and other service personnel.

As a result of these developments, it became obvious to many native women that there was a need for better organization on their part, independent of the already established male-dominated provincial and national organizations. In recent years there has been a mushrooming of native women's groups. Women have come to the realization that if they are to be represented in an honest and meaningful way they must look to themselves for direction, organization and planning.

Development of Native Women's Organizations

An awareness of the need for the development of native women's organizations at both the provincial and national levels has evolved over the last few years. Prior to such organization, native women would gather at local levels to deal with common concerns, for example, in Homemaker's Clubs, but these were never carried much beyond local involvement and it thus took a long time for the native women's movement to gain momentum.

By early 1971, the Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society took on the task of planning, organizing, and conducting the first National Conference of Native Women in Canada....

One of the major issues was the question of Indian women losing their status upon marriage to a

non-status Indian or to a non-Indian person (Indian Act). This was obviously one of the biggest concerns of many Indian women in Canada, and they were fully aware that this would need some form of statutory change before the problem could be solved (Goodwill 1974:3-4).

What is interesting in the statements of these new organizations is the obvious awareness on their part of the divisions which have been created in the native population by the government. Status Indians have been separated from non-Status Indians and Metis. Women have been separated from men by the Status sections of the Indian Act. Cultural heritage can be legally denied.

It was felt by the women present at the first National Conference that "an association, open to all women of Indian ancestry, would help to remove existing barriers among native people" (Goodwill 1974:4). By the time of their third conference in July of 1973, "the National Steering Committee finally succeeded in forming a National Association of Native Wjomen" (Goodwill 1974:4). The Committee of Indian Rights for Indian Women had also been formed by this time and in addition the federal government had taken notice of these new organizations. Obviously aware that these women were serious in their work, the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State Department had begun setting aside funds for native women's organizations (Goodwill 1974:4).

The native women's organizations, because of their broad membership base which is inclusive of all women of native ancestry, has received support from other interested groups. For example, during the Lavell-Bedard hearings in the Supreme Court, the Native Council of Canada (the national body representing both Metis and non-Status Indians) presented a brief on behalf of the women's cause. Many of the people in this organization are themselves enfranchised Indians like Lavell and Bedard and have lost all of their special rights as Status Indians as well. In this respect there is a common bond between members of both groups.

Now that the ground has been laid for analysis, the next chapter will concern itself with the dependency relationship which has developed between the native population and the federal government, from the colonial period up until the present.

CHAPTER 4

THE DEPENDENCY DILEMMA

The Development of the Dependency Relationship

A basic and useful way to look at dependency models is in terms of inequality which exists in the form of an asymmetrical structural relationship between two or more parties.¹ This relationship can exist at various levels of society - local, national, international - and can therefore operate between individuals, communities, provinces or states, countries, and organizations - in other words, in any type of situation where conflict could potentially arise between two interested parties, one of whom will have the advantage over the other, in socio-political and economic terms. In this respect, the relationship fits in with that of Lenin's definition of class.

Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production,

¹Cf. Wolf 1966, for his definition of a peasantry relationship.

by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimension and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy (Lenin 1952, Selected Works, vol. II, as quoted in Stavenhagen 1975:28).

The dependency model has built into it the historical component of the ongoing formal contact relationship of the last century between native peoples and the federal government as well as the contemporary process that this relationship has fostered. This time dimension is important because the current issues of dependency and legal status cannot be properly understood without the historical background. As noted by Wallerstein, "... class analysis is only meaningful to the extent that it is placed within a given historical context" (1973:377), and the same is true for dependency relations. The historical context for the current analysis is the development of Indian-white relations in Canada over the last 300 years and the dependence which has become an integral part of that relationship. This relationship has roots in pre-capitalist Canada, in the development of the fur trade and the ensuing ties with the world market economy of Great Britain and France. The im-

pact of the fur trade on native life in North America is a vital part of understanding the arenas of conflict which exist today and which have developed slowly and steadily over the years.

Prior to European contact, native peoples had established a mode of subsistence (hunting, fishing, fowling, trapping, and/or horticulture) suited to the environment of the areas they occupied and in accordance with their traditional beliefs. There was a sexual division of labor in which both males and females were responsible for large contributions to group subsistence. Rules of access varied, depending on the niche occupied and the economic organization of the group. Among hunter-gatherers, bands were fairly nomadic and pursued game over large areas of land. Land was not there to be owned, but to be used, as need dictated, while among the more sedentary West Coast peoples, there was a strong sense of property in terms of fishing grounds and village sites. This was possible due to the abundance of natural resources in the region and the favorable climate. Other sedentary groups such as the Huron and Iroquois in the east had specific tracts of land for their crops which were attached to and belonged to the individual villages. Each of these two groups also had hunting areas as game was used to supplement the horticultural food production.

Economically speaking, the roles played by both sexes were of an egalitarian nature. For example, while men generally pursued such activities as hunting, fishing and warfare, women performed equally necessary tasks, such as crop-tending, food production, snaring of small animals, making of clothes, and in some areas (Plains, eastern sub-Arctic, Northwestern Canada) the housebuilding. In addition, women were in charge of child-rearing and represented a stability factor in a camp or village (i.e. when men went out hunting or to war for long periods of time, women maintained the structure of the group left at home). They were thus functionally and structurally important for the maintenance of the corporate group and were recognized in this way. Powers of decision were left to whichever sex was available at the time. Members of both sexes were equally necessary for survival and this is the reason that marriage was generally considered to be an economic necessity. In terms of subsistence, spouses were co-partners.

With the coming of the fur trade, the nature of traditional economic pursuits underwent drastic change. Hunting and trapping were carried out not for subsistence alone, but as an integral part of the fur trade economy. More furs were now required and a market economy was established which linked the native trappers and hunters to the outside world of capitalism, imperialism, and hence, colonial status and

dependency.

For a relatively brief period in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, prior to the merging of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821, the native population had some degree of control over the price of furs being brought in and over the bargaining for both furs and European trade goods. However, with the merging of these two competing enterprises, a monopoly took over the fur trade economy.

When the monopoly came, the Indians were left with only one commodity and only one market, and the rates of exchange within this market could be freely determined by the Company, as could all other manner of social relations (Elias 1975:5).

The control formerly held by the native peoples over the price of their furs and of trade items was now lost. While they previously had bargaining power, they now were faced with compliance with the Company's standards. The autonomy they once possessed was lost and has yet to be regained.

As furs were provided for traders and less time was devoted to subsistence itself, a dependence on European trade goods grew. What was previously provided by the corporate entity of band, tribe or village was now obtained through trade with Europeans and new Canadians (e.g., food staples, clothing, tools, kettles, guns), and at prices

set by the Company. The entire means of subsistence and social organization was undermined by an outside, domineering power structure which now linked native peoples and their original economic pursuits to the world market and in particular, England.

A source of cheap labor was found in abundance and was tapped for all it was worth. The natives gathered the furs, thus providing the commodity for the trade. Different styles of trade characterized the companies involved (prior to the merger). The Hudson's Bay Company, for example, initially kept to the outskirts of native territory, depending on native trappers to bring the furs to the posts. Facing competition from the other companies who did go inland to procure the furs, the Bay too eventually set up posts in the interior, beginning with the establishment of Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River in 1774. Native trappers were still used to bring in furs, and trappers and their families grew dependent on the posts for supplies.

In addition to this human resource, labor, there were of course the valuable furs, which were obtained at the expense of native peoples' independence, social organization and family life (cf. Murphy and Steward 1956). Roles of men and women which were once inter-dependent in terms of subsistence and family structure were transformed to conform to European standards. The importance of women decreased

under this system as they were not money-earners as were the men who trapped and whose work was intimately tied to a market economy. The entire family was rendered dependent on the new economy which was developing in Canada. As Davis states the nature of the situation,

The development of the fur trade tied the Indians to a world market as colonized workers managed by others. When the fur industry declined, capital migrated to other sectors of the economy, and the Indians were left stranded and bypassed in a world they did not make (1971:29).

There was a change from a cooperative relationship between band members to a competitive one, with people trying to obtain as many furs as possible for individual profit. Though the meat obtained was made use of (Knight 1965), the principal incentive for the work was the procurement of furs for trading purposes. An important change in the structural relationship between band members took place. As Leacock has pointed out, "... the individual's most important ties, economically speaking, were transformed from within the band to without"... (1954:7, emphasis in the original). Leacock's thesis was that the fur trade imposed a rigid structure which had not been present previously, and that this development led to individualization and the development of a family hunting territory (24). Her work deals mainly with the northeastern Algonkians, but

there are similarities to be found in other areas.

What we have is a situation wherein formerly independent peoples were brought into contact with a European economic and power structure which was capable of infiltrating and soon dominating those it encountered. Native peoples became reliant on trade items, a market economy (in the form of a trading post for most), and some wage labor (associated with the post and the missionaries). Once fur supplies diminished and the interest on the part of investors waned, the rug was pulled out from under the newly established frontier economy, at least as far as the producers were concerned. Native peoples were left in a poverty state because of their participation in an economy alien to and in contradiction with their traditional economic pursuits. Because it revolves around money, the economic structure makes those who do not possess it or the control of it poor. The fact that the imposed economy was an alien one in itself is not an inherent drawback. Rather, the fact that it led to the domination of the original population and traditional economy is the critical point to bear in mind when analyzing the development of the dependency relationship.

One of the most important factors, in addition to the economic one, which suffered serious change as a result of white contact and the fur trade, was the family structure. The nuclear family became the economic unit, with women and

children becoming more dependent upon the male husband-father. A "... shift toward patrilineality often occurred rapidly with the new economic and political relationships with Europeans that encouraged reckoning of descent through the male" (Leacock 1971:20). Similarly, decisions regarding subsistence and production began to fall predominantly within the male domain. It was the men who trapped and traded their furs at the posts. It was they with whom the Company people dealt. Women came to occupy more subservient roles economically, structurally and functionally, roles which were more in keeping with European concepts of "women's place".

Strangely enough, the position and status of native women historically was more like that which contemporary women of the dominant society are striving for today. Native women were as vital to their economy, subsistence and production as were the men. As a result of white contact, their importance diminished. Their work was no longer an essential part of the economy. In the 1960's and 1970's, women of mainstream society have been fighting and working to regain just that sort of economic responsibility and autonomy which native women formerly possessed. Women are uniting as "sisters", realizing the value of cooperation and group effort. These values were essential parts of traditional native cultures; native women were familiar

and intimately involved in communal work habits and ethics long ago. Individualism was not a feasible way of approaching one's life or more specifically, one's life as part of a subsistence group.

In discussing the development of monogamous marriage in her Introduction to Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Leacock states:

The significant characteristic of monogamous marriage was its transformation of the nuclear family into the basic economic unit of society, within which a woman and her children became dependent upon an individual man. Arising in conjunction with exploitative class relations, this transformation resulted in the oppression of women that has persisted to the present day (1972:29).

This descriptive analysis provides a succinct framework for examining the situation faced by native women as their societies were transformed and explains as well why they occupy the relatively lower status positions today.

Contemporary Issues of Dependency

Out of the initial and not heavily exploitative relations of early contact and involvement in the fur trade, followed by the eventual occupation of native lands, and the forced relocation of native peoples on government ad-

ministered reserves, the native population was ultimately rendered dependent upon the federal government. Although he is analyzing the situation of native peoples in Latin America, A.G. Frank sounds very much as though he were also discussing the Canadian dimension of native-white relations.

It is hard to find many Indians, even in Mexico after its land reform, who own enough land to permit them to lead a life worthy of their integral membership in human society. It is a generally acknowledged fact that the Indians have been robbed of their lands by legal and illegal means over the course of history, often not so much because others wanted the land in itself as because they sought to render the Indians dependent by denying them ownership of the resources necessary for their independent survival (1969a:135-36).

In Canada too, native peoples have been rendered dependent. They occupy Crown lands from which they may be moved or removed at the government's desire. They have been given numbers for identification purposes and some have signed treaties and been placed on lands "reserved" for them, having been displaced from lands (generally more desirable) which they once roamed at will. The traditional economic base of hunting, fishing and trapping has largely been removed² and

²Even in the 1970's economic opportunities continue to be taken out of Indians' hands. One need only look to northwestern Ontario where mercury poisoning has ruined the fishing in two river systems upon which the reserves of White Dog and Grassy Narrows had depended for both food and

is a process which moved along with the intensity of contact. This was accomplished in part by the formulation of treaties for many parts of the country (with the exclusion of British Columbia, Quebec, the Maritime provinces and the Territories) and with the establishment of "lands reserved for Indians".

The treaties, therefore can best be understood, from both a legal and historical point of view, when considered as agreements of a very special nature in which the Indians gave up their rights in the land in exchange for certain promises made by the government (Cumming and Mickenburg 1972:53).

These promises are what constitute the binding relationship between many of the native peoples and the federal government, in which the native population represents virtually an encapsulated social system, existing at the periphery of mainstream society without the means of penetrating it to much advantage.

The Indian Act represents yet another form of oppression, as well as a contractual agreement which the Status Indian population cannot yet afford to pull out of. It acts to separate and divide the native population in terms of legal status issues which act to confuse other areas of concern still further (e.g., economic, social, cultural,

a livelihood, as men worked for tourist fishermen as guides. This is all done in the name of progress and development of industry in which the Ontario government has a large financial interest.

political). The legal status of native women is a glaring example of how the population has been manipulated into forming many factions and interest groups, culminating in a very large and heterogeneous grouping of subjects occupying a colonial status position.³

The lack of recognition of the importance or worth of the individuals concerned is evidenced by the fact of the categorization of this human population under the same federal department as northern development, thus linking the native peoples with the development of northern land and resources, with the human factor playing a subordinate role.⁴

³Only in recent years has there been a largescale attempt on the part of the native population to unite for a common cause. On July 15, 1975, the Dene Declaration was adopted as a statement of rights and determination by the General Assembly of the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Association of the N.W.T. In the summer of 1976, however, the two organizations split on this issue, the Metis not wishing to be included any longer with the Status Indians and their claim.

⁴The history of the Department of Indian Affairs and its affiliations is as follows: From 1763, with the Royal Proclamation, until 1867, the British Colonial Office administered to Indian Affairs. In Ontario and Quebec, Canada itself took on some responsibility in 1860, through the Crown Lands Department. In 1867, the Dominion of Canada took over total responsibility for Indian Affairs, as provided for in the BNA Act (s. 91(24)), and Indian Affairs became a part of the Department of the Secretary of State. This lasted until 1863, when Indian Affairs became attached to the Department of the Interior. From 1880 to 1936, the Indian Affairs branch was known as the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1936, it again became a branch, this time under

Dependency relationships have through time become the institutionalized structure of native peoples-federal government interchange. It is a structural relationship, the nature of which remains the same, even as the personalities change. The paternalism which pervades government policy remains strong while the power of the native peoples remains weak. The connection with the dominant society is most similar to that of a peasant population which is also dependent upon and existing in relation to an outside and dominant political-economic power.

Nearly all reserves belong to that intermediate societal species which has in recent years received recognition by social scientists - peasantry. Most reserve communities have all the characteristics of peasant communities according to Kroeber's definition of peasants as rural people living in relation to market towns, providing we see them (as Kroeber did) as consisting of class segments of a population that contains urban centres. One significant difference, however, between reserve and peasant communities needs to be noted. Reserves are social systems which have been ossified by the economic and political systems on which they are dependent (Carstens 1971:137-38; cf. Amin 1972).

Both internal and external relations operate simul-

the Department of Mines and Resources, and as an economic measure to conserve funding after the Depression. In 1951, Citizenship and Immigration took over, until 1966, when Indian Affairs was assimilated with Northern Development to become DIAND.

taneously in both cases; local level socio-political life is intimately bound to the higher level economic sphere. One cannot attempt to analyze what happens on the local level without an awareness of the economic control and manipulation existing in the provincial, national or international arenas.

When one is looking at a relationship of this type which is structurally asymmetrical with regard to accessibility to power and resources, it is possible to see that there are striking similarities to the peasant situation. While members of "primitive" or tribal society control their own labor and means of production (Wolf 1966:3), peasants exist in relation to a dominant group. What is important is that peasants are part of a larger society (following Kroeber 1948 and Wolf 1966) and an understanding of the relations between them and the larger sector is necessary if one is to grasp the implications of their position in the structure. In other words, it is the structure of the situation that merits analysis.

As Carstens goes on to state and it is this point which more clearly articulates the nature of the peasantry relationship,

Peasants, the working class, and people who live in reserves belong to the same social genus in terms of the relationship in which they stand to the dominant segment of

their social milieux. They are
all 'class segments' of society
... (1971:139).

The relationship which was established during the fur trade years persists today in many parts of the North in the workings of the Hudson's Bay Company. At first, the Bay's concern was with trade - the procurement of Canadian furs for the European market. Today, the role has changed. In place of trading posts, there are Bay stores in many remote northern settlements. Often this store is the only one in a community and thus a monopoly of goods and price control exists. In addition, the Post Office may be located within the store and the postmaster will be the same person handling all the normal mail, plus welfare cheques, family allowance and unemployment cheques. Therefore, the control of monies reaching native peoples is often placed within the realm of Bay management. Howard Adams has cited many cases of this in northern Saskatchewan and the process recurs throughout the North (Adams 1970; cf. Dunning 1959: 120). People often do not even see their cheques; they are told how much money they have to spend and in essence they operate on a voucher system, buying all that they want at the Bay store until their money runs out. And so the dependence is maintained for many, often on a one-to-one basis; if one does not get along with Bay personnel and the postmaster, one might not get a cheque on time.

Similar examples of exploitation have been cited by Bennett (1969) and Braroe (1965), the latter referring to the "reciprocal exploitation" which occurs in native-white relations. How much actual "exploitation" takes place on the natives' part is questionable. What little the whites are taken for can hardly be termed "exploitation". Each party is aware of what is really happening in transactions, but each continues to play the game in order to maintain the status quo. It is better for the natives to act in this way, and gain something, rather than nothing for their efforts. In the process, however, the lower status of the native peoples is reinforced.

Native Peoples as a Unique Minority

The situation of native peoples in Canada today is unique among that of minority groups, even though this fact tends to be obscured by the umbrella of multiculturalism, which leads to the delusion that many subcultures exist on a par with each other in our society, native peoples representing only one segment of the large and multi-part pie.

The special place occupied by native peoples can be explained in terms of the historical relationship which developed from the time of first white contact with the native population of Canada. While native peoples today

are representative of aboriginal populations of North America, immigrants who comprise other ethnic minorities constitute a later addition to the Canadian mosaic. Their existence in the country stems from numerous causes (desire for a better life, refuge from a despotic government regime, etc.), but what these causal factors have in common is that some sort of choice was involved in making the move to new soil. The choice may have resulted from physical force or painful pressures, but a decision for migration nevertheless had to be made, even if not directly by the individuals themselves.

On the other hand, the native population of Canada was here long before our present day dominant societal structure appeared on the scene. Tribal governments were in existence, as were established practices of religion, subsistence, the family structure, etc. A new concept of family structure has evolved for native peoples as a result of their colonial experience, as well as new and different economic and political institutions. The population was drawn into an economic and social relationship at an early stage of contact and it was this initial intercourse which has led to the unique position it now occupies with respect to the federal government. Harold Cardinal(1969) has stressed the inherent right of native people to make claims upon the federal government by virtue of the fact that they were the "first citizens" of the country. The government, as he explains,

is doing the Indians no special favors but rather is fulfilling a moral obligation to a people they have enslaved by their legislation and ideology.

While the aboriginal native population was conquered, colonized and drawn into a world economic system which it had formerly been independent of, other minority groups were already part of that system before migrating to Canada and had at least some knowledge of what they were entering into when they arrived. Native peoples did not have a choice in the matter; they could not opt out of the system as they were taken over by it to such a degree that there eventually was no means whatsoever of escape. The choice factor for all intents and purposes did not exist.⁵

Native peoples in other parts of the world have also been drawn into the world market economy.⁶ It is a process which occurs through time which results in the creation of a relationship in which native peoples or the local population take on the dependent role; a dependency relation-

⁵Enfranchisement and the gaining of regular citizenship status does not represent a viable alternative, as Indians who take this option generally join (or remain in) the ranks of the lower class and/or unemployed and have even fewer economic advantages than they would have had on reserves and with Status (land use, housing, education, medical care).

⁶See particularly Frank 1969; Jorgensen 1971; and Steinhagen 1975. Cf. works by Foster (1967) and Wolf (1966) for the development of peasant economies.

ship develops into which both parties become intricately bound and the exploitation by the dominant factor continues and grows at the expense of the dependent part of the population.

Though immigrants or other ethnic groups can also fall into this type of relationship with regard to the occupations they are involved in and the social classes of which they are members, they do so not as conquered original inhabitants of the land, but as latecomers to the established order into which they are fitted. The nature of their exploitation is different.

Jorgensen's analysis of the American Indian scene and the special niche occupied by American Indians holds true for Canada too. According to Jorgensen,

... the particular niche occupied by the Indians in the American culture of poverty - that of superexploited and paternalistically guided wards of neocolonialism, the vast majority of whom reside on reservations - separates them, say, from the Mestizo in Mexico, the Callampa dwellers in Chile, the rural poor and the Black urban ghetto dwellers in the United States, and the Black Caribs of Latin America and the West Indies.... a difference is that Indians often have resources. But the access of American Indians to their resources is severely restricted, and the major exploitation of these resources is carried out by non-Indian local, national, and multi-national corporations (1971:79-80).

A difference can thus be seen here between this and an

actual "peasant" situation. Whereas peasants have a good deal of control over their land and its production, native peoples in Canada no longer do. However, both groups exist in a structural relationship with a dominant society with the potential for movement along the continuum of relations being either way (i.e. peasants may lose control over their lands, while native peoples may gain more over theirs). Both populations represent intermediate points between the two extremes of independent-tribal and independent-industrial, and comprise a dependent or at least partially dependent segment of the population.

As Braroe has documented for the Indians of "Jasper", Saskatchewan (1965), and as is true on almost any Canadian reserve where there are resources which could be marketed, the Indians are in a legislative bind by virtue of the Indian Act:

... whites frequently take advantage of the restrictions placed upon Indians in disposing of reserve resources. The law forbids Indians to sell cattle or hay without permission from the Indian agent, and the money from such sales is supposed to go to a common reserve fund rather than to individual Indians. To circumvent this, Indians sell these things to whites, but for only a fraction of their value (1965:169-70).

The structure of the native-white relationship is maintained with the so-called "reciprocal exploitation" favoring the whites.

Metropolis-Hinterland Models and Canadian Society

The terms metropolis-hinterland and metropolis-satellite may be used interchangeably to represent the same structural relationship existing between two areas, geographic or otherwise, possessing different degrees of access to economic and political power. It should be made clear that "metropolis" does not necessarily refer to an urban area and "hinterland" to a wooded region. The terms designate areas which possess varying degrees of control over the lives of the people living in them and elsewhere, and control over the resources and labor of each of these areas. The metropolis controls the flow of capital into and out of the hinterland. The hinterland supplies the resources and has little to say about their distribution. There is a paternalism endemic in the system. The structure is maintained while capital is kept centralized in the hands of metropolitan planners. Power is a key issue. It is not only a matter of economics and politics, but also the power associated with these that determines where the boundary line is drawn between metropolitan area and the hinterland.

This is not to ignore geography and regional disparities which obviously exist. But to overemphasize geography is to cloud the issue. People who are part of the hinterland do not necessarily have to live in the North or

other rural areas. This type of model is most useful and appropriate for analyzing the position of native peoples in this country who as a group represent a large segment of hinterland Canada.

The metropolis-hinterland model of analysis accounts for class differences, conflicts, dependency relations and the institutionalized structure of all of these. In the past, "deficiency" theories took precedence (cf. Jorgensen 1971, re: acculturation studies). Such statements as "Westerners are backward and that's why the West is undeveloped" or "Indians are poor because they don't want to work," were common, and unfortunately still are in some circles, but more recently the situations which remarks such as these refer to are being analyzed from a broader, more comprehensive perspective (e.g., Carstens 1971; Davis 1971; Dunning 1962; Frank 1969a,b; Jorgensen 1971; and Stavenhagen 1975). It has been realized that local level politics or problems cannot be analyzed if higher level political activities and philosophies are not accounted for at the same time.

The situation is similar to the compensatory education programs in the U.S. which were tried in the 1960's (e.g., Project Headstart). The purpose of these was to bring up to "standards" those children who appeared behind and lacking in basic skills because of an "inferior" (i.e., minority

group, non-middle class) background. Much counter-activity on the part of researchers occurred and it was found that children who appeared intellectually deficient when tested by middle class standards fared much better when less culture-ridden tests were employed. The fault originally believed to lie with the children, their family or "culture", was found to exist in the dominant society, although this thinking is still not incorporated into political ideology, and will not be as long as the structure of inequality is still maintained.

Whereas in the past the hinterland areas have always been looked upon as backward and undeveloped, more people of late are realizing that it is not an issue of their being undeveloped but rather underdeveloped - underdeveloped by the metropolitan areas for the economic benefit of the metropolis. An interdependence exists between the processes of development of the centre and underdevelopment of the hinterland or periphery (Frank 1969b). Pressure is maintained by the metropolitan sector to maintain this balance; the hinterland is plugged into the system with little or no control left in its realm. The discrepancy between the two areas is not concealed but is actively publicized. With modern communications systems, the hinterland is only too aware of what life is like for the metropolitans, but somehow they are led to believe and internalize the philo-

sophy of the dominant society to such a degree that their situation is adjusted to and accepted enough for it to persist. What the radical segment of the native rights movement has been trying to do is organize the native population around such issues as class, to educate people to be more aware of their socioeconomic position in this society, of their dependent status upon the federal government and ways in which this incongruence could potentially change if alliances were established with other members of the "hinterland" population. How this could be achieved has never really been clearly defined by those involved.

In Canada, the model can be applied at various levels. Geographically, a metropolis-hinterland relationship exists between the Central Canadian Triangle (Montreal-Ottawa-Toronto) and the rest of the country, succinctly designated as the West, North Quebec and Maritimes. At the same time, the relationship exists between Canada as a whole and the United States, while in the past it was between Canada and Great Britain. At a more local level, it exists between rural areas of the provinces and the urban centres. With respect to native peoples, it exists between them as a population with unique rights and the federal government and its powers of domination, as well as the local relations between town and reserve populations.

Jorgensen's hypothesis on metropolis-satellite relations for Indians in the United States is useful in its

application to Canada. He puts forth the claim that

... the development of the metro-polis-satellite economy through technology, capital, political influence, and power has locked the Indian into poverty conditions (1971:90).

He goes on to note that it is possible for individual Indians to succeed, but that this is not the norm. In reading his description of the situation faced by the Utes, it is obvious that there are direct parallels with the Canadian experience.

The federal government, through the BIA, has overseen Ute 'development'; that development has resulted in generations of apathetic and disillusioned Utes. A viable economy has never been generated and the Utes have more and more become buried in the depths of a welfare enterprise ... which has been the political response toward solving their economic deprivation. The solutions, have, of course, treated symptoms, not causes, and as conditions worsen, the welfare establishment grows, providing jobs for non-Indians and some Indians, as well as handouts (1971:109).

In Canada we have the bureaucracy of the Indian Affairs branch and its control over Indians and their economic "development". If this control continues to exist, native peoples will forever remain in dependent position.

Native Women: A Particular Class of Victims

Indian Status women and those who have lost their

legal status have been particularly victimized as a result of the dependency relationship. A transference of the dominant society's legal concepts with regard to women has taken place which has culminated in the inferior position of native women in comparison to women of the dominant society and native men. Metropolitan values have been internalized by a large part of the native segment of the hinterland population, but what has been accepted has had more serious consequences for native women than for others.

As women, those who are classed as Status Indians have been discriminated against by the Indian Act which provides for their loss of Indian Status upon marriage to a non-Indian Status man. A Status Indian man faces no such threat; on the contrary, his wife, if she already is not a Status Indian, has Indian Status conferred upon her when she marries. Freedom of choice of a mate exists for men, but not women, if they are concerned about retaining their special status as Indians and both the benefits and burdens that this entails.

As native people the women are also discriminated against. Other women in our society do not face the possibility of a legal break with their families, land, and all other rights associated with the Indian Act, as do Status Indian women. The latter are locked into a system which severely limits their possibilities for marriage

partners and completely curtails their freedom of choice in this matter if they wish to retain Indian Status.

The Bill of Rights was proven ineffective when tested in the Supreme Court on behalf of native women's rights. A change in the Indian Act must be made before Status Indian women will have the same legal rights as Status Indian men. One of the proposed changes would provide for loss of the legal status for both men and women who married non-Status Indian persons. This seems more like a step backward than one forward. If this were to happen, the native population to which the government is responsible would be decreased and over time would represent a smaller and even less effective pressure group with which the government would have to contend. It does not take much imagination to see to whose advantage this would be.

Social Networks and Power: Conclusions

The needs of native women represent a unique framework for analysis. The social networks available to individuals and to groups are dependent upon their place in the social structure.

A close and complex connection exists between a group's access to and control of knowledge and its power and authority, its ability to make and implement decisions (Sutton et al. 1975: 581).

Native women, like native men, are in a position of dependency upon the federal government. This relationship has been institutionalized for over one hundred years. While the Indian Act is both discriminatory and protective at the same time for all Status Indians, for the women it is more discriminatory than for others, as they have even less control over the legislation governing their lives than do the men. Until the late 1960's their only representation to government was through the male-dominated organizations. Presently, they have organizations of their own, but these continue to be overshadowed by the more powerful, longer established, and male-dominated groups. As is the case with the native rights movement as a whole, the native women's organizations also lack cohesion on issues, even those as important as legal status.

In their comparative study of three societies (Morocco, Tlingit and Barbados), Sutton et al. concluded:

The extent to which women have access to the public domain crucially affects the degree to which they determine their own positions in the status hierarchies of their societies (1975: 597).

Native women in Canada lack access to the public domain not because they are necessarily physically separated from the political arena, but because their accessibility to it and the federal bureaucracy is inevitably channeled by the

male-dominated organizations whose representatives are more readily recognized by government as spokesmen for the population as a whole. Because Canada is a large, industrial, multi-cultural society, in which the public domain is the most significant with regard to political power, it is necessary for women to have access to it if their concerns are to be communicated and dealt with.

For women of mainstream society, the social networks may be outlined in terms of women's influence in the domestic (private) and extra-domestic (public) spheres. The influence of native peoples is channeled through the federal government, through the Indian Affairs branch. Native women's concerns until the early 1970's and with few exceptions were heard by the male-dominated, government-subsidized organizations and often not pursued beyond this level of their networks; the access of native women to the federal power structure which controlled their lives was of a very limited nature.

Prior to the formation of the provincial and national level native women's organizations, participation in structured group interactions took place at the local level, often through Homemaker's Clubs. The traditional concern with domestic life is still very strong among native women and to some degree has probably contributed to their position today, which is relegated more often to the domestic

sphere than to the public. It is not that they necessarily see themselves as being involved in the domestic sphere to the exclusion of the public and political arenas, but this is the way that their position has been legislated for them. This has become the structure of the way in which they take part in society.

Though cultural elements can be shared by all members of a society, access to power and to the control of resources is often restricted to a limited few. The institutionalization of the underdevelopment of large segments of the society has enabled those in power to alienate these less privileged groups from networks of advancement. By limiting their access to more powerful socio-political positions, these segments of the population are maintained in an underdeveloped state, unable to penetrate the core of the society or the power structure inherent within it. The segregation of large segments of the population in this manner is an ongoing process which is the practice of a colonial power's "divide and rule" ideology. This is not meant to imply that any sort of high-level, purposely detrimental planning goes into this type of underdevelopment or segregation, but is simply saying that this is what has been provided for in the system, to the exclusion of other alternatives. Administrative expedience takes precedence over the people it victimizes.

The functioning of our society is controlled by a relatively small sector which retains power while the many remain powerless. If people, especially as part of a large group or segment of the population, are unable to achieve positions in the power structure and are left at the periphery of the societal structure, their problems and concerns can be treated as those of an ill-fated appendage, rather than a total societal concern (cf. Leacock 1975). I have proposed here that the whole issue of native rights and native women's rights, which have been split by legislation, is one example of this type of system which only provides to maintain the dependence of native peoples.

APPENDIX 1

Section 11 of the Indian Act reads as follows:

11. (1) Subject to section 12, a person is entitled to be registered if that person

(a) on the 26th day of May 1874 was, for the purposes of *An Act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands*, being chapter 42 of the Statutes of Canada, 1868, as amended by section 6 of chapter 6 of the Statutes of Canada, 1869, and section 8 of chapter 21 of the Statutes of Canada, 1874, considered to be entitled to hold, use or enjoy the lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada;

(b) is a member of a band

(i) for whose use and benefit, in common, lands have been set apart or since the 26th day of May 1874, have been agreed by treaty to be set apart, or

(ii) that has been declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act;

(c) is a male person who is a direct descendant in the male line of a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b);

(d) is the legitimate child of

(i) a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b), or

(ii) a person described in paragraph (c);

(e) is the illegitimate child of a female person described in paragraph (a), (b) or (d); or

(f) is the wife or widow of a person who is entitled to be registered by virtue of paragraph (a), (b), (c), (d) or (e).

(2) Paragraph (1)(e) applies only to persons born after the 13th day of August 1956. R.S., c. 149, s. 11; 1956, c. 40, s. 3.

11. (1) Sous réserve de l'article 12, une personne a droit d'être inscrite si

a) elle était, le 26 mai 1874, aux fins de la loi alors intitulée: *Acte pourvoyant à l'organisation du Département du Secrétaire d'Etat du Canada, ainsi qu'à l'administration des Terres des Sauvages et de l'Ordonnance*, chapitre 42 des Statuts du Canada de 1868, modifiée par l'article 6 du chapitre 6 des Statuts du Canada de 1869 et par l'article 8 du chapitre 21 des Statuts du Canada de 1874, considérée comme ayant droit à la détention, l'usage ou la jouissance des terres et autres biens immobiliers appartenant aux tribus, bandes ou groupes d'Indiens au Canada, ou affectés à leur usage;

b) elle est membre d'une bande

(i) à l'usage et au profit communs de laquelle des terres ont été mises de côté ou, depuis le 26 mai 1874, ont fait l'objet d'un traité les mettant de côté, ou

(ii) que le gouverneur en conseil a déclarée une bande aux fins de la présente loi;

c) elle est du sexe masculin et descendante directe, dans la ligne masculine, d'une personne du sexe masculin décrite à l'alinéa a) ou b);

d) elle est l'enfant légitime

(i) d'une personne du sexe masculin décrite à l'alinéa a) ou b), ou

(ii) d'une personne décrite à l'alinéa c);

e) elle est l'enfant illégitime d'une personne du sexe féminin décrite à l'alinéa a), b) ou d); ou

f) elle est l'épouse ou la veuve d'une personne ayant le droit d'être inscrite aux termes de l'alinéa a), b), c), d) ou e).

(2) L'alinéa (1)e) s'applique seulement aux personnes nées après le 13 août 1956. S.R., c. 149, art. 11; 1956, c. 40, art. 3.

APPENDIX 2

Section 12 of the Indian Act reads as follows:

12. (1) The following persons are not entitled to be registered, namely,

(a) a person who

- (i) has received or has been allotted half-breed lands or money scrip,
- (ii) is a descendant of a person described in subparagraph (i),
- (iii) is enfranchised, or
- (iv) is a person born of a marriage entered into after the 4th day of September 1951 and has attained the age of twenty-one years, whose mother and whose father's mother are not persons described in paragraph 11(1)(a),(b) or (d) or entitled to be registered by virtue of paragraph 11(1)(e),

unless, being a woman, that person is the wife or widow of a person described in section 11, and

(b) a woman who married a person who is not an Indian, unless that woman is subsequently the wife or widow of a person described in section 11.

(2) The addition to a Band List of the name of an illegitimate child described in paragraph 11(1)(e) may be protested at any time within twelve months after the addition, and if upon the protest it is decided that the father of the child was not an Indian, the child is not entitled to be registered under that paragraph.

(3) The Minister may issue to any Indian to whom this Act ceases to apply, a certificate to that effect.

(4) Subparagraphs (1)(a)(i) and (ii) do not apply to a person who

- (a) pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian on the 13th day of August 1958, or
- (b) is a descendant of a person described in paragraph (a) of this subsection.

(5) Subsection (2) applies only to persons born after the 13th day of August 1956. R.S., c. 149, s. 12; 1956, c. 40, ss. 3, 4; 1958, c. 19, s. 1.

12. (1) Les personnes suivantes n'ont pas le droit d'être inscrites, savoir:

a) une personne qui

- (i) a reçu, ou à qui il a été attribué, des terres ou certificats d'argent de métis,
- (ii) est un descendant d'une personne décrite au sous-alinéa (i),
- (iii) est émancipée, ou
- (iv) est née d'un mariage contracté après le 4 septembre 1951 et a atteint l'âge de vingt et un ans, dont la mère et la grand-mère paternelle ne sont pas des personnes décrites à l'alinéa 11(1)a),b) ou d) ou admises à être inscrites en vertu de l'alinéa 11(1)e),

sauf si, étant une femme, cette personne est l'épouse ou la veuve de quelqu'un décrit à l'article 11, et

b) une femme qui a épousé un non-Indien, sauf si cette femme devient subséquemment l'épouse ou la veuve d'une personne décrite à l'article 11.

(2) L'addition, à une liste de bande, du nom d'un enfant illégitime décrit à l'alinéa 11(1)e) peut faire l'objet d'une protestation en tout temps dans les douze mois de l'addition et si, à la suite de la protestation, il est décidé que le père de l'enfant n'était pas un Indien, l'enfant n'a pas le droit d'être inscrit selon cet alinéa.

(3) Le Ministre peut délivrer à tout Indien auquel la présente loi cesse de s'appliquer, un certificat dans ce sens.

(4) Les sous-alinéas (1)a)(i) et (ii) ne s'appliquent pas à une personne qui,

- a) en conformité de la présente loi, est inscrite à titre d'Indien le 13 août 1958, ou
- b) est un descendant d'une personne désignée à l'alinéa a) du présent paragraphe.

(5) Le paragraphe (2) s'applique seulement aux personnes nées après le 13 août 1956. S.R., c. 149, art. 12; 1956, c. 40, art. 3, 4; 1958, c. 19, art. 1.

APPENDIX 3

Section 109 of the Indian Act reads as follows:

ENFRANCHISEMENT

109. (1) On the report of the Minister that an Indian has applied for enfranchisement and that in his opinion the Indian

- (a) is of the full age of twenty-one years,
- (b) is capable of assuming the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and
- (c) when enfranchised, will be capable of supporting himself and his dependants,

the Governor in Council may by order declare that the Indian and his wife and minor unmarried children are enfranchised.

(2) On the report of the Minister that an Indian woman married a person who is not an Indian, the Governor in Council may by order declare that the woman is enfranchised as of the date of her marriage and, on the recommendation of the Minister may by order declare that all or any of her children are enfranchised as of the date of the marriage or such other date as the order may specify.

(3) Where, in the opinion of the Minister, the wife of an Indian is living apart from her husband, the names of his wife and his minor children who are living with the wife shall not be included in an order under subsection (1) that enfranchises the Indian unless the wife has applied for enfranchisement, but where the Governor in Council is satisfied that such wife is no longer living apart from her husband, the Governor in Council may by order declare that the wife and the minor children are enfranchised.

(4) A person is not enfranchised unless his name appears in an order of enfranchisement made by the Governor in Council. R.S., c. 149, s. 108; 1956, c. 40, s. 26.

ÉMANCIPATION

109. (1) Lorsque le Ministre signale, dans un rapport, qu'un Indien a demandé l'émancipation et qu'à son avis, ce dernier

- a) est âgé de vingt et un ans révolus,
- b) est capable d'assumer les devoirs et les responsabilités de la citoyenneté, et
- c) pourra, une fois émancipé, subvenir à ses besoins et à ceux des personnes à sa charge,

le gouverneur en conseil peut déclarer par ordonnance que l'Indien, son épouse et ses enfants mineurs célibataires sont émancipés.

(2) Sur le rapport du Ministre, indiquant qu'une Indienne a épousé un non-Indien, le gouverneur en conseil peut, par ordonnance, déclarer que la femme en question est émancipée à compter de son mariage et, sur la recommandation du Ministre, peut, par ordonnance, déclarer que tous les enfants ou certains d'entre eux sont émancipés à compter de la date du mariage ou de telle autre date que l'ordonnance peut spécifier.

(3) Lorsque, de l'avis du Ministre, l'épouse d'un Indien vit séparée de son mari, les noms de son épouse et de ses enfants mineurs qui demeurent avec l'épouse, ne doivent pas être inclus dans une ordonnance, prévue par le paragraphe (1), qui émancipe l'Indien à moins que l'épouse n'ait demandé l'émancipation, mais quand le gouverneur en conseil est convaincu que ladite épouse n'est plus séparée de son mari, il peut déclarer par ordonnance que l'épouse et les enfants mineurs sont émancipés.

(4) Une personne n'est émancipée que si son nom apparaît dans une ordonnance d'émancipation rendue par le gouverneur en conseil. S.R., c. 149, art. 108; 1956, c. 40, art. 26.

APPENDIX 4

Vital Events (Increases and Decreases of
Indian Population) for the Years 1965-1974

<u>Year</u>	<u>Marriages</u>		<u>Enfranchisement of Women Who Married Non-Indian Males</u>
	<u>To Non-Indian Female</u>	<u>To Non-Indian Male</u>	
1965	258	450	439
1966	273	523	470
1967	300	524	415
1968	341	520	532
1969	388	580	489
1970	414	597	510
1971	513	614	353
1972	442	440	(not reported)
1973	564	538	121
1974	544	585	791
<u>Total</u>			<u>4120</u>

Source: Statistics Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

APPENDIX 5

Indian Women Enfranchised Following Marriage to non-Indians
 Together with Their Minor Unmarried Children for Canada
 Fiscal Years 1951-52 to 1971-72

DATE -- DATE	WOMEN -- FEMMES	CHILDREN -- ENFANTS	TOTAL -- TOTAL
	Number - Nombre		
April - March Avril - Mars			
1951-1952	53	17	70
1952-1953	182	69	251
1953-1954	237	85	322
1954-1955	262	103	365
1955-1956	339	98	437
1956-1957	389	115	504
1957-1958	305	50	355
1958-1959	612	-	612
1959-1960	433	221	654
1960-1961	592	167	759
1961-1962	435	140	575
1962-1963	404	109	513
1963-1964	287	102	389
1964-1965	480	176	656
1965-1966	435	147	582
1966-1967	457	148	605
1967-1968	470	56	526
1968-1969	531	197	728
1969-1970	547	107	654
1970-1971	517	98	615
1971-1972	267	19	286
Total	8,234	2,224	10,458

Source: Membership Division, Departmental Statistics Division
 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
 December 4, 1974.

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