

University of Manitoba

THE MEANING OF LEISURE TO NATIVE MANITOBANS:  
A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH INDIAN LAKE

by: Kelly Picken

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) December, 1992



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Your file    Votre référence*

*Our file    Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

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

ISBN 0-315-81850-6

Canada

THE MEANING OF LEISURE TO NATIVE MANITOBANS:

A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH INDIAN LAKE

BY

KELLY PICKEN

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

© 1992

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

## ABSTRACT

This study looks at life in a northern Native community through the stories and thoughts of the people who live there. They share their history, their culture and their everyday life. Through this process the meaning of leisure emerges.

The related literature review involves current conceptualizations of leisure and Native history and culture. A qualitative research approach was used and data collection was completed with the use of indepth interviews, field notes and a researcher's journal. Data analysis involved the coding of material with descriptors and organizing these into themes. These themes make up the resulting conceptualization of leisure.

The study can be put to practical use in that those of us from other cultures can read and learn about life in the north and about Native people. The information gathered can also be used to plan leisure and recreation programs within this community and other similar communities.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the people of South Indian Lake for welcoming me into their community and sharing their stories and thoughts with me. They taught me much about living in the north and I feel privileged to have had a glimpse of life through their eyes.

My thanks go out to my advisor Dr. Neil Winther. From the onset he understood why I wanted to do this research and what I wanted to accomplish. With his support I was able to stay true to my objectives and pass on what I have learned from the people of South Indian Lake, a story that I feel others should hear.

I would also like to thank Dean Wright who accompanied me to South Indian Lake at the beginning of this project. He introduced me to many people in the community and helped me to get started -- without his introductions I might still be knocking on doors.

To Dr. Searle, Dr. Johns and Dr. Linden I also express thanks for encouragement, words of advise, and critiques over the time it took me to finish this paper.

Thank you to the Northern Studies Department for financial support.

And to my family -- my parents, my brothers and Chase who have all supported me, each in their own way, thank you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	v
CHAPTER	
I. Introduction .....	1
Motivation for the study .....	4
II. Related Literature .....	8
Conceptualizations of Leisure .....	8
History and Culture of Native Canadians .....	17
Current Issues .....	25
III. Method .....	28
Steps in Qualitative Research .....	29
Validity, Reliability, Objectivity .....	40
Internal Validity .....	40
External Validity .....	41
Reliability .....	43
Objectivity .....	43
Statement of the Research Question .....	44
Assumption .....	44
Limitations .....	45
IV. Life in South Indian Lake:	
Before and After the Flood .....	46
Before the Flood .....	48
After the Flood .....	58
The Community Today .....	68
V. The Meaning of Leisure in South Indian Lake ...	83
Love of the Outdoors -- An Inner Drive .....	83
Closeness to Nature .....	88
Pursuit of Freedom .....	93
Freedom of Choice .....	94
Freedom from Outside Pressure .....	96
Freedom of Space .....	98
Positive Relationships with Self .....	99
Self-reliance and Satisfaction .....	100
Productive and Busy .....	102
Self-esteem .....	105
Extrinsic Motivation .....	108
Work versus Leisure .....	110
Positive Relationships with Others .....	112
VI. Factors Affecting Leisure Behavior .....	116
Age and Gender .....	116
Adolescents .....	117
Young Adults .....	120
Older Adults .....	124
Elders .....	127

Season .....	129
Tradition .....	132
Jobs within the Community .....	137
VII. Discussion and Conclusions .....	140
Conceptualization of Leisure in	
South Indian Lake .....	140
Leisure and the Future of	
South Indian Lake .....	143
Practical Purpose of this Study .....	145
Ideas for Leisure Programs in	
South Indian Lake .....	150
Reflections of the Researcher .....	152
REFERENCES .....	155
APPENDIX A Interview Questions .....	161
APPENDIX B First Set of Themes and Descriptors ...	162
Final Set of Themes and Descriptors ...	163
APPENDIX C Examples of Individual Analysis .....	164
APPENDIX D Excerpts from Researcher's Journal ....	168

#### List of Tables

TABLE 1. Comparison of tribal and urban-industrialized values .....	21
TABLE 2. Importance of Bush Life .....	146

## Introduction

"Come to our places, see who we really are, walk with us..." (Sinclair, 1992a)

It's the time of the seventh generation since the signing of the treaties between the forefathers of the aboriginal people and the British government. It was prophesied that this would be a time of great change, that this generation of Native people would stand up and command respect (Sinclair, 1992b; Highway, 1989; York, 1989). The actions of this prophecy have begun to happen. Inherent self-government and self-determination are common phrases of the day. Native people are demanding the respect they deserve and are asking to be treated as they should be, equal partners in this country.

Native people have many teachings, one of which is about the races of people. In the east are the red people whose gift is vision; in the south are the yellow people whose gift is time; in the west are the blacks who have been given the gift of reasoning and in the north are the whites, their gift is that of movement. It is time for the rest of us to listen to the red people. They are like the eagle. They can see far and wide and with their philosophy on life, they have the answers to some of the problems plaguing the earth today (Sinclair, 1992).

Native people have endured incredible hardships



Native people have endured incredible hardships placed upon them by the dominant society but they have survived (York, 1989). Euro-Canadians have tried annihilation, segregation, assimilation and integration in dealing with the Natives. All of these strategies have contributed to the problems that are present on the reserves and in Native communities today.

Now is a time of healing. Native people believe that healing moves on a continuum from the inside out, from self and outwards to the earth. First one must heal themselves, then their family, their community, the nation and then mother earth (Sinclair, 1992b). Many Native people have healed themselves and are moving along the continuum to help others to heal.

Native people are joining together, speaking for themselves and searching for what they once had in this land before the coming of the Europeans. They are looking for independence and are attempting to find and renew meaning and purpose in their lives (York, 1989). They are looking to their history to identify with their roots and to regain their dignity and respect.

Before the coming of the Europeans, Native people of Manitoba lead very active and spiritual lives. The essential focus of life was on survival; fitness of the spirit, mind and body. As a hunter-gatherer society, there was more time for leisure pursuits and often these tasks were ones that better prepared the people for the

challenges of their everyday life; but this was not always the case. There were times of merriment, singing, dancing, story-telling (McArthur, 1987). Summer festivals brought bands together; winter was a time for games and stories. What we call recreation today, was a large part of the lives of Native Manitobans.

At present there is a much different way of life on the reserves of Northern Manitoba. Unemployment is high, drug and alcohol abuse is excessive, housing conditions are poor (Winther, 1989). With the influx of modern amenities and the destruction of the environment, life in these communities has continued to change. Television has contributed to the change in cultural values and to an increase in crime (Sarkadi, 1992). The young people see less of a need to learn survival and traditional skills but yet there is little to replace these activities. In many of these communities there is a lack of recreation facilities.

Native leaders are looking to find solutions for the problems within their reserves and one area that is of interest to them, is leisure and recreation. Recreation is seen as a way out from the monotonous and often destructive life of non-work; it is seen as "an instrument of social change"(Winther, 1989, pg. 20).

The new federal school at Shamattawa was beginning to improve the quality of life in the community. For the first time, the children had a gymnasium and a skating rink -- an alternative to gas sniffing and crime (York, 1989, pg. 269).

The Manitoba government and New Careers responded to a request from the community leaders for recreation directors. Individuals were hired from within each community and they began a training program in 1990. The program was designed so that the recreation directors could work in the community and attend training workshops at various times throughout the year (Henry, 1990).

Not all communities are turning to modern forms of recreation. In the summer of 1989, the people of Red Sucker Lake began holding festivals each summer at their traditional meeting grounds to celebrate traditional activities.

There were speakers who spoke eloquently about subjects such as animal respect, legends, local history, wilderness survival, native identity, and the roles of women and men in the native family. There were demonstrations of traditional games, pow-wow dancing, and traditional medicines. ...Throughout all this activity, families visited one another and traditional food was cooked over the open fire (Hart, 1990, pg. 6).

Recreation is a means to continue the healing.

#### Motivation for the study

"It's an exciting time to be alive, seven lifetimes after the first meeting. I look forward to every minute of it." (Highway, 1989)

Native leaders are taking their rightful place beside the English and the French leaders of our country. There is a spiritual and cultural revival happening in many Native communities. There are solutions to some of the problems facing our planet and the people on it, in Native culture, spirituality and philosophy. It is time for us to listen.

We should be as two canoes floating down the river, side by side, sharing the bounties of the river. The paddlers in one canoe should not be trying to overturn the other. We should travel together, side by side, trusting each other. (Sinclair, 1992b)

In order to trust one another, it is important for us to learn about each other. The Native people have been forced to learn about us, now it is time for us to learn about them. By spending time in a northern settlement, I hoped to meet and become acquainted with some of the aboriginal people of our land; to see the world through their eyes and to try to understand more about their history. I had always romanticized the life of the historic Native and it was time that I learned about Native people and their life today.

In searching for a research question, I became interested in the healing process that many communities are going through and the role that recreation can play in that process. The traditional lifestyle of the people was characterized by the interwoven nature of all

aspects of their life; work, recreation, spirituality (Dewdney, 1975). In the revival of their culture, recreation could play an important role.

The Native Education Branch(1988) stresses the need for Native people to learn more about themselves.

After more than a century of cultural, economic and political repression, there is a great sense of loss, of need to reassess where we are and where we are going, and diverse opinion on what the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal people are and what they should be (p. 7).

All of the above ideas led me to the research question and methodology that I pursued. How do the people of South Indian Lake see their everyday lives; how do they define what academics call leisure? What are the elements that make an experience a leisure experience?

The methodology was qualitative using ethnographic techniques. I conducted in-depth interviews with community members and spent time observing and participating in northern community life. The finished product is written with much of the information presented in its original form, the thoughts and words of the people themselves. This thesis may teach those from other cultures and societies about life in the north and about aboriginal people as seen through their eyes. It may also provided an opportunity for the people of South Indian Lake to learn more about themselves. It can perhaps be used as a resource for

northern communities in planning recreation programs and activities -- programs that will help in the healing process.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Related Literature**

In order to gain background knowledge for this study, I have examined current conceptualizations of leisure, the history and culture of Native Canadians and current issues as they relate to Native people, leisure and recreation.

#### Conceptualizations of Leisure

The research question deals with the concept of leisure and the meaning of this concept. Although the purpose of the study is to find out what meaning the people of South Indian Lake give to "leisure", it is important to have an idea of the current conceptualizations of leisure and how they relate to recreation. As Arnold(1980) pointed out, there is much ambiguity in definitions of the terms leisure and recreation and Goodale(1980) stated that, "frequently leisure is used when recreation would serve better; as in the phrase leisure services"(pg. 38).

What then, is the difference between recreation and leisure? Farina(1980) explains that recreation is activity that one participates in voluntarily for the reasons of revitalization. Cheek and Burch(1976) define recreation as a way by which one experiences leisure. Godbey(1981) also refers to recreation as activity. "Recreation has traditionally been defined as activity

done in opposition to work which refreshes and restores the individual"(pg. 11). Although there are many diverse and complex definitions of recreation that have not been referred to here, from reading a variety of these one reaches the conclusion that recreation is activity. Recreation is leisure activity; one of the means of expressing oneself in leisure.

In contrast to this, leisure is most often described as being a state of mind and the feelings associated with that state.

The experience conception suggests that it does not make any difference what a person does or when one does it, what is important is how the individual feels about an experience. Experience reflects a subjective, qualitative view of leisure (Henderson, 1990; pg. 231).

Iso-Ahola has conducted research in the area of leisure conceptualization. His studies looked at "determining the relative contributions of underlying factors to a person's definition of leisure"(Iso-Ahola, 1979a; pg. 29). In one study, Iso-Ahola(1979b) found that leisure is considered at its best when there is freedom of choice in participation, when the activity is intrinsically motivating rather than extrinsically and when the activity is seen as a final goal rather than one in a sequence of activities. The strongest factor was freedom, in that if a situation was seen as being low in freedom, motivation and goal did not have a significant effect on leisure perception.



In a second study done by Iso-Ahola(1979a), he excludes the factor of goal and includes work-relation. An individual will find greater leisure in a situation that is independent of work. Iso-Ahola's results again supported the idea that the freedom to participate is the most dominant factor in determining one's conceptualization of leisure and that intrinsic motivation is also important. In terms of work-relation, Iso-Ahola found this to be an important factor although the results were different for females and males. Females found a situation to be of greater leisure when it was low in work-relation regardless of level of freedom, whereas the opposite was true for males.

Shaw(1985) conducted research on the meaning of leisure using a time-diary and in-depth interviews. Her objective was to discover the dimensions of individual definitions of leisure. She found that leisure cannot be defined by activity as individuals classify the same activities in different ways. To some people certain activities are work whereas to others this same activity is leisure (for example gardening is leisure to some and work to others). The same can be true of one activity for one person; that is at one time it is work, at another it is leisure. She found four dimensions which were strongly associated with leisure -- freedom of

choice, intrinsic motivation, enjoyment, and relaxation.

Mannell and Bradley(1986) have attempted to develop an interactionist model for the conceptualization of leisure that is somewhat different from the work of Iso-Ahola(1979) and Shaw(1985). Mannell and Bradley believe that personality factors, freedom of choice and the structure of the setting will have an effect on how people perceive leisure. People who feel they themselves control their actions and therefore the consequences of these actions are considered "internals" whereas those that feel their actions are controlled by outside factors are called "externals". Mannell and Bradley found that when a setting was highly structured (that is clearly stated objectives, expectations and procedures) personality would have no effect on perceptions and both groups would find greater leisure when given greater freedom of choice. But when the setting structure was low, internals found greater leisure with greater freedom of choice, whereas externals were not affected by greater choice and did not find greater leisure with greater freedom of choice.

Bregha(1985) also discussed the idea of leisure and freedom. According to Bregha(1985), leisure is not possible without true freedom, a state that is hard to achieve in our society today. He believes that freedom is the ability to do what one wants when one wants to and that leisure is an outcome of this ability. But

this is not as easy to achieve as it sounds. Bregha feels that there are three factors that must be present in order to be able to truly do what one wants. The first of these being knowledge and wisdom, not only of what is available but also "something deeper is required: the knowledge of oneself as well as one's milieu; the knowledge of what is good and what is wrong; the knowledge of various possibilities and of their consequences" (pg. 37). Bregha feels that without this knowledge, individuals would be making blind choices. The second factor Bregha refers to is that of means. Not only must there be the physical facilities for everyone but also "man must have the mastery over the means that his concept of leisure demands"(pg. 37). The third factor that Bregha feels must be present is freedom from outside pressures; freedom from fear or punishment; freedom to enjoy leisure in peace. Bregha realizes that an ability of this nature is indeed a near impossibility especially in modern society where one is "manipulated" constantly by outside forces as well as from within. An important quality for freedom and ultimately leisure is inner strength to be independent of these forces and in one's expression of leisure. Bregha also stated that without a goal or sense of direction, one does not have leisure but rather idleness. Bregha feels that modern humans are not

skilled at setting worthwhile goals for themselves as they are confused between means and ends. True leisure is not a means for achieving something else, such as fitness or better health, but leisure is an end in itself, the ability to be free. "...leisure undoubtedly is the most precious and also most fragile expression of our freedom"(pg. 42).

Kaplan(1975) summarizes five different traditions of the leisure concept. From which tradition researchers find their definition of leisure, depends on assumptions they make or from which "starting point" they begin. The first tradition, the humanistic, begins with the idea that when man is free from the necessities of life, they should spend time broadening his mind and experience. Leisure is seen as "contemplation, a celebration of life, the basis of culture, and the arts" (pg. 18). The second tradition, the therapeutic, assumes that one should spend his or her free time exercising to strengthen his mind and body. Leisure is seen as a means to an end. The third tradition is the quantitative model and perceives leisure to be the time left over after all necessities of life are completed. The epistemological conception of leisure is the fourth tradition. In this model one sees leisure as reflecting on different views of the world. For example a historian may look at a game as an ongoing link with the past; a book reflects on political views of the world.

The final tradition is that of the psycho-sociological construct in which the definition of leisure is not set but flows in different directions. "From this view, nothing is definable as leisure `per se', and almost anything is definable as leisure"(pg. 19). Kaplan(1975) defines leisure in the following manner.

Leisure consists of relatively self-determined activity-experience that falls into one's economically free-time roles, that is seen as leisure by participants, that is psychologically pleasant in anticipation and recollection, that potentially covers the whole range of commitment and intensity, that contains characteristic norms and constraints, and that provides opportunities for recreation, personal growth, and service to others (pg. 26).

This conceptualization seems all encompassing as it amalgamates many of the different factors involved in the models of leisure stated above.

The first component of Kaplan's(1975) definition, self-determination or freedom of choice, is in agreement with other leisure research. Kaplan uses the term "activity-experience" to include not only the activity itself, but also the cognitive and emotional experiences that occur because of participation in an activity. "Economically free time" refers to the idea that not all non-work time is free time. Some is used for domestic or biological functions and some is for leisure. The next phrase, "pleasant expectation and recollection", emphasizes the idea that there should be enjoyment in the anticipation and upon completion of the task.

Kaplan has included the idea that leisure covers "the whole range of commitment and intensity" so as to include more than just fun, relaxation, or amusement but also "recreation, personal growth, and service to others." The final phrase about "characteristic norms and restraints" refers to the idea that leisure is culturally defined. The studies described above have been conducted in cities and communities in southern Canada and the United States; societies very different from South Indian Lake.

Leisure is a societally based phenomenon. There is no such thing as one universal definition that explains what leisure is in every society and every situation (Bammel & Burrus-Bammel, 1992; pg. 26).

One of the problems with discovering how a society defines leisure, is determining a reference point from which to begin the interviews.

The unemployment rate in South Indian Lake is 85 percent (York, 1989). With so little employment can one use the concept of work as a comparison to leisure?

Kaplan(1975) refers to a similar situation with the American Blacks.

Many have never been employed, and many have never lived in a neighborhood or a home in which going to and returning from a job by fathers and friends was self-evident and built into the everyday reality of the growing child. Work values have little or no place in such ghettoized, unemployed centers of doing nothing. If, in fact leisure has no meaning except as contrast to work values then these young Negroes have neither (pg. 48).

When one is unemployed with little to do, is freedom a factor in one's perception of leisure? The results of a study by Roadburg(1983) show that enjoyment is an essential determinant of leisure. Freedom is important but not a sufficient determinant of leisure.

Play and leisure are both thought to come into existence under conditions of freedom where behavior is intrinsically motivated. Enjoyment is both the result and reinforcing agent for that experience (Roadburg, 1983; pg. 24).

Other researchers have also pointed out the importance of pleasure and enjoyment. "To ignore pleasure is a serious flaw. It is absolutely essential to leisure, recreation and play..." (Smith, 1980; pg. 50).

"Leisure requires that we 'act' in the sense that it requires us to choose to do and choose to act in ways that are personally pleasing" (Godbey, 1981; pg. 10).

"First and foremost participation in leisure implies enjoyment and fun" (Graham, McGill, & Perrin, 1990; pg. 25).

As I needed a place to start, a reference point to begin with, I felt that enjoyment would be a concept that would cross cultural lines. I made the assumption that leisure is pleasurable in most societies. Cheek and Burch(1976) agree.

We have noted that regardless of how leisure has been conceptualized, there exists in many cultures an understanding, by those experiencing leisure, of what the word "leisure" means. If one asks respondents to describe what leisure is and observes behavior that is normatively described as leisure, one finds that an essential characteristic of leisure is "pleasure" (pg. 222).

Godbey(1981) also supports this idea. "Cultural pluralism emphasizes the role of leisure as anything the individual chooses to do for pleasure" (pg. 127).

When are these people most happy? Where are they? What are they doing? How do they feel? Who are they with? What are they striving for? The answers to these questions are the integral components of the conceptualization of leisure to the people of South Indian Lake.

#### History and Culture of Native Canadians

The old Lakota was wise. He knew that the human heart away from nature becomes hard; he knew that lack of respect for growing, living things soon led to lack of respect for humans too. So he kept his youth close to the earth's softening influence (Chief Luther Standing Bear as quoted in Canadian Outward Bound, 1991; pg. 16).

John Bryde(1971), a native from South Dakota, wrote a book for the young people of his race. Bryde is a Lakota Indian but his writings relate to many of the tribes of North America because of their shared value systems. The objectives of his writings were to teach young adults the history of their people and to show them how they could retain their value system within



modern North American society. Bryde(1971) outlines five values that were and should still be important to his people. The first of these values is bravery; doing something difficult without showing fear or running from it. Before the reservations, life for the natives was a constant struggle for survival. To face the challenges, bravery was needed and was expected of the people. Children and adults alike were respected if they showed no pain or fear when faced with a difficult situation.

A second value of great importance according to Bryde(1971) was that of individual freedom. Bryde states that the reason for this "sprang from the necessity to stand on one's own two feet to survive"(pg. 26). It did not mean that people could do as they pleased but rather that they had to have the freedom to do the right thing for survival, to depend on themselves. He also refers to the idea that no one was "forced" to do anything. Individuals, including children, were advised by others but in the end the choice was theirs to make. Life was seen as precious and people learned to make choices that preserved this precious commodity.

Generosity and sharing were considered the third important value by Bryde(1971). Again a value borne out of necessity for survival but also coming from the idea that everything belonged to everyone. Chief Dan George(1974) also refers to this idea when he says

"Of all the teachings we receive this one is the most important: nothing belongs to you of what there is, of what you take, you must share"(pg. 25). A philosophy of the people was that one shared with all that were in need and in turn expected help from others in their time of need. The derogatory term "Indian-giver" came from a misinterpretation of this value. Native people gave generously to others and knew that in their time of need they would be given to. They did not take back what they had given away as some have inferred from this term.

A fourth important value stressed by Bryde(1971) was that of wisdom. The old people of the tribes were greatly respected because of the wisdom they had. Their life experiences and what they learned from them, were important lessons for the younger people.

The fifth value was that of adjustment to nature; getting along with all things including fellow humankind. This value, too, is based on survival. The native people depended on each other and perhaps even more so on the natural environment to provide them with the necessities of life. The Native people felt that all things were related and that they had a kinship with all that had been created.

This we know: the earth does not belong to humankind. Humans belong to the Earth.  
This we know: all things are connected like the blood that unites one family. All things are

connected. Humans did not weave this web of life. We are merely one strand in it. Whatever we do to the Earth, we do to ourselves and every other living thing on it. This we know (Chief Seattle, 1854; as quoted in Caduto & Bruchac, 1988; pg. 4).

Bruchac(1988) gives us an example of the differing values between Native culture and the dominant culture.

The old man must have stopped our car two dozen times to climb out and gather into his hands the small toads blinded by our lights and leaping, live drops of rain.

The rain was falling, a mist about his white hair and I kept saying you can't save them all, accept it, get back in we've got places to go.

But, leathery hands full of wet brown life, knee deep in the summer roadside grass, he just smiled and said 'they have places to go to too' (pg. vi).

In their article on programming for native people, Sando and Scholer(1976) compare the tribal values with urban-industrial values. Table 1 on page 21 outlines some of the differences.

The native people of North America lived a very spiritual life. They felt a strong connection with the earth and believed that all life was equal and had a spirit. They could find answers for many things from within the spirit world. Pratt(1979) wrote of the native beliefs towards nature and the spirits within nature. "As long as respect for the spirits was maintained, as long as the proper ceremonies were carried out in the proper ways, the spirits would continue to provide all that was necessary for human life"(pg. 25).

Tribal or Traditional Cultural Values	Urban-Industrial Cultural Values
<p>present oriented time, nonawareness</p> <p>age</p> <p>co-operative, service concern for the group</p> <p>harmony with nature</p> <p>giving</p> <p>pragmatic</p> <p>patience</p> <p>mystical</p> <p>shame</p> <p>permissiveness</p> <p>extended family and clan</p> <p>nonmaterialistic</p> <p>nonaggressive</p> <p>silence</p> <p>respects others' religions religion, a way of life</p> <p>land, water, forest, belong to all</p> <p>beneficial and reasonable use of resources</p> <p>equality</p> <p>face-to-face government</p> <p>low self-value group or clan emphasis</p>	<p>future oriented time, awareness</p> <p>youth</p> <p>competition, concern and acquisitions for self</p> <p>conquest of nature</p> <p>saving</p> <p>theoretical</p> <p>impatience</p> <p>skeptical</p> <p>guilt</p> <p>social coercion</p> <p>immediate family</p> <p>materialistic</p> <p>aggressive</p> <p>noise</p> <p>convert others to religion religion, a segment of life</p> <p>land, etc. a private domain</p> <p>avarice and greedy use of resources</p> <p>wealth</p> <p>representative democracy</p> <p>strong self-importance individual emphasis</p>

Table 1. Comparison of tribal and urban-industrialized values (Sando and Scholer, 1976).

Three rituals that have been practised by many tribes in North America are the sweat baths, sundances and vision quests (Hill, 1979; Eisen, 1978; Clairborne, 1973; Bryde, 1971; Paget, 1909). The sweat baths were used for purification, both spiritual and physical. The medicine man often accompanied the individual into the shelter that was much like a modern day sauna. Within the sweathouse there was a "...spiritual renewal where the four elements of the earth, air, fire and water contribute to the physical and spiritual purification of man"(Bryde, 1971; pg. 82).

The sundances were also a means of purification and renewal. Each summer, individuals would pledge themselves to the sundance and refrain from war, hunting, and sex for a period of time before the dance. A few days preceding the event, they would be accompanied by a medicine man for preparation which included a sweat, prayers and fasting. The dance itself took place in the middle of the village where logs were placed upright in a circle with branches of trees stretched between the logs as a canopy of shade for spectators. Each dancer was attached by leather thongs to his back or chest and then to a pole placed in the center of the circle of logs. The dancers danced around the poles until sundown, or in some cases for days until exhaustion, and the event was followed by a celebration and a feast. The dance brought a renewal of strength to

the people of the tribe and the dancers themselves.

Vision quests were most often carried out by young men seeking to discover more about themselves and the world they lived in. The young person would spend four or five days alone on a hill with no food and little water. As the body weakened, one was able to connect with the spirit world and dream of things that had meaning to the individual and his life.

Now this boy, Bull Looks Around, is beginning his Vision Quest. He wishes to understand who he is within the circle of the great Medicine Wheel. As he seeks to discover who he is, he will also discover who his brothers are, and what his position is within the Harmony of this world (Storm, 1972, pg. 120).

All aspects of life were integrated for the native people. Work, play, leisure, and religion were interconnected. Life was based on the need for fitness in order to survive; fitness of the body, mind and spirit. The native people led very physically active lives with many of their games and recreational activities relating to survival. Neal(1989) stated that many of the games and contests were not so much for recreation and entertainment but were in preparation for life, both physically and spiritually. Cheska's(1979) report on Native youth and the choices they made for recreation, pointed out that sports were chosen most often. She felt one of the reasons for this was that "the general support and functions of games in North

American Indian culture remains relatively similar today to those in earlier periods"(pg. 30).

Eisen(1978) has written a research report on the physical pursuits and games of the Native North Americans before the influence of the Europeans. His work is based on the earliest recorded data of voyageurs, colonial officers and missionaries. Eisen not only tells of the activities themselves but also of the attitudes associated with games and sports. He refers to sportsmanship and fair play and also to the importance of physical skill and prowess. Individuals practised skills diligently beginning at a very young age. Much of their way of life depended on being fit and proficient at survival skills and therefore many of their sports and activities were a means by which to practise these skills.

One other aspect of Native games that Eisen(1978) and Sandor and Scholer(1976) pointed out was that of spectating and gambling. In many of the competitions or games between tribes or within one band, there were large stakes placed on the outcome and many people came out to watch and cheer. Eisen explained how gambling had an important role in the economics of the time. "The exchange of goods did not depend on a monetary system but rather on a system of voluntary distribution of wealth"(pg. 85).

### Current Issues

The tribes of Manitoba were introduced to the Europeans as early as the 1600's and their lives began to change. The native people became involved in the fur trade and did much work for the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company. The Native people were instrumental in the survival of the Europeans who ventured to this formidable land. For many years the Natives shared their food and warm clothing with the traders. Native women played a major role in the fur trade. They became wives and confidants to the European men; they were guides, interpreters, and cultural brokers (Van Kirk, 1980). The Cree people remained in control of their own lives into the 1900's (Thistle, 1986; Dewdney, 1975).

It was in the beginning of this century that government decisions began to affect the Cree of Northern Manitoba --the outlawing of traditional religions and the introduction of missionaries; the residential school system which removed children from their homes and families, from their language and culture and introduced them to a cold and often abusive atmosphere; the loss of a woman's status as an aboriginal person when she married a white man; the removal of aboriginal children from their homes by social workers and their subsequent adoption in far-off cities. The Canadian government took on a very



paternalistic attitude towards the native people and brought in doctors and nurses, policemen, Indian Affairs managers to run their lives. Although each community had an elected chief and council, they could do nothing in terms of allocations of funds or economic development without the approval of the government (York, 1989; Dewdney, 1976).

In spite of the oppression described above, many of the northern communities were able to remain self-reliant and self-sufficient due to their remoteness. They carried on fishing, trapping, hunting, and gathering in their traditional lands. Then came development. Hydro-electric dams, mineral mines, and forestry projects have changed the north drastically. Fish were poisoned, animals populations decreased, land flooded and rivers dried up (York, 1989).

Together these and many other atrocities against the native people of Canada have led to a race of broken people. Yet, they have survived. Today we are seeing a new generation of aboriginal people who will no longer let things happen to them. The prophesy about the seventh generation is coming true (Sinclair, 1992b; Highway, 1989).

There is a great desire amongst the native people to regain their self-reliance and to fight the social problems that have plagued their communities.

Recreation and leisure can perhaps help in this process. Many native leaders feel that recreation will help by giving the people options, something to do, rather than turning to negative activities(Winther, 1989).

Aguilar's(1987) study on the effects of a leisure education program on the expressed attitudes of delinquent adolescents supports this idea. Although the program was not as successful as they had predicted, it did show that attitudes can change with the influence of positive leisure education.

Carleton(1984) discussed the importance of the Native voice in programs that are being designed and implemented for Native people. She states that cultural and social values have significant influence on recreational interests and pursuits.

In order to determine how recreation and leisure can best help in the positive growth of the northern communities, one must gain an understanding of what leisure means to the people.

## CHAPTER 3

### Method

When choosing a method for any research project, one must take into account the purpose of the research and determine the best way possible to accomplish this. The method must "fit" the research. Howe(1985) supports this idea. "The continuum of choices is offered as a way to let the nature of the research question and the variables of interest determine the paradigm/methodology followed"(pg. 221). For this project, the objectives were to record descriptions of a way of life, to determine how people define leisure, and to determine the elements that make an experience a leisure experience. There was to be no judgment, prediction, or manipulation of the setting or co-researchers in any way. The mission was to discover what the people of the community think, in their own words, from their perspective.

With this consideration in mind, ethnography, a qualitative research method, was chosen to complete this project. According to Spradley(1979) the goal of ethnography is to understand another way of life, from the point of view of the people within that culture. "Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people"(pg. 3). Howe(1985) also supported this decision when she stated that qualitative research may be the methodology of choice when studying the meaning

of leisure. "Using subjective factors leads to operational definitions of leisure that account for both individual and situational differences in leisure"(pg. 215).

The work of Guba and Lincoln(1981) also provided support for the use of qualitative research in this study. They state that because there are perceptions, values, and meanings -- multiple realities -- involved in the phenomena being studied, these cannot be reduced to singular variables. The emphasis is to provide a comprehensive picture; and to show how meanings and perceptions are interrelated and interconnected.

The method of ethnography provided me with the opportunity to reach a level of insight not available with quantitative work(Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Open-ended interviews provided an ideal opportunity to build on knowledge gained in previous interviews, explain misunderstandings of the questions or answers, ask for further interpretations, and probe deeper into the thoughts of interviewees.

### Steps in Qualitative Research

The research question was narrowed to: How do the people of South Indian Lake see their everyday lives? What meaning do they give to leisure and what elements make an experience a leisure experience? The one

assumption made was that leisure is pleasureable; and so the study began. Locke(1989) provided the outline for the procedures to follow when doing qualitative research.

**Step one:** Choosing a site

I have a friend, Dean, who taught in South Indian Lake for two years and upon discussing my research with him, he suggested that South Indian Lake would be a positive community to pursue this study. The community is not a reserve but many of the people belong to the Cree tribe of the Nelson House Band and have their treaty rights. Although there is a road to the edge of the lake and a ferry system to the community, it is still quite isolated and remote. The main economic activities are trapping and fishing which made me think that there is still an element of tradition present in the community.

**Step two:** Gaining entree and establishing a role

Dean was willing to accompany me for the first few days of my research. By entering the community with someone who was respected and accepted, I gained a positive reputation from the start. Dean introduced me to the staff at the school, many of whom are from the community. We also walked around town together, visiting people in their homes and chatting on the

street and in the store. Dean was a "gate keeper" and a bridge to contacts within the community.

I was able to establish a role within the school and the community with my interest in sports and playing volleyball. On the first day, we played volleyball with the school staff against the grade nine class. For the month that I was in town, I helped coach the grade nine girls' volleyball team. I also visited the gym in the evenings for recreational volleyball and played when other women were playing.

Dean also introduced me to many of the students in the school. He was well-liked by most of them and this helped me to become accepted. Throughout my time in the community, I felt like the school was a homebase. I was asked a few times to help supervise students and also substitute taught on a few occasions. I visited three or four classrooms to talk to the students about life in the community; read stories to the kindergarten class, ate rabbit stew with the grade three class and made hallowe'en decorations with the grade eight students.

As McCall and Simmons(1969) stated, the sponsor of the project will help to determine what role they will play within the community. Being a student from the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies at the University of Manitoba, people understood that I was there to talk with them about life in the community and

specifically about sports and recreation. Often at the beginning of the interview people would say something like "oh, I don't do anything" because they thought that I wanted to know about what sports they played and how often they went to bingo. In reality I was interested in finding out more about their state of mind when they were experiencing leisure; leisure being the times when they found the most pleasure. Once I was able to get them talking about all of the things they enjoyed, those same people had much to say.

Dean, Eichhorn, and Dean(1969) discuss five principles guiding entry into the field(pg. 68-69).

1. Generally field contacts should move from persons in the highest status and authority positions down to the actual participants in the field situation one wants to study.

In this study, because I gained entree with someone already established in the community, I was able to move freely amongst the members. By the time Dean left, I had met many people who helped me to meet others.

2. The researcher needs to have a plausible explanation of the research, that makes sense to the people whose cooperation he seeks.

In this study, the focus was on gaining an understanding of leisure within a native community, letting the people speak for themselves and showing genuine interest in what they had to say. As I stated previously, I was welcomed warmly by many people and once I started interviewing, people seemed interested in telling me

about their lives. I think they enjoyed telling someone who was listening and interested, their stories and thoughts on life in the north.

The explanation I gave for what I was doing was quite simple and honest -- I was interested in learning from a Native perspective about life in the north and the experiences and activities that are enjoyable. I was going to write my thesis on what they told me. We often started off with community recreation activities and moved on to other experiences in their lives. No one desired any further information and almost everyone was willing to answer my questions and talk with me. As I progressed through the study, I felt that I was learning much that would be of interest to different people within the community and I hope that this paper will be of use to them in the end.

3. The field worker should try to represent himself, his sponsors and his study, as honestly as possible.
4. As the first research step the field worker should have in mind some rather routine fact-gathering that makes sense to those in the field.

For the first four or five days that I was in the community, I did no interviews. This was the time that Dean was introducing me to people and I was spending social time with them. During this time I wrote my observations in my journal and I began to get a feel for the community. I started to develop questions for the



interviews about things that I learned in these first few days. Once the interviews began, I could ask questions about experiences that I had heard about and was able to get more details about the stories people had told.

I also began each interview with a few questions to put the interviewees at ease; for example, how long they had lived in the community; how old they were; if they had any children. As stated earlier, people were quite willing to talk with me and I believe that after the first few minutes, they felt comfortable with me. I found that I was able to move into greater depth quickly with some people and not so quickly with others.

5. Acceptance depends upon time spent in the field, a legitimate role in the eyes of the informants and the expression of a genuine interest in the people being studied. Therefore, the researcher should sacrifice initial data in order to speed acceptance.

It helped immensely to be accepted so quickly. Going back to the homes of people I had met and having positive responses, gave me the confidence to go to homes of those I hadn't met. Once in those homes I was able to spend whole afternoons or mornings with people, drinking coffee and talking about their lives. When I was feeling apprehensive or underconfident I could go to the school where I felt accepted and interview someone, visit a classroom or help out in some way, to build up my confidence again.

I believe that part of the positive response I received was due to the fact that I was genuinely interested in the thoughts being shared with me.

**Step three:** Data collection

Data were recorded in three forms. I did 34 in-depth interviews with community members that were taped and transcribed. The snowball sample technique was used (McCall & Simmons, 1969). I started my interviews with the people I had met through Dean. These people suggested others, who, in turn, suggested others. Also, I was introduced to people who, for example worked in the day care centre. Once I had interviewed one person there, I was often able to interview others that worked in the same facility. I tried to gain a cross section of the community by interviewing people in different age groups; both males and females; those that worked in the community and those that didn't; people from different ends of town; those that drank and those that didn't; people from different churches.

On the whole, I found the people to be very friendly, very warm and open. I went back to many of the homes that Dean and I had visited and was welcomed in to do interviews and have coffee. Some people who had seen me around town, invited me over to talk. Many of the people I talked with, suggested I go talk to

someone else and those people were also quite welcoming. Only one person told me that they didn't want to speak with me and I found out later that he was very shy. The only other unsuccessful interview I had was with two women that were so shy that they could only giggle when I asked them questions. Gail, the woman whose home I was staying in, also helped by suggesting people I could talk to and answering my many questions about the community.

As time in the field increased the interviews changed. Themes and patterns began to emerge with the analysis of data and these directed the questions of the interviews. As I learned more about the community, I could ask others for confirmation and their perspective on what I was learning. The emphasis continued to be on the discovery of how the people see their lives and what meanings they gave to leisure but I also tried to focus somewhat on data generated from previous interviews (see Appendix A).

I kept fieldnotes on the interviews. These consisted of my thoughts as the interview was taking place and afterwards. Although I did not take many notes during the interview as I tried to avoid interrupting the flow of the conversation, by maintaining eye contact and giving verbal reinforcement. Immediately after the interview I wrote my comments, interpretations and reflections of the conversation.

The third form of data collection was my journal. This included observations, thoughts, reactions, questions, and concerns beginning when I first started thinking of this project well before I entered the community and continued throughout the entire study. This was where I recorded what I felt were my biases and prejudices, before and during my time in the community (Appendix D).

I had written what I thought I might find in terms of themes and answers to the research question before I entered the community. While interviewing and analysing, some of these themes began to arise and others didn't. I looked over my questions many times to be sure that I did not try and force ideas that weren't there and so that the questioning was open enough to allow new ideas to continue to emerge.

#### **Step four:** Data Analysis

Analysis of the data began with the first interview and was on-going throughout the study. As I learned more about the culture and the life of the people, the interview questions, probes and format began to change to encompass this knowledge.

While in South Indian Lake, I would listen to each interview immediately after I completed it and again at the end of the day. While talking with the informants

and again while listening to the interviews, I kept notes on descriptors and possible themes. Also during the month long interviewing process, five interviews were transcribed and coded with descriptors.

Descriptors were words or phrases that described the central meaning of the statement being analyzed. These descriptors were grouped into tentative themes. In subsequent interviews, questions and answers were directed to supporting these emerging themes as well as searching for the possibility of additional themes.

All interviews were transcribed after leaving the community. During this process, I was not only transcribing but also pursuing support for themes that had emerged as well as the possible discovery of further themes.

After the transcriptions were completed, the data were read and re-read and coded with descriptive words. These words were then grouped, each group supporting one theme in the conceptualization of leisure (see Appendix B). I approached the data as a whole and coded all of the interviews. I then took these descriptors and determined themes that ran throughout the complete set of data.

Once this was completed, I decided to do the analysis again with a slightly different approach. I wanted to be sure that what I was finding was the as complete a picture as possible and I wanted a thorough

understanding of the findings. I selected the 15 interviews that were the most detailed. These co-researchers had given me rich description and had been very open and talkative. I again coded the material by using words that described the central meaning of sentences relevant to the question. Then upon completion of this coding, I grouped these words into clusters with a thematic phrase listing the sentences that supported this theme (see Appendix C). Looking at these thematic phrases, I came to an understanding of what leisure meant to this person. In comparing the 15 interviews I found themes that were common throughout, as well as a few that were specific to each individual.

After understanding the 15 key interviews, I then analyzed the remaining 19 interviews by comparing them to the first 15. Stories and statements were drawn from these interviews that supported the existing themes. Through this procedure, I believe I came away with a truthful conceptualization of leisure in South Indian Lake.

**Step five:** Validate the data

Guba and Lincoln (1981) refer to "member checks" as being an important procedure in qualitative research. Preliminary member checks were done while I was in the community and upon completion of the analysis, copies of

the thick description and data analysis were sent to some of the co-researchers for feedback.

Cross-referencing with literature and research in the fields of leisure and native studies was another method of validation. Scholars in the fields of qualitative research, leisure and native studies were also consulted. By combining these three sources, triangulation has occurred (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

### Validity, Reliability and Objectivity

The terms of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity are concepts relating to quantitative research. Guba and Lincoln(1981) refer to these concepts and discuss how they relate to qualitative research.

#### Internal Validity

The first of these, internal validity, refers to the "truth value" of the results of the study. Within qualitative research, this deals with credibility of the results of the study. A researcher checks the findings with those that provided the data, member checks. Guba and Lincoln(1981) stated that:

the determination of credibility can be accomplished only by taking data and interpretations to the sources from which they were drawn and asking directly whether they believe--find plausible--the results. This process of going to sources--often called making "member checks"--is the backbone of satisfying the truth-value criterion(pg.110).

Member checks for this study resulted in positive feedback and an agreement that the interpretations were the truth as they saw it.

Also included in internal validity is the threat of experimenter bias. Both Locke(1989) and Henley(1987) discuss methods for reducing experimenter bias. The writing of a personal journal brings the thoughts and biases of the investigator to the surface. This aids in awareness and helps to minimize the effect on the research. Bracketing is also a method of dealing with this threat. Having become aware of one's biases, prejudices, and knowledge about the research site and members, researchers make a conscious effort to disregard what they already know and how they feel about the study. "To bracket, you simply make a conscious decision to observe without prejudice; you decide you will not pay attention to what you already know about something" (Barritt, Beekman, Bleeker & Mulderij, 1983; pg. 29). (See Appendix D for the bracketing completed before and during time in the community.)

#### External Validity

Guba and Lincoln(1981) refer to external validity, or generalizability, as applicability. Within qualitative research this refers to "fittingness". One must not assess how generalizable a study is but rather to what degree can it be transferred or fitted to another context. In this case, one may want to



determine if the conceptualization of leisure that emerged in South Indian Lake could be generalized to other communities.

In order to discover if two situations are similar, one needs much information on both. I have provided a thick description of South Indian Lake and a thick description of the second community is needed. A thick description describes the setting, the characteristics and values of the people, the norms and culture of the community and so forth. These descriptions should then be examined, focusing on differences as well as similarities to determine if this study can be generalized to the other. If there is a high degree of "fittingness" between the two communities one can predict that the conceptualization could hold true in the new situation.

Locke(1989) also discusses the question of external validity. He states that the qualitative researcher has no basis for generalizability, however, that does not mean the studies are not applicable. He states that the validation must come from the readers themselves and feels that transferability by the reader is not an inferior method of external validity.

To put it as plainly as possible, the reader confers validity on accounts with which they agree. It is the reader who must say "Yes, given the evidence you have presented, that is a reasonable reconstruction of what was going on"(pg. 13).

### Reliability

Reliability is a question of consistency; will the same results be found if the study is replicated? For naturalistic studies, Guba and Lincoln(1981) address this as auditability. This refers to a second investigator auditing the study to see if he would come up with the same conclusions from the same data. The first researcher must keep a record of how decisions were made in reference to the direction of the interviews and emergence of themes and categories. In this case I have provided Dr. Winther with a copy of the original interviews so that he may audit the work I have done.

Auditability is where the concept of the researcher as the instrument comes to play. The study was limited by my ability to draw out the feelings and perceptions of the co-researchers and then again by my interpretations of the data. Locke(1989) stated that because the investigator is the instrument in each study, the data and analysis will be influenced by the differences between investigators. The studies will be reports of different realities and they will not be invalidated because of this difference.

### Objectivity

A final question in research is that of objectivity; whether or not the results are neutral. Guba and Lincoln(1981) define objective data as data

that are factual, confirmable and reliable. They state that objectivity is a question of confirmability. Data can be confirmed by means mentioned earlier; member-checks, triangulation and cross-referencing.

Objectivity often refers to the degree to which data are free from researcher bias and opinion. Controlling researcher bias was discussed earlier in the context of internal validity and also relates to this area. By recording one's thoughts and feelings one can determine how they are influencing the data (see Appendix D). Guba and Lincoln(1981) discussed how it is virtually impossible to have data completely free of bias and therefore:

the requirement that information be confirmable rids the inquirer of this impossible constraint; it simply asks that the inquirer report his data in such a way this it can be confirmed from other sources if necessary(pg. 126).

#### Statement of the Research Question

How do the people of South Indian Lake see their everyday lives; how do they define leisure? What are the elements that make an experience a leisure experience?

#### Assumption

The component of leisure that crosses cultural lines is that of enjoyment and pleasure.

### Limitations

The study is limited to the extent that:

1. I can draw out the perceptions, thoughts, and ideas of the co-researchers;
2. the co-researchers are willing to disclose truthfully their perceptions of their world and their lives;
3. I can accurately interpret the information the co-researchers share with me;
4. I can accurately interpret the language and cultural differences between myself and the community members;
5. and the study is limited in its potential generalizability to other communities.

## CHAPTER 4

**Life in South Indian Lake: Before and After the Flood**

As I flew into South Indian Lake I was amazed by the magnitude of the wilderness. It seemed like a paradise of wild space. There were vast stretches of trees, rivers and lakes. Watching closely, I saw a bull moose who seemed to look up at us with disdain as our tiny plane disturbed his solitude. This seemed to me to be the true north, isolated and pristine.

At first site of the lake I was impressed by its size, perhaps 40 miles long and 10 miles wide; a never-ending source of adventure and freedom. The town is situated on the east shore of this lake.

The airplane touches down at the airport, which is at the far east end of town. We left Winnipeg yesterday in a light sweater and jeans but here it is already winter. There are six inches of snow and it's cold. As we drive into town, we follow the main road which is gravel and about 8 miles long, stretching the length of the community. There are some houses on the main road but most of them are on side roads and bays that lead off the main route. We pass the "Far End"; the newer end of town and becoming "newer" still as there are many houses being built in this area.

The main road continues towards the centre of town, past the cemetery, the Baptist church (one of three churches in town), and past a park with picnic tables

and a ball diamond. At the highest point of the road, Sam's Hill, you acquire a beautiful view of the lake and the surrounding natural terrain. After descending this hill, you reach the ferry station. Between the months of June and October, the ferry runs every hour from 9:00am to 5:00pm taking cars across the lake, to and from the nearest road. In the centre of town is the business section. There is the school which is a sprawling building with open fields all around and an outdoor hockey rink just behind. The nursing station, the laundramat, the day care centre, the council office, the restaurant and the two stores are also in this area. A visitor to the community would have to ask which building is which as there are no signs on any except the school. Behind the school are some community owned houses and those owned by Frontier School Division where the teachers and other staff members live. The RCMP trailer and "courtroom" are at the end of this road but are only occupied for short periods of time each month. Out in front of the school and closer to the water is the United Church, a beach and docks for boats.

After passing through "uptown" and continuing along the main road, we pass a few streets which are named after people from the community, although here again, you will have to ask which is which because they are not identified with signs. We pass by the Catholic Church,

head to the oldest part of town at the end of the road.

The town is about 8 miles long and perhaps a mile wide. The next closest settlement is a mining town; to get there one must travel forty-five minutes by ferry across the lake and then 44 miles by road. The surrounding area is forest, lakes and rivers with connecting portages and snowmobile trails. A fishing and trapping mecca; or so it seems.

### Before the Flood

To truly understand the community of South Indian Lake one must hear the story of its past. This story begins around the beginning of this century. Along the shores of South Indian Lake were sandy beaches and rock inlets. The lake was teeming with fish and the surrounding area was alive with wildlife. There was a wetland where the geese stopped each spring on their way north. A land where basic needs were met and people could live in harmony with the earth. This area had been inhabited by the nomadic aboriginal people for centuries. They came and went from this lake, surviving on the riches it held. "I was born way the hell across South Indian, 80 miles north from here. In a wigwam. I didn't have no doctor, no nurse. In a tipi. There was no log cabins then, in the older days.... Even my old grandfather used to tell me stories. He was 108 years of age and he still had good eyesight, he was still able to

move around. That's my mother's dad eh. He used to paddle a birch bark canoe, he made it himself eh. ...I used to help him do it, take the material off the trees." (John B.)

In the early 1920's a few American men came to the Canadian north to South Indian Lake, to live as trappers and fishermen. They brought with them brides from Nelson House, an Indian Reserve 50 miles south of this lake. "They pick Nelson House woman, the white man. First the mothers have to show the white man how to live, like my mother did, the Indian way. They come down here and live in the north. That's right when they died, when they're gone, the white people, they took the body out there, it was in our way he died, he was a trapper." (Isabelle)

Soon others from the Nelson House community began to move up to the lake.

Kelly: Did there used to be a town here when you were a boy?

John B: No, just a settlement. Nelson House was the settlement.

Isabelle: He came with his brother, by canoe.

John B: We moved here from Nelson house in 1926.

Kelly: Were there any people here when you moved here?

John B: Just a few, maybe 6 houses, 4 houses, log cabins. Just a little a store, not even a store, just a little log cabin about that high. There was guy who trades here, Hudson Bay trader eh. But he had to get his freight from Nelson House.



Although the lake was the place that permanent homes were built, people also had cabins on traplines which were scattered throughout the territory. Summers were spent travelling the lakes and streams, stopping where the fish were good and living in tents. "Every time somebody got off the floor they had to hang their blanket, no beds, you had to take a blanket." (Isabelle)

Canoes and dogsleds were the main modes of transportation. "...in the summer time it's kind of difficult because you know those portages. Because you have to cross them so many times, and you have to pick up a canoe and all our blankets and our groceries like you know. We don't have that kind of strength. But we did it, we pulled the boat over all the portages, my husband and I and the 2 little boys, my sons. Ya we had 2 little kids at that time and we made it. It took about 2 or 3 days I think, but we made it. It such a beautiful camp out there." (Janet)

"A long time ago, everybody had a dog team. That's all they used trapping and (ice) fishing. ...And a long time ago we used to go, travel on the dog team, go to the trapline, the whole family. We packed our groceries from the settlement to the trapline with the dog team. When we're on the trapline in winter we go around with the dog team, check the traps." (Vivian)

The people were self-sufficient and productive. They lived off the land, fishing and hunting for their

main food source. They trapped the local wildlife and used the meat for food, selling the furs to the Hudson Bay to pay for other necessities and pleasures that they were unable to acquire from the land. They drank the water from the lake and made tea from local plants. They relied on other plants for basic medicines. They could take care of themselves except in cases of severe sickness.

Although permanent homes were built on the lake, there was no "townsite". The people had their cabins all over the lake. "The community was on the other side, it was scattered. On that side was the school, and on that side was Hudson's Bay and way far over there was a Catholic Church, and there was this church that's still here." (Lawrence) "There used to be people all over here. Us kids, the Dysart kids, were all on this island here, that's where we were raised. This island just across here, there was nobody else there. The Andersons, the Dysarts, Mrs. McLeod, they lived on the other side of the island so there wasn't very many. The people didn't live close together, we were all spread out, not like this." (Harriet)

There was little contact with the south. "That early, because before this, everything was so isolated. I think everything was brought by trail. Once a year you picked up your groceries and that's it. Once a

year, it was on a tractor train, until the planes started flying. I was still a kid when that happened, I was just young eh. But I used to see the planes come in with groceries, or anything that we need, or patients taken out." (Janet)

The roles of men and women were well defined as in the southern society during this era. The women spent much time home with the children, raising the family while the men were out fishing, hunting and trapping. "My mother helped raise those kids, they (the men) used to go trapping and fishing, the women she was tough, no man around. They go together, that's what they said. The women, they tell each other when they're going to have a baby eh. After the baby's born, they go. Take care of them. The kids run and get some one, 'my mama's going to have a baby', the kids have to go get help, maybe 3 miles." (Isabelle)

There was much to do. Water needed hauling, wood needed chopping, the animals were skinned, the furs stretched, the meat cut and dried. Everyone in the family helped with the everyday tasks of life.

"I was trapping, my grand mom was staying with me. Long time ago you did everything. In the morning, get some wood, check the rabbit snares. She wake us up early in the morning, start working. Even when I don't wake up, my grandma pick up my blanket after that I wake up. She left me to freeze, she want me to work." (Rosie)

Vivian talks about the things she learned while growing up and now passes on to her son. "I teach him all kinds of things on the trapline, to trap, to dress the fish, to put the net in the water, to drag the motor back out, to get the fish, use a fish hook, clean the fish tubs. We teach him a lot of things on the trapline too. Teach him how to snare rabbits, teach him how to kill chickens, with a net not with the hand. We cut an old net in pieces and put it along the shore where there is willows, then when they come along they get caught on the net. So then when we go we bring the chickens, we have fried chickens. Especially in April when they are flying back north. My son used to get a lot. Learn lots, canoeing, camping, he likes to go camping, he knows how to build a fire, he knows how to cut wood. He hauls sticks from the bush for wood, he's 12. ...he gets the hardest part for drying fur, the fletching. You use a knife to scrape them, you have to use a sharp knife. But nailing them is not too hard, to stretch them. Like beaver you put them around and for the mink and martin you put them on the stretcher, a long narrow stretcher about 5 or 4 inches wide. You can see the stretchers around people's places. You put otters on the stretcher too. ...our parents used to teach us to snare rabbits, the girls will get up early in the morning and go and snare rabbits. Early in the morning

before their parents get up, they're already back from checking their rabbit snares. That's the way we were taught." (Vivian)

Margaret explains how things were taught. "Just from watching, they don't teach, you just watch and learn by what they do. Sometimes they say "do this" but sometimes they just go ahead and do it, whatever and you watch and you learn from it. You learn a lot from your grandparents."

Although there were many daily tasks to be accomplished, there was also fun and laughter for both adults and children. The lake was the focal point of activity. "Before when you did something it was always on the water. Like if you went to visit, you had to go by boat, if you had to go to the store or church you had to go by boat." (Margaret)

"The kids used to go along the shores and capture small fish from in the rocks. They'd make their own little boats you know, float them around the shores." (William)

"We'd be forever in the water swimming or just playing in the water, like we used to try and catch these little fish, lifting stones. Sometimes we'd wander a mile away from where we were camped without realizing it because you were so intent on...(haha). When it was raining, it wasn't a very nice day for us because we didn't have very much to do, but as long as

it was nice, we were outside. We didn't know what inside was, we lived outside (haha)." (Hilda)

"(We'd) go swimming, water-skiing, go for picnics, at the sand beaches, there was lots of sandbeaches before the flood. We had a variety, we'd go to one place and if there were people there we'd go to another place. Like everybody, they used to go in groups eh, couple of boats. Ya, every Sunday, there was a sand beach down the bank here, where the church used to be. They used to take me to church, I had no choice eh. I liked the picnic part... (haha)" (Tom)

"And all we used to do on Sunday was go to church and visit. All day long, like I remember going with my mom. And it wasn't, it didn't matter, like if she said we're going to Mary's house, Mary's house might be 3 miles down the lake, but that's where we were going to visit and we'd go, wouldn't matter what the weather was like. We'd walk in the winter, boat in the summer, or paddle most of the time then, or walk through the bush because they had trails in the bush. So visiting was a big thing." (Hilda)

"We girls, 13 girls, snaring in summer, walking through the bush, we used to walk across all around the shore, it was nice." (Isabelle)

The winter too, held it's excitement. "...when we were growing up we used to go out to this island, big

hill they call it. It's just the young people getting together and it was a big sliding party. We'd just be out there and have a bonfire after the sliding, after we finish sliding." (Shirley)

"Used to be able to slide over there on the island, it was long, we'd slide all night. It was fun. There was a nice hill for sliding. Anybody would slide, the old people too. We used to do things together."  
(Margaret)

"I remember they used to have a skating rink on the water there. Like the ice was so clear eh, we'd pile snow like a big square and everyone would skate there. I used to steal my brother's skates and go skating. All of us would be down there, everybody, parents, kids, it was nice. And we'd go sliding, make snow men, it was easier then cause there was a lot more snow. The snow was so clean eh, it was so clean." (Brenda)

The people had to be creative as some things were not readily available. "We made our own skiis. I made snowshoes when I was travelling up north. We had to build everything, like cabins, everything was from out of logs, no lumber." (Tom)

"Ya, not with a tobaggan, we used to sled with anything. I didn't even remember a little tobaggan when I was young, but I can remember my dad used to make little sled for us out of wood. That's all I could remember. We used to play with snowshoes, our parents'

snowshoes. Run around with snowshoes, big ones (haha) but my mom used to have small ones, we used to play with them. And swing, we used to make swings on the trees.

(Vivian)

"We used to go sliding at nights and go skating. Make our own skates, we used to play ball, make our own ball out of something." (Harriet)

The people often got together as a community, whenever there was an opportunity. "...a long time ago, nearly every night which doesn't cost you a cent to go to the dance. That's when the people used to enjoy dancing, all the people were good dancers. Jigging and square dancing, they never used to dance this rock and roll music. Never had this rock and roll music."

(Vivian)

"We used to have a lot of dances at the church with the older kids. All the people would go join the kids. The minister that we used to have here, she'd have a lot of dances for whoever wanted to come. People came and enjoyed themselves." (Evelyn)

"Years ago people would make their own brew, and get together at someone's house and dance all night, she said that the fiddlers, from tapping their foot on the floor, they'd wear a hole into the floor." (Gail)

When the dancing was over...



"They told us stories, legends and that. That's one of the things that we enjoyed in the evenings before we retired, that's one of the things my parents used to do, is tell me some legends. I enjoyed listening to those. They weren't reading or anything like reading a bed time story. But they had their own stories to tell us at night, just oral." (Shirley)

From the time the settlement first began until the early seventies, the lifestyle of these people did not change very much. New inventions made their way north. Motors for boats, snowmobiles, cars, trucks, planes made life easier but did not change the basic livelihood of the people. Commercial fishing was started and the people began to earn more money as things began to cost more. Fur was sold at fur auctions in places like Thompson, rather than at the local Hudson Bay Store. This also brought in more money to support the families and the community. The people felt productive and self-sufficient and lived in harmony with the world.

#### After the Flood

That was until 1976; then their world changed. This was the year Manitoba Hydro "turned on" the dams. The Churchill River was diverted south through South Indian Lake so that the water could join with the Nelson River and flow on towards the hydro-electric plant. "It's (the water) flowing down this way towards Nelson.

And this Churchill goes up to Hudson Bay. There's a diversion dam at Reindeer Lake, connected to Churchill River, eh and there's another dam here at Missi Falls. It's the same connection, the same river, they blast this, they're flowing it down to the Nelson River now, Burntwood, changed the water around eh. That's what made all the mess. There's another dam here, not too far, they call it Nugamie. That's another controlled water, there's another one at Kettle Rapids, that's the Little Burntwood. That's why they can't control it, too many dams. (haha) Just like beavers, they can control there own water too eh. Just like hydro (haha)."(John B)

Because of the diversion of the water and the flooding of the lake, the government and Manitoba Hydro felt that the people had to move into a community on the east side of the lake, where they are now. Instead of being scattered along the lake shore, the people were now expected to live in a town with houses side by side on streets. It seems that the people of the community had little say in what was happening to them and the land that they lived with. Hilda explains her perception of the things that happened during this time.

Hilda: Oh ya, like you know, I stood my ground for quite awhile not wanting people to tell me where to move and when to move, and everything else. Cause we were across the lake when that happened, I didn't see why we should move, we got our house over there and everything else.

Kelly: So is that area flooded out over there?

Hilda: No, but the thing is the crossing from there to here where all the services, like the store and that are.

Kelly: So it's kind of treacherous to cross?

Hilda: Ya, like on minus 40 weather it'll freeze maybe half an inch. But the rest of the time, it's wide open on either side of this island here.

Kelly: Why didn't they just put all the resources over there where you already were?

Hilda: That's another thing they did. When the resources, like the resource centers like the school and the store and stuff, were being built, they had the plans in place already. Like when I'm saying "they", it's the people down south. Probably with northern affairs and Manitoba Hydro and whoever else was involved. They already had the plans in place, where to put everything else, before people started realizing it was happening. And that was one of the reasons like I said, they were coming saying your kids have to go to school, like we have to be on the other side, I said no I don't, I didn't put that school there, I didn't choose to have that school there, it's not my responsibility. (haha)

Kelly: So they just came in and did what they wanted...

Hilda: Pretty well, the sad part about it is that people started realizing what was happening but then like I say plans and structures were in place already before hand.

Along with the town came some of the modern amenities. The people now had electricity and hydro bills and because they could no longer get there water from the lake, they had water delivered to the house. "There's a water truck. Some places have running water. I don't. I didn't want nothing when we got this place, not even this house. They should have let me stay uptown in my little cabin not this house. Ya, (they

tore down the cabin) they had to to build everything else, to make a fancy town for us. (haha) I was okay the way I was." (Harriet)

The natural environment was devastated. The water level in South Indian Lake rose 3 metres and covered much land and trees. The shoreline of the lake changed forever; gone were the beaches and the rock inlets. In their places were decomposing trees sticking out of the water every which way and shorelines of wet mud. The decomposing trees and soil caused the mercury level to rise within the water and thus contaminating the fish to the point that many of them died off. Much of the animal and bird wildlife moved on to different areas due to the destruction of habitat.

"I don't like it in the spring because the scenery is so wrecked from the flood. But in the summer it's okay. But still I don't like when we go up the river and all those trees are sticking up in the river in the middle of nowhere. It's ugly." (Suzanne)

"It's the land and the animals that's changed, complete ruined, everything, all the shorelines, the marsh is all diverted, no ducks, no nothing. That's what people are complaining about. Complete change, like you go hunting and you can't even see the moose walking on the shoreline cause there's no shorelines. The water floods way back, you can just hear the moose

in the forest, you can't even spot him. Big change."

(John B)

The changes affected all aspects of the people's lives but perhaps the most devastating change has been to the fishing industry in South Indian Lake. Before the flood the majority of the people could fish in summer and winter and catch enough fish to support themselves and their families throughout the year.

"They still continue commercial fishing. But they have a hell of a time, like 30 nets for 2 tubs, 2 lousy tubs. Five nets was good enough for a living, 1000 fish a day. You gotta go miles from here, not good around here. You've gotta go miles. ...Well they're still doing it. But they have a hell of a time to manage their living. ...There's no other way, there's no employment around here too, it's pretty hard, we still have to pay our hydro bills eh. That's a big problem."

(John B)

"Hydro came in and destroyed us too, now he is not looking after us after he destroyed everything, our life, fishing. The man have to work hard now than they used to to catch lots of fish. They have to change the nets all the time. If you put the net close to the shore, you're going to get lots of sticks in it, when it's windy like. ...they have to go everywhere to look for fish. And I remember long time ago, my husband used to fish, used to use 3 nets, 4 nets, used to catch lots

of fish. Now fishing in this lake, cause I do commercial fishing too, you put up 19 nets in the water, sometimes you can only get 3 or 4 tubs of fish. ...Maybe they've (the fish) gone some place or maybe they're drowned. Maybe they don't have food they used to have before the flood. I think that's the problem. And I remember the fish here before the flood, when we were young children, there was no welfare at that time, we used to eat a lot of fish. We never heard about mercury that they're talking about now. The fish back then, they tasted good. Now when you eat fish from here, they don't taste good, they taste kind of watery. I guess they lost their taste on account of the flood. And they're not fat. You could make soup when you boiled fish, the kind of soup that I make with flour, you could see there was grease in there that they were really fat. Cause now when you boil them, you don't hardly see any grease in that. In that way they taste so watery, so you can only eat a little bit of fish now. It's very hard to find a good place to fish from."

(Vivian)

The lifestyle that had been a part of the fishing industry emphasized the family living and working together at fishcamps scattered throughout the wilderness, away from the settlement. With the change in the lake came change in that lifestyle. "There'd be

nobody in town, everybody would take out their family. But the fishing died out and they don't do that no more, they go out to the inland lakes. Pretty expensive to move your family there and back, especially for a short time. Cause the season is only part, like in the summer time it's over eh. Like for about a month." (Frank)

"The fishing was cut down a lot, used to be that this whole town was like a ghost town, when the fishing was good, all the town would be out. Since the flooding there's just about a 100 fishermen and their families. It was livelihood, people would do it all summer. Trap all winter and now you have to stop at a certain time of the summer cause the water's too warm, ummm now there's a lot more drinking than there ever was. People don't have jobs, they're on welfare, they're depressed." (Gail)

Hunting was also greatly affected by the flood. "Ya, not only the fur but everything, the moose, ducks, birds eh, they all moved inland. You have to fly in, that's why a lot of people can't go out hunting now, they can't afford to go rent a \$1200 plane just to go hunting." (Tom) When people can afford to fly inland to hunt, they often can't bring back the meat and the hide. The plane can only take so much weight and the hide is often left behind. This provides less opportunities for women to prepare the hides and less opportunity for young people to learn the traditional ways.

Although not all hunting has to be done by plane,

there was definitely a decline in the number of animals in the area around the lake. John B also mentioned (above) that with the destruction of the shorelines it's much harder to find the animals and it's much harder to stop your boat when you do find one. "There's some decent places around the settlement here, but when you go off to the side it's terrible. Miserable looking shoreline, all those logs piled up like this, trees sticking up, can't park your boat, gotta have a special place to park. It's terrible. ...There used to be big rocks. Now it's just crossing logs, ruined completely." (John B)

The flooding of the lake changed the everyday pattern of life in South Indian Lake so it is of no surprise that the recreation experiences have changed as well.

"But now we don't do that because of the flood, you know, it's not safe to go out on the lake to go skating like we used to. It was a nice time. It was safe. There was no current or anything. Now we don't know where the safe spots are, it's very touchy. You don't go on the ice until it's strong enough. By the time we get to do that then there's snow already. But that was one of the main events that we used to do." (Shirley)

"I think it changed quite abit. Used to live far from each other, go visit each other, walk. They used



to do everything, sliding, on the island. Us young kids used to slide at night, we used to go skating. Make a big bonfire, now it's not the same. The kids are not together. It was really fun, we used to have fun skating, bonfires, lot of kids. Kids used to come from far end to our end. Just for fun, it was nice. We never had TV when we were growing up." (Evelyn)

"I think recreation will change more in the program style. Like it will become more organized, like before we just did it, we just used to, we were brought up with it, you just follow suit. (haha) All the things that were available and the time that was available in my growing up years are not there anymore. Like being out all summer long away from the community, being out there and doing whatever you please, like this, weather permits. They still have the swimming and that. In this community, you see all the kids in the water every day in the summer. But that's how really, we were brought up by the water. In the winter time we had the sliding and the skating. ...(now) I think a lot o them get caught up in the TV and the videos and stuff like that. It's not a good thing." (Hilda)

"It was really good as far as I can remember. Things were different. Ya it seems like things are a lot different now than it was before. Like you could swim everywhere. Like where we were staying there were beaches everywhere, but not now eh. Kids were playing

together all the time, not getting into fights, not like now. About 80% of our community is unemployed. Not very much that's going on right now. It's really hard on people. I guess that's why they do the drinking because they feel they don't have anything to do, there's nothing for them to do so may as well just drink, they feel there is nothing for them." (Virginia)

"Ya, I'd like to see more square dancing for the adults. We used to have a lot of dances at the church with the older kids. All the people would go join the kids. The minister that we used to have here, she'd have a lot of dances for whoever wanted to come. People came and enjoyed themselves. There was hardly any drinking at all in those days, people just enjoyed themselves at the square dance. This liquor thing... changes lifestyles I guess. Like you could have a lot of fun without drinking, we used to." (Evelyn)

Before the flooding, this community was self-sufficient. People could live on the food they hunted and by selling the fish and furs they caught, they could buy whatever else they needed. There was a strong sense of family and a strong sense of community. The lives they led were fulfilling and productive.

The flooding brought incredible changes to the lives of these people. They were moved into a town, given housing, electricity and heating, water delivered

to their doors. Fishing became more expensive to get started and to stay in business. Hunting became more expensive because of the need to travel farther to find the animals. Trapping is declining not only due to the movement of the animals farther away but also due to the lowering fur prices on the market. In many cultures unemployment, poverty, and paternalism go hand in hand with social problems and the same is true with this community.

"Oh for sure. I think, I'd say we had a better life. Although we didn't have any luxuries like running water or uh, not very many of us had houses that were built with 2 and 3 bedrooms, and stuff like that but we had homes and we had satisfaction with our lives. Like one thing might be like, even the social problems in the community, we didn't have. Like I say in the summer time, we'd all move out, sometimes there would be 6 or 10 people in this community, because everybody would be out in the fishcamps. That's true! And you could leave your house, like there was no such thing as a padlock, or anything like that. You could leave your house and just tie the door and it was like that when you came back. Now when you leave..." (Hilda)

#### The Community Today

It is now almost twenty years later and the lives of the children are completely different from those of their parents, for some even from their older siblings.

With electricity came conveniences and less work to do, television, instant entertainment, loss of language and culture. The changing lifestyle, with less people trapping and fishing (unemployment) and more parents working at jobs within the community (change in employment patterns), makes it harder for young people to learn the traditional skills that are so much a part of their culture. Young people still enjoyed hunting, trapping, and living at the fishcamps but there is less opportunity for them to be a part of this lifestyle and they see less of a future in it. At this point they see very few options for employment in the community; few things to aspire to. These children are a generation caught in changing times.

"Ya the kids, the kids behavior has changed a lot. Like they don't tend to listen to their parents more, because they have these video machines, they have these tapes, they've got these TV's they can watch all night. Those nintendos, cause we've got one there, the saga. My son sits there for 3 or 4 hours at a time, just looking at that, he plays with it, that saga. And he doesn't really listen, the kids don't listen to their parents. Not like when we were across (the lake), we didn't have nothing like that. We really stick to home eh. And that there was not that much drinking. Since we moved across, everybody's drinking." (Janet)

"The young ones speak English, they watch so much TV. When I first taught nursery in 1974 the kids came speaking no English, just Cree. They needed a native person at that level, that's why they put us down there. But I enjoyed it. Like I talked and they understood, they learned so fast. Then TV came and they started speaking English. TV started when the whole town moved to this side, we used to be across now we moved to this side. They got electricity, everything stopped, they didn't have to go get their own water, they didn't have to go get their own wood, you know they had to do all those things for themselves, they had to wash their own clothes they didn't have machines and stuff like that. So we became lazier and lazier." (Margaret)

While visiting the community, one can see connections to the past. I was there in October and all throughout the month there were people leaving for the traplines, going until the fur auction in December. Students brought ptarmigan that they had shot to their teachers for a gift. An elder visited a grade 3 class and showed the children how to skin and cook a rabbit. Women, young and old, were sewing beads on leather to adorn moccasins, mittens and jackets. Some people were drying moosemeat and hides from the fall hunt. People of all generations spent much of their time in the outdoors.

Children and adults both had the support and the

benefits of interdependence that comes with the extended family. Often 3 generations lived within the same home or even if their parents had their own place, children often slept at Grandma's house for a few days at a time. Another custom that is a component of the extended family was that of mothers raising their daughter's first child or cousins living full-time with aunts and uncles. The "extended family" has a more far-reaching meaning here than in southern society.

While visiting the community I also saw signs of change; positive changes within the community. At the time of the flooding Manitoba Hydro worked out a compensation deal with the community. One of the most positive outcomes of this compensation was the building of Big Sand Lodge. The community owns and operates this fishing and hunting lodge whose clientele come from many countries to fish and hunt in the wild northern country. The lodge provides more than just direct employment for community members. There is pride and the positive feelings of self-sufficiency; for the guides there is the joy of doing a job that one loves; for the women there is a place to sell their handiwork; and for the community there is the extra meat that the guests can't take home with them.

The community has also used compensation money to build fishplants in South Indian Lake and at a northern

site. These plants employ community members and are used to process the fish which is then sent south for sale.

In the community today there is a noticeable difference in the activities of the different generations in South Indian Lake. The children who were of school age were very involved in the school and the activities which it offered. During non-school times, they spent much time outside sledding and playing in the snow. When I asked the kindergarten class to draw pictures of their favorite winter and summer activities, they all drew scenes from times spent outdoors. Older children enjoyed visiting each other, hanging out at the school in the evenings, walking around town and skiing in the winter, boating, fishing and swimming in the summer. During the summer, the Northern Red Cross program comes to the community but there are not many other things organized for them outside of school; they organize most of their activities themselves. There was a great deal of talk about the fact that there was not enough for the children to do and that they were getting themselves into trouble; a symptom of a changing lifestyle within the community.

Although the whole community was involved in traditional activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing, and berry-picking, it seemed like it was the adults over 35 or 40 who participated in these

activities most often. Many felt the pull to the lakes and the bush and got away whenever they could. Many of the oldest adults, the elders, still lived the lifestyle they had grown up with, moving between the trapline and fishcamps, hunting and gathering food, fixing hides however they are spending more time in the settlement due to changing patterns in the natural world. The store was a place where people who weren't working or out in the bush met each other. During most times of the day, people could be seen at the store or in the area spending time talking to each other. Not all was positive as there were signs of problems such as alcoholism and abuse.

The generation that seemed the most lost was that of the young adults. School and the routine that it provided was over, some had tried university or high school in the city but had returned home. They still enjoy fishing and trapping and the lifestyle that goes with these activities but they can't make a living from it as their parents did.

In many of the homes I visited there were young adults home watching TV for hours on end. The young women often had little children to look after, an occupation that keeps them very busy and changes their lives drastically. Many of the young men spent their



days watching TV, going for walks and partying, waiting for busier times.

Kelly: So Cam what do you do for recreation now?

Cam (21 year old): Watch TV.

Patti (18 year old): Watch movies.

Cam: Ya and draw unemployment 'til I go back to Big Sand.

Kelly: What else do you do?

Cam: Party, play cards, and go out for walks.

Kelly: Do people your age have a lot of parties in the winter?

Cam: Ya...all year. (haha) All year long.

Vivian: If it's not poker, it's the party.

Kelly: So you work seasonal eh, work hard all summer and relax all winter?

Cam: Well the fur prices are down this year so no one is interested in going out.

Kelly: So people will trap when they will get good money for it?

Cam: Ya, but the prices are getting lower every year.

Many young people thought positively of employment but there aren't enough jobs in South Indian Lake for everyone who would like to work. With the moving of the settlement there were some jobs created but as the number of people who trap and fish declines, there is not the same increase in employment within the community. Many of those that have employment, created it for themselves. "In order to stay in a place like this you have to create your own job, there's no

industry. If you don't create your own job, how the hell is it going to come to you." (William)

Frank and Leslie are young men who have found alternatives for themselves and they explain how one has to make things happen or you become too easily drawn to inactivity. "I guess if you put your mind to it there's lots to do, other people say there isn't lots to do around here. You have to make up your own things I guess. Like they say there's not enough things, like if there's a pool hall, they usually go to the pool hall, but you could go skidooing, do some work like chop wood or something. So I guess it's the way you look at it. Can't become a couch potatoe. (Kelly: What do most of the guys your age do?) Drink, hang out, they don't do nothing, just drink. I guess they mostly wait for the trapping season or the fishing season and work then eh. But most of them don't go out, cause they don't feel like it. Ya, they get lazy." (Frank)

"Oh ya we used to do just the school activities eh, volleyball and floorhockey and that, school oriented. Now I do more like they (his parents generation) do, now you do your own thing eh. You always find something to do, never without anything to do up here, make your time useful. ...Me and my cousin used to go everyday hunting, go for a few hours. Never get bored of it eh, just enjoyed doing it. Just being outside, being with

friends, instead of just sitting around and doing nothing, go out and kill 6 hours doing that eh, you don't get bored of it. ...Depends on the time of year too eh, do different things in the summer. But there's a lot of jobs around here, cutting and hauling wood and all that. I'm going out to the trap line with my brother if we ever get in gear." (Leslie)

The problems experienced by the young adults are recognized by the leaders in the community and there are people working on solutions. "Ya, well I'm the employment group, with the community for change. We have a group here, it's called the community for change. There's about 7 different groups, each group has a job to do. I'm with the employment. Big Sand is part of it, that's the start, creating employment. We have about 30 people employed there last summer. We'll have more people next summer and hopefully we're going to branch out to other things. Our plan is to get rid of the welfare office and put an employment office there. Even this UI and welfare, the government should put all that money together and put everybody to work. There's no such thing as unemployment. People have to work for a living, if you're not sick, why should you be on welfare. There's somebody working day and night, and you're sitting at home watching TV and having a beer and there's nothing wrong with you. I don't think that's fair, I don't think it should be like that. Everybody

should go out and work, earn his living like everybody else does, whose able to work. You can't tell me there's no work in the community, there's a lot of work in the community for somebody who wants to work. ...There's fishing and trapping. Those trapline holders, they could employ 2 or 3 people, eh. Take them out there and put them to work. Helpers, ya helpers. But UI and welfare is a bad thing. People would rather stay home and collect welfare than going out to work and make a living. ...We built the fish plant here that employed some people. ...I'm on the Community Futures Committee, I just got elected, I just started going out to the meetings. I've been to a couple of meetings for that, I'm suppose to go to another one on the 4th. They have a similar goal, those guys do. It's government funded eh, they're trying to create employment in the north, community economic development." (Tom)

"...Well things would have to be different now than when I was growing up, everything has to be organized and structured and if that was being done with everything in town here, we'd see them getting involved, things would be more positive. ...Well, even the recreation thing, you know, get that organized, the sports. Not only with the older ones but with the younger ones. But also you have come the full circle with the community as a whole, like the organizations.

The main one might be the welfare system, I always think that should be a work project more than anything else, for the betterment of the community. Because I think that really spoils a lot of our young people, like at a certain time of the month they go wait for this cheque or voucher and that's all some of them do. Like if they worked 2 weeks out of the month that they are receiving this. ...I think just keeping the upkeep of the town would be a full time job for 10 or 20 of our young people. And sometimes people are different and you have to understand that, but I think along the way you will build a lot of self-esteem when they see what they've accomplished and how good it looks. Some you probably wouldn't get that through to but (haha) I always say if you can get through to one, that's a gain. ...These were things we were looking at from our compensation from hydro. One of our projects is the Big Sand Lodge, that's one and we were trying to look around for others. Even looking at recreation complex, maintaining and running that would create jobs and also have a recreation area that's really needed in the community. So we are throwing all kinds of ideas around and we may come up with a good one (haha)." (Hilda)

At this point the community uses the school for sport and recreation. The gym is open in the early every evening for the school-aged children and in the later evening for adults. Volleyball was the main

activity but there was controversy over who should be using the gym which evenings. According to most people Monday evenings were for the men, Tuesday for the women, Wednesday was co-ed, and Thursday was open. Many of the women felt they weren't being given their fair time and many men felt that there weren't enough women using their time so they could use it for them. During the month that I was in the community, three out of four times co-ed evening was also men's night and there were no women's evenings. As well, the gym was only open a few times during that month for the children and the reason given was that there were not enough volunteers to supervise. On some Saturday afternoons a group of men sometimes play floor hockey in the gym and or the community hall. There is an outdoor rink that is not used as often as some would like. It was used by the Screaming Eagles Women's Broomball team at one point, but now there do not seem to be any organized teams. The adolescents play pick up games of hockey or football and hang out at the rink but it is hard to maintain due to large amounts of snow. Most people prefer to skate on the lake when the bays freeze and the snowfall is light.

The community has a building which they have designated as a youth center but it wasn't open when I was there and there were no volunteers set up to run it

in the near future. The children did keep themselves busy playing outdoors, ski-dooing, sledding and generally hanging out. Many of them came to the gym at night to watch the volleyball and the older boys (grade nines) played with the men. Some of the grade nine girls played on the co-ed evening as well. There was a general feeling amongst the adults of the community that more was needed for the children to do and that a recreation complex with an ice rink would help in that direction.

Beyond the gym and sports, I observed a few other activities that had a spirit of camaraderie. Every home that I visited in the community had a great abundance of coffee cups and people dropping by. "Who wants coffee? That's one thing, you never get hungry in this town. (haha)" (George) "We aren't gonna drag you out, like if you don't want to visit us, I'm not going to go look for you. ...but you're accepted as a friend if you show your face." (William) "Visiting", as in the past, was still an enjoyable experience for most everyone.

Evenings in the winter were also spent visiting but with another objective. Poker was a great way to spend an evening (or perhaps a few nights and days on end) for many of the adults, young and old. "We play for 2 days, 2 days straight with no sleep. The time I won \$3000, I didn't sleep for 2 nights." (Cam) In some families

poker was as traditional as fishing and hunting. "Poker -- now that's activity!" (George)

While visiting the community, one gains a sense of the present culture. Still today children grow up learning about the natural world and watching as their older siblings and parents participate in the traditional activities of hunting, berry-picking, trapping and fishing. They look fondly on the times they have spent in the outdoors at the fishcamps and traplines but the times are fewer for them as compared to older generations and seem to be becoming fewer even still. The leisure and recreation experiences of the community are a mix of activities that have been learned in school and what has been learned from the traditional lifestyle. As more time passes since the flood, the culture continues to change and many people within the community wonder what the future holds for today's youth.

The people of South Indian Lake were tied to their land and their lake in all aspects of their lives. By destroying the lake and its surroundings, one destroys the way of life these people have known for hundreds of years. Over the years, many have risen to the challenge of rebuilding on what was left but they are changed forever and further changes are continuing to happen. One is not sure if the changes would have occurred



without the flood, but there would definitely have been more time to adjust and the changes would have been chosen **by** the people, not **for** them.

"It's so different now than it was before. ...I just like to walk around and just remember what it was like." (Margaret)

## CHAPTER FIVE

**The Meaning of Leisure in South Indian Lake**

The central purpose of this study was to determine the meaning of leisure to the people of South Indian Lake. By reading the description of the community, one has obtained a picture of everyday life in South Indian Lake, past and present, through the eyes of the people who live there. I believe that with this picture one will better understand the conceptualization of leisure prevalent in South Indian Lake.

What follows is the description of the themes which have emerged from the data collected in South Indian Lake. These themes outline the components of the conceptualization of leisure in this community. In most cases the people themselves express these ideas and concepts with stories, anecdotes and explanations of their life in the north. Within the description of each theme, I have used related literature, and member checks to validate the findings. Locke(1989) states that validation can also come from the readers themselves.

To put it as plainly as possible, the reader confers validity on accounts with which they agree. It is the reader who must say "Yes, given the evidence you have presented, that is a reasonable reconstruction of what was going on"(pg. 13).

**Love of the Outdoors -- An Inner Drive**

"I like it out there, I like the country, I like being out in the bush. Although I wasn't born in the bush, I

was born in the community here. But I like being out there. I just like to go out there. ...ah that sunset and the snow... (Janet)

As we now know, life in South Indian Lake has always been intimately tied with the lake and the outdoors. It is no wonder then that much of the description of leisure takes place in the natural environment. When reflecting on times when they were most happy, the majority of the people interviewed referred to time spent in the outdoors. The activities themselves varied but a common theme arose which indicates that leisure is influenced by an inner drive to be outdoors.

One of the components that Godbey(1981) gives to leisure is that of inner compulsion. "...leisure is behavior which draws us to something" (pg. 10). For the people of South Indian Lake, this inner compulsion is to be outside.

"Outside. Walking around, going for walks, skidooing in winter, in the summer we usually go for boatrides. It's nice to be outside. Fresh air."  
(Justine)

Shirley describes her desire to get outside after spending the summer at university in Brandon. "This was the time when I was still going to summer school and I'd get back around August and we'd always plan to go out before school started because I'd miss it because I'd

have the summer all at university and I'd have to get out. So we'd always plan for that and we'd be out for a week, 2 weeks out at camp somewhere. And that's all we used to do is pick berries and the boys would enjoy the beaches."

Although Steve is a quiet man he was able to make clear in the following excerpt, his desire to be outdoors.

Kelly: So when you get a day off in the summer, what do you like to do?

Steve: Go in the bush, further in the bush. Oh yes. Took a couple of weeks off and went northwest for a few days. Flew up to the tundra. I don't like to go where there's a lot of people. Like being by myself.

Kelly: Why do you go off into the bush?

Steve: I don't know, it's what I grew up with. You can think clearly out there. Get away from things.

Kelly: When you're home here in the winter do you spend most of your time at home with your family?

Steve: On weekends I like to go out trapping and hunting, every weekend.

Kelly: If you could be doing anything what would it be?

Steve: I'd be out in the bush. I'd be out.

From young to old, when asked about the things they enjoyed the most, the people of South Indian Lake all had stories to tell about enjoyable times in outdoors.

Alvin, who is fourteen years old, tells a story of an exciting experience he had. "Me and my dad went hunting, when was it, this spring ya, we went down to

the Channel, as we were coming back, we were going through this 30 foot ice hole full of water out in the middle of the lake, we didn't see it cause the sun was reflecting off the ice. My dad was in front of me with his Citation and I was in back with my Long Track, I was going full blast. I just looked at Corky and we were looking at the ice and what not and my dad went in the water like that, buried right up to the skis and me and my friend, just went in the water full blast. And we were going on top of the water and we made it right across, I didn't think we would eh, I just kept going. My friend looked sideways and his skidoo started going, I grabbed my dad and leaned this way just as we hit the ice, we bounced up. He bounced off and flew by but I hung on to him and pressed the brakes and we just turned right around. Ya, there was ice here and we came on to the ice at the edge. I grabbed my dad right here. ...his skis caught, he went in the water, jumped on the ice and pulled himself up. We got a rope and pulled the machine out. This was the first time I hit water. Skidoos can go on water, that's cool."

Thirty-six year old Suzanne tells of her adventures moose hunting. "Sometimes we stay out over night. Last time I went moose hunting we went inland by plane, it was beautiful. In the fall, and I think we stayed 2 nights. The first night we just set camp and the next morning we got up early and we started. We went in the

canoe eh. I had those boots with heels on them, my husband was getting mad at me, 'next time we come hunting, don't wear high heels' (hahaha). Those are not high heels, those are rubber boots. He was scared I'd put my heel thru his canoe (haha). There's one thing about this hunting that I'll always remember. I always tell him, I don't think I'll forget this hunting trip. We were paddling along the shore and all of a sudden we see those big antlers, it was so beautiful, I said I'll never forget this picture. It's too bad I didn't take my camera. He was so beautiful, I was sitting in the back eh, cause he had to sit in the front cause he was going to shoot. I could see the place where the bulls were fighting, looked liked a bull dozer had worked through there, the trees were down and everything. It was the first time I've seen that, I don't think I will forget this hunting trip. It was so beautiful. ... Uh huh, it was nice out there, it was beautiful. I'd like to get stuck out there, if the plane didn't come. Cause that morning when we got up, the lake was frozen eh, and it had started blowing. I really enjoyed my trip."

Isabelle, who is in her sixties, has led a life of activity and speaks with fondness of spending time in the open air. "I do anything, pick berries, anything. Just take a paddle and away I go. Three miles, eight miles, I go pick. I'll do anything, I don't mind it. I

never get lonesome. I glad to say I'm not a bear. The bear stays once a year in a hole right (haha). That's no good. We have a tent sometimes in the winter, using snares, catching rabbits. I'm used to that, cause I was born outside."

When discussing my findings with William, he emphasized the idea that the outdoors is part of the leisure experience. "... outdoor activities. Most people don't enjoy indoor activities unless they participate in something, just like a must. Outdoor activities is a natural thing."

We may not choose leisure but rather we are compelled to it. ...choosing to play tennis is one thing; needing to follow after something one finds in playing tennis is something else again (Harper, 1986; pg. 123).

The people of South Indian Lake are drawn to the outdoors. When I asked Hilda about this she said, "It just seems that at certain times of the year, like spring, it's in you, like at certain times of the year you just gotta go and that's all there is to it. Same thing in the fall with the trappers, like right now, it's October, and the last 2 weeks that's all you've been hearing people talk about. It's that time of the year and they gotta go."

#### Closeness to Nature

Our grandparents of old are saying, "Listen to her, all, listen to the Earth our Mother, to what she is saying." people, listen all. (Mohawk words of Thanksgiving, as quoted in Canadian Outward Bound, 1991; pg. 16).

Respect and admiration of the natural world are concepts often interconnected with the native people of Canada. The same is true with the people of South Indian Lake. As stated above, leisure is associated with an inner drive to be outdoors. Leisure is also felt when nature can be observed and experienced; when feelings of appreciation and a sense of awe for the beauty of the natural world arise.

"I guess that's one of the other things too, when you're out there, it's the natural beauty. You're looking around, it's there, it's not been destroyed, or anything. The beauty of nature is all around you. All the sounds you hear are not things you hear on a daily basis here (in the community)." (Shirley)

"Nature, I really love nature, just walk around in the bush, looking, listening to the birds and the animals." (Emma)

"Moose, I like seeing moose cause they're nice and big. I like looking at mallards cause they're colorful. I like geese. I like swans, there's a lot of them. In North Indian there's a lot of swans, in the spring time. I like watching them, especially when they fly, big white cloud." (Frank)

"Every time we go some place we make a fire, to be staying along the shores looking for little rocks that are beautiful. Any shapes, some of them are flat, some of them are really big squares. It's really neat. And



the leaves, I even pick up leaves sometimes and put them on my book and dry them out. Cause I enjoy them, especially in the fall, they turn red just like maple leaves. I like doing things like that. You see all kinds of shapes like willows, anything, like sticks that are floating, they float up on shore, they dry out and become white. They look so nice. I think too, they take the shape like an animal." (Vivian)

Leisure is felt when people are closer to the world unchanged by humans and have a greater awareness of their senses. "Well, there are noises out there. It's not completely quiet. You can hear quite a bit of the wind, when we were out there. But I don't find it too noisy and I like that. Just the natural noises. Being outdoors, like the birds, the squirrels, anything you know. It sure beats 'Watch out for that car!' (hahaha)" (Amelia)

"I like to walk around in January when it's really cold, just to stand outside and go for a walk, like the noise you make when you're outside and it's really cold in January, with your feet (haha)." (Vivian)

"Just for a walk, go snaring rabbits, or go with somebody when they go lift their snares, just to you know see the snow, feel the cold. Just to be outside." (Janet) "It's so nice, especially when it's calm, you

hear the loons, all the birds. I really enjoy life on the trapline." (Vivian)

"I like nature, the birds, the acorns you find on the ground, the smell..." (Brenda)

The manner in which these people relate to the natural world is consistent with the philosophy of their ancestors. "We see ourselves as part of nature, we relate to it spiritually. ...We had a great deal of reverence towards nature, but we also felt intimate with it: we looked into the water and it was like blood in our veins." (Pelletier, 1971)

The idea that the natural world and the outdoors are integral components of leisure can be supported by examining the attitudes and life experiences of the people. "Bear doesn't bother nobody, he's just like a human being, you go hang some fish there, he'll come and take some and he'll just walk away. I seen a lot of them this summer, we caught one, there outside, a black one. That's how we know the animals are not wild, if you don't hurt them really you know, if you keep on feeding them, the more you get animals. Same with the people eh, feed them and they'll come around."

With these thoughts, Isabelle expresses the idea that the human race is an equal and integral element within nature. She also implies that humans need not see the natural world and its components as frightening or unfamiliar.

Brenda's story of a time when she was only six years old and lost in the woods helps us to see that to these people the wilderness is comfortable and amicable place to be. "The way I was brought up because we were always out in the bush, and then just doing whatever I want, getting lost. I've been lost twice when I was about 6. We used to have our cabin just over there eh, or our house, the HBCo used to be on this side, so you used to go for a walk, one time my older brother and my grandmother set off for the store, eh, to get some supplies, so I followed them. But I got lost, that hill there, that's where I got lost. I still remember, I was eating berries off the moss, I was getting hungry. It was getting late and then we had this big dog, his name was Thunder, and it just so happened that one of the guys was walking, I guess Thunder had found me, and he just decided to stay with me and he was just wandering around roaming around where I was. So his name was Simmons, he was walking by and he noticed Thunder and he went to find out what was happening and he found me sitting there eating moss berries. He took me home. (Kelly: Were you scared?) I don't know, all I remember is that it was getting late, but it was in the summer so it was nice. All I did was, like I asked him to take me home in Cree, I was telling him that I got lost."

Both Isabelle's story and Brenda's memories support

the idea that they see the natural world differently than most of us in the southern society. They see the wilderness as a beautiful and welcoming place to spend time. Snyder(1990) explains that in most societies "wild" is associated with violence and wilderness being a place of danger and difficulty.

Every shining pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people. Teach your children what we have taught our children, that the Earth is our mother. The rivers our brothers, they quench our thirst and feed our children. The air is precious to the red man, for all things have the same breath -- the beast, the tree, the human, they all share the same breath. And what are humans without the beasts? If all the beasts were gone, humans would die from a great loneliness of spirit (Chief Seattle, 1854; as quoted in Caduto & Bruchac, 1988; pg. 4).

### Pursuit of Freedom

Freedom -- the feeling that a weight has been lifted and that one can throw her shoulders back and take a deep breath. A sense of freedom brings light-heartedness and the ability to dance. One becomes empowered and strong.

The pursuit of freedom is a quest that human beings have been undertaking for centuries. Freedom can take on many forms and can have many meanings. In most definitions and conceptualizations of leisure, freedom is a prominent idea (Mannell & Bradley, 1986; Bregha, 1985; Iso-Ahola, 1979). The pursuit of freedom is also a significant factor in the conceptualization of leisure

in South Indian Lake and takes on more than one meaning. Three main concepts of freedom became evident; freedom of choice, freedom from outside pressures and freedom of space.

"I love the outdoors, I don't know I just feel free when I go out there, at peace, don't worry, do what you want. There's no drunks out there in the camp. Sometimes I just go out there by myself and just sit there by myself." (Florence)

#### Freedom of Choice

One important aspect of leisure to the individuals of the community was that of freedom of choice, being able to choose what to do with their time. Iso-Ahola(1979) supports this idea when he states that freedom of choice in participation is considered an integral factor in the definition of leisure.

Many people from the community talked of times spent on the trapline or in the fishcamps. One of the major factors that influenced their enjoyment of these times was the ability to choose what to do and when to do it.

Vivian's description of her life at the fishcamp is the essence of this theme. "I think I'm pretty well my own boss, I do anything I like to do (haha), work or just sit down and do nothing. Whatever I feel like doing, that's what I do. If I want to enjoy myself, I enjoy... Real life and free, you could do anything you

want. Here (in the community) you can't do anything."

Brenda's explanation of life at the summer home gives one a sense that there is freedom to do as one pleases. "We listen to music, we wash clothes off the dock in the open water, I like that, go canoeing, go visiting down the river. There are about 4 other cabins down the river. They're miles apart, eh. And swim, sleep, eat, a lot of eating. Usually evenings we have a pickerel fry, like almost every other day."

Gail works at Big Sand Lodge and describes why she enjoys her life there. "It's nice out there because you get all your work done and the guys are out hunting and you get the meal ready and you more or less get the day to yourself. Reading or just wandering around in the bush or go out in the boat, go out and pick berries, fishing, it's nice."

The freedom to choose was not only relevant to life on the trapline or at the fishcamp. When asked what she would do if she could do anything, Hilda explained, "Again I just think I'd probably still be involved (in working with the community) but also doing things that I like, like being free to do what I wanted next."

Fred would like to pursue the life of a musician because of the freedom it allows. "Music, I'd like to do it full time. Set your own time, go at your pace, not 9 to 5."

Freedom from Outside Pressures

One of the factors necessary for leisure according to Bregha(1985) is freedom from outside pressures or freedom to enjoy leisure in peace. The people of South Indian Lake agree with this idea.

"I guess it's all the..., when you're out there, there's not so many things that you have to worry about, like I have to get this done, I have to get this done, you're always, like when you're at home, you always have something that you have to do. But when you're out there, it seems like you're free and there's nothing that you have to get done by this time, you're just free and you're there to enjoy a lot of you're freedom. That's what I find most, is that I have nothing to worry about, to get done. Everything I left is at home. When I get back, that's another day." (Shirley)

"Well you're on your own. No boss, you don't give a shit what happens, just enjoy life, that's it, don't worry about nothing, nobody to answer to, you don't have to pay taxes in the bush (haha). You don't buy nothing so you don't pay nothing. Just go walk in the wilderness... Ya, you're at peace in the bush eh, closer to your creator. When you are in town you forget. There's too many distractions, everybody's rushing around, they don't know where in the hell they're going." (Tom)

"Out there, there's not the time, here you have to do everything by a certain time, but over there you don't have to rush back and forth for anything. It's nice." (Margaret)

Women described this freedom from pressure in relation to their family and children. "Ya, I like being away. Especially in the summer. I know where my kids are in the evenings so I don't have to run around and look for them." (Suzanne)

"Ya, free from rush and be able to spend time with your kids and them being with you instead of being with other kids and them being influenced by other kids. You get a chance to influence them. You really get that time with your kids. You really get to know each other, to really communicate with each other. And also you telling them things that you learned when you were kids, they just want to hear everything. It just amazes them when they hear things from some of the problems in town. (Virginia)

"Ya, I'd like to take them hunting, even if we don't kill anything, just to be out there. Show them that there's more to do around here than go out and get drunk all the time." (Frank)

"People are happy to be out there. Too expensive to live here, no employment, no work." (Isabelle)



"Too costly to live here and on top of that people bother you, I like to have that lake." (John B)

Leisure also provides freedom from the pressures of employment. "It's really funny, but what I find is that when I really had a bad day in school, I automatically pick up that and it just helps me feel relaxed and just calming down. You know, that's the time I see myself picking up a lot of that type of thing, you know just to be working so that my mind is off things. That's the time that I find most, that I grab things right away. Especially if I had a hectic day at school. When I go home that's what I want to do right away, I want to pick up on my knitting and stuff like that." (Shirley)

#### Freedom of Space

The environment surrounding the community has influenced the concept of leisure. The people enjoy activities that give them the opportunity to leave the town behind and go wherever the wind (or skidoo) takes them. Leisure provides the feeling of freedom one experiences while roaming the lake and the woods; a feeling that the world has no boundaries and that there is no end to the wild spaces around you. "There's an esker (large hill left by the glaciers) there, right along side our cabin, like it's 14 hundred feet high. Once you get on top, you just walk way up high, way down for miles, with your moccassins on." (John B)

"Skidooing, I just love skidooing... Just, you can go anywhere, like anywhere through the woods, across the lake. A lot of times you can go back behind here. It's like a boat I guess. It'll take you anywhere you want to go. That's the good thing about boats in the summer. It's nice, brings you freedom." (Brenda)

"But the whole day was spent, like you'd be in the boat all the time just going out to these spots where the berries were, and you'd go up on these high eskers and come back down and have a snack and go back up, then come home late." (Shirley)

"I spend everyday outside, do anything, keep busy, anywhere, walk down, cut behind, don't have to go highway. That's what I like, I walk all over when I'm out there... Ya, take your pair of snowshoes and away you go." (Isabelle)

Freedom -- to do as your heart desires with no pressures, no time constraints, and no boundaries.

### Positive Relationship with Self

"I've always wondered what it would have been like if we didn't have hydro or anything, living the way we have before. I'd like to go back to that. With no running water, nothing. Doing everything on your own. Hauling your own water, no taps to turn, cutting your own wood, there was always something for you to do and now things are becoming so easy, people are getting

lazier. I would love to see back the way we were. That's what I'd like. If I could go back 15 years down the line and live the way we were brought up. Maybe that's the reason why when I retire I want to go back to the trapline, I guess." (Shirley)

Another theme that arose from the data was that of gaining a positive relationship with oneself. This theme includes the components of self-reliance, satisfaction and fulfillment, self-esteem, and sense of being productive, active and busy. Shirley's thoughts emphasize this sense of self-reliance and accomplishment as well as the positive feelings created from being productive and busy.

#### Self-reliance and Satisfaction

Other people also spoke of pleasurable experiences being those from which they gained a feeling of satisfaction as they participated and a sense of fulfillment upon completion. These experiences required self-reliance and resulted in positive feelings about self.

Leisure here is considered as a state of mind or as the opportunity to engage in worthwhile activities. Its function is that of personal development. ...The spirit of leisure, according to Robert Lee, is the spirit of learning, of self-cultivation (Godbey, 1981, pg. 149).

"Well you enjoy the outside part of the activities, campfire, setting up tents and stuff like that. Whatever requirement for the hunt, you make preparations

like. ...You gotta dry out your furs, make stretchers, cut wood, nothing is there handy, just turn on a switch, you gotta prepare these things. Whether it's night or day, it doesn't matter." (William)

One gains the sense that in describing times when they were most happy, the people of South Indian Lake talked of activities that brought them a sense of fulfillment and satisfaction through their own efforts.

"(I enjoy) knitting, quilting, I even make blankets that are full of feathers. Those expensive ones, they sell them in the stores for 4 or 5 hundred dollars, I make my own. (Kelly: Do you get the feathers from the birds you hunt?) Ya, the ducks and the geese. I don't have to pay that much for one blanket, I make my own. I make lots of quilts. I like to use my hands, I never use patterns. I make my own curtains with a sewing machine, but before I had sewing machine I used to make a lot of things by hand. My mother and my grandmother used to sew a lot, she taught us how to sew. She used to thread her needle without looking at the hole, I don't know how she did it and she used to sew not even looking. The way she used to handle the needle." (Vivian)

"Ya, with the gas lamps, cook with fires, it's nice, I miss that, cause that's all we do when we're out in the bush eh, we use the gas lamp and we have a stove

with 4 holes, you put your wood through there, put coffee to heat up on there, you cook on there, bake on there. You go gather up sticks for firewood, chop wood. Wash your clothes outside, hang them up outside."

(Brenda)

"Like I say I like volunteer work. And as long as I can do that, it makes me feel good, that I'm really accomplishing something. Sometimes it means that I have to put my own work aside and stuff like that. ...I enjoy it, I feel good when it's done." (Hilda)

#### Productive and Busy

One of the reasons people like to be on the trapline or at the fishcamps is because there is always something to do. This feeling of being productive and busy contributes to positive self-image.

Steve: Wake up when you want to, even when you try to sleep in you can't, too busy working like a dog.

Kelly: So you like to be busy?

Steve: Even if it's just walking around, there's always something to do. Just go over to your neighbors, you'll find something to do.

Vivian: Ya a lot of things. Not around here, this is a lazy community. (haha) I don't do that much work, like the work I do on the trapline. We get up early and start working, I guess it's electricity too. I seem to be sleeping more when I'm around here. But on the trapline I get up at 6:00 in the morning, and I stay up all day and work. I don't get tired. Around here I always feel sleepy.

Kelly: Is that one reason why you like it on the trapline, because there's always work to do?

Vivian: Ya, there's always something to do.

Being busy and active does not only relate to time on the trapline or at the fishcamps. This component of the theme was also present in descriptions of positive activities in the community.

"You always find something to do, never without anything to do up here, make your time useful. ...Me and my cousin used to go everyday hunting, go for a few hours. Never get bored of it eh, just enjoyed doing it. ...Just being outside, being with friends, instead of just sitting around and doing nothing, go out and kill 6 hours doing that, you don't get bored of it. (Leslie)

"Before I worked here, I used to go fire fighting and look for all kinds of employment, do all sorts of odd jobs, just to keep me busy and earn some money. I don't like sitting around. ...I wouldn't want to just sit around all day and just talk to students. I like to work with my hands, I like doing things with my hands. I wouldn't last long in the office, I'd get bored."  
(Frank)

"I like working at home, like I never sit around for nothing. I have to find myself something to do, if I don't work inside, I have to work outside, anything, I don't care if I do the same things every day, I'll do things over and over. That's what I like, eh. I always get up early in the morning, like 7 or 6:30 and start working there on." (Emma)

Leisure is free expression of self and of satisfying relationships for their own sake. In leisure even the act of producing something finds its meaning in the act rather than the product. Real leisure and real work are both satisfying, fulfilling and profoundly human.  
(Kelly, 1982, pg. 117)

Like many communities where there is a lack of employment, some people in South Indian Lake have problems with alcohol. One of the drawbacks to drinking was the lack of activity and satisfaction that one received from life; as well as the lack of self-esteem and self-respect. Tom describes how his life changed when he quit drinking.

"I used to say 'I have nothing to do', I was the airport manager here for 3 years. I drank every weekend cause I had nothing to do. I quit 5 years ago now I always have something to do. My work is never finished and it's been 5 years since I quit, and I still haven't finished my work around the house. There's no such thing as 'I have nothing to do', there's a lot of work to be done for somebody who wants to do it. ...Ya, and I guess the reason I drank a lot, I was used to working all my life, and all of a sudden the doctor says you can't work, you gotta stay home for a year, so I drank just about every day. It took me a couple of years to realize I wasn't going anywhere, so I quit. Then I went to training, I took general mechanics, then I took this CHR training. I'm alright now. (haha)"

Brenda's thoughts emphasize the desire to be involved in activities and experiences that contribute to positive self-esteem and self-respect.

"People've got more respect for me, I've got more respect for myself. I like who I am now. I want to do more, whereas before I didn't want to do nothing besides drink. 000 it was disgusting... A lot of good things happened to me that year, it was in January that I quit drinking, and this job opening came up, there were 3 teacher aids, Fred, myself and another guy got hired. And uh, let's see what else happened, I quit drinking, I got this job, I'm still here, this is my second year eh, I got my own place, I'm happy. I just enjoy life more."

In both Tom and Brenda's thoughts one can see that life is more pleasurable when one is active and productive with their time as well as when one participates in activity that contributes to self-esteem (or when one doesn't participate in activity that breaks down self-esteem).

#### Self-esteem

An integral concept within the theme "positive relationship with self" is that of self-esteem. This is an important component of the conceptualization of leisure. My interpretation was that the description of experiences that resulted in positive self-image (versus



those that resulted in negative self-esteem) contributed to the conceptualization of leisure. This idea becomes evident through stories told by various community members.

"...I caught a lot of animals, furs. Mostly muskrats. One time this muskrat was from here to there, 100 yards that's far. My dad lent me a gun, he can shoot anything, he's a good shot and I'm just a bit off from that. So I shot the muskrat and I didn't think I hit it, it was right on the edge of the ice and I shot it from a hundred yards and my dad said 'I think you missed it'. But it bounced up, I saw it jump, I thought I hit it. I kept shooting, about 7 shots and we walked up to it, there was 7 holes in the muskrat. We took it home but there was too many holes in it." (Alvin)

"About 2 years ago I killed a moose myself. We were with my daughter Patti, my son and my husband, there was 4 of us going down in the boat. My husband had been hunting moose, but they killed one moose already, we got 2 that time. And coming home we saw this moose going up the hill, so I told my husband just for fun I was going to shoot it, cause I never shot with a 30-30 before. So he told me go ahead, you won't kill it anyway, it was getting dark already. So I gave it a shot and it went down, just one shot and I killed it. (haha) So they were just clapping their hands, my daughter and my son, 'Mom killed a moose'! And there it

was getting dark already, lots of mosquitos, so I had to build that fire to help my husband for the light to dress up, skin the moose." (Vivian)

As Brenda and Frank point out when self-esteem is involved, one activity can be a leisure experience in one encounter and not in another. "Well we were on the B team, there was an A team. They went to Winnipeg and we went to Lynn Lake. But we won up there against Thompson's A team, their best team, high school, we beat them and we were only in junior high. That was the best day of my life (hahaha). Cause they were all so much bigger too eh. But we beat them anyway. So that was alright. ...But like around here, I find that if you screw up in a game, like if you miss the ball, if you don't volley properly, like if you carry the ball, I find that the men get mad at you, and that's one of the reasons why I won't play if there's men in the gym. They yell at you and that yelling hurts. I don't like that. That's one of the reasons why I wouldn't play last night. Cause they do that. Even that day we played volleyball with the grade 9's I was hurt because (someone) said, 'play right or don't play at all', that's what he said eh, so I just walked out, didn't come back. I don't like people telling me what to do." (Brenda)

"I don't like playing with these guys. ...They think they're too good. Like if you do something wrong, they start yelling at you. They think they don't make a mistake eh. That's what I don't like about playing sports with these guys, that's why I don't play."

(Frank)

Chick and Roberts(1989) call experiences like this "anti-leisure -- game structure and context characteristics that may dissipate or destroy experiential qualities" (pg. 74). While studying pool league players they found that verbal abuse decreases intrinsic motivation and can result in decrease in participation.

#### Extrinsic Motivation

Another component of this theme is the concept of extrinsic motivation and reward. Leisure experiences are active and productive times which are motivated intrinsically with feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment, but there is also extrinsic motivation. This is different from concepts of leisure as defined by academics in southern North American cultures (e.g., Shaw, 1985; Iso-Ahola, 1979). Often community members would describe enjoyable times with reference to components of the conceptualization of leisure discussed thus far; a sense of freedom, bringing them closer to the natural world, self-reliance, productive, positive self-esteem; and then mention that these activities also

have something extrinsic to offer in the end. Extrinsic benefits such as food, hides, money and better health are positive outcomes of leisure experiences.

"People really enjoy it (hunting). They go out in the fall to get their moose to last the winter. Caribou in the middle of the winter. It's a big part of life. Last year my dad didn't get a moose or a caribou, this year he got both. He's happy. Last year he was so busy he didn't have time to go out. It's a big part, people enjoy going out and getting what they need." (Gail)

"And late summer when the berries are ripe, I go berry picking. That's the other thing I enjoy doing, is berry picking and stocking up berries for the winter. I do a lot of that." (Shirley)

"The fresh air, I don't know, maybe it's part of us that have grown up in the north. It's just the thing to do, just go, and you get the benefits, like if you snare rabbits, you can eat them, use the fur. Just something that's really a part of you." (Hilda)

"A lot of women do beadwork, it's recreational but at the same time you can get a few dollars for it eh." (William) "I think they're (wild meats) healthy, like you know there's no chemicals going into them, cause you're not putting all that stuff to preserve them. And it's cheaper. Ya, people enjoy to go out and hunt for their food, gives them something to do and you get

something out of it, either way. ...They use the hides for mitts or mocassins, jackets, whatever." (Amelia)

"...I don't consider store-bought meat as healthy. Not really, when I see all the chemicals dumped in the grass for cows and pigs to eat, it's not for me. I'd rather have wild game, they're not fed on chemicals. That's part of the reason I like hunting, eating wild food I guess." (William)

### Work versus Leisure

Much of the leisure research of our society makes a clear differentiation between work and leisure (Iso-Ahola, 1980; Cheek and Birch, 1976; Kelly, 1972). Experiences that are seen as being productive or having extrinsic rewards are often thought of as work but in this situation I do not agree. One reason being that many of the people describing the situations above were talking of times separate from their jobs and the work for which they get paid. They were not obligated to participate in the experiences they were describing.

Leisure is what one chooses to do with one's free time. If it involves the feeling of compulsion or obligation then it is not leisure. Work on the other hand, involves obligation. (Graham, McGill & Perrin, 1990, pg. 31)

The second reason for disagreement can be found in history. "Among non-industrialized societies work and leisure are closely related and indistinguishable" (Noe, 1970, pg. 34-35). Until very recently the community of South Indian Lake was non-industrialized. There were no

jobs that had time clocks or work schedules. Work and leisure were intertwined and blended with one another into a complete lifestyle.

This discretionary time, segmented approach to life, so pervasive in the highly technological, bureaucratic dominant society, is contrary to the more harmonious tribal life in which there is an "Invisibleness" of time. ...The Indian has a reverence for life, not for work per se. (Murphy and Howard, 1977, pg. 45)

Although some people now have jobs within the community, this outlook on life has persevered. To many, leisure and work can still be intertwined.

Godbey(1981) has explained the distinction between work and leisure in that work is externally compelled and goal-oriented whereas leisure is internally compelled, pleasing and worthwhile. He explains how, in some instances work and leisure may be fused in that "...the same activity which satisfies an inner compulsion also satisfies external compulsions, such as the need for food and shelter." (pg. 96) This is consistent with the descriptions given by the people in this community.

In his study of non-industrialized societies, Noe(1970) divided leisure into three categories.

**Work leisure** incorporates any productive endeavor in which the role participant initiates the action, decides the finished outcome and totally controls the means of production.

**Recreational leisure** includes any rule-rendering game activity in which the laws of chance, strategy or skill govern the conduct of role players.

**Cultural leisure** is any self-determined activity that maintains or reinforces the ideological heritage of a social system and provides for the creative pursuits of self, manifested through the innovation of ideas and things. (pg. 33-34)

Many of the stories told in this chapter fit into the category of work leisure.

#### Positive Relationships with Others

Although not all leisure experiences occurred with other people, times that enabled community members to enjoy positive relationships with each other were valued.

"Social interaction is one of the most important reasons for or benefits of leisure participation" (Chick & Roberts, 1989; pg. 76).

The winter festival was such a time when the whole community joined together to participate, spectate and have fun. "In March we have a festival, a lot of activity going on. Snowshoeing, skidoo races, trap setting all kinds of stuff pillow fighting -- they build a platform, sort of a pole 6 feet off the ground that people sit on. It's two poles like this with one cross ways and the people sit on, sit on this log, it's really funny. And there's pack racing, 25 pound pack on your back and you run around a point and come back as fast as you can do it. There's bannoc baking, tea boiling on a fire -- you build a fire and boil your tea as quick as

you can, log sawing, fish-gutting, nail driving, jiggling contest, moose-calling... The festival is fun, you see everyone together, the old people, the young ones, in between the babies, lots of babies." (Gail)

"I like watching it, the competition. Everybody's having a good time. Nobody gets mad. It's nice to see the community do that, I only happens once a year eh. People enjoy themselves." (Frank)

Alvin speaks of a favorite activity of he and his peers, where group spirit makes it all that more interesting.

Alvin: War, like we capture someone, torture them, but like tickle torture 'til they cry and we tie them to trees.

Kelly: Do you let them go?

Alvin: Nope, unless someone saves them. Sometimes we use them for bait, like we tie their feet to the ground, and they can't tell their brothers that they're not dead, and anybody that comes near them, we catch them.

Kelly: So you have 2 teams, do you have boundaries?

Alvin: Ya, we have boundaries, we have like a line. We're on this side of the bush, they come over, we catch them. Sometimes we go over and bring them to our side of the bush. And then when everybody's on this side, captured, we win.

Shirley's thoughts reflect the positive feelings towards community and group camaraderie. Although the number of group events decreased after the flood, there is an effort to restore this sense of community through activities for the whole town. "We still carry on the



sliding events that we, like when we were growing up we used to go out to this island, big hill they call it. It's just the young people getting together and it was a big sliding party. We'd just be out there and have a bonfire after the sliding, after we finish sliding. Those things we can still carry on, but one of the other things that's the biggest change that I find is not so many of the community people getting together to do things. So they started last year again, you know the airport, people got together on Sunday, and they were sliding down from the big hill at the airport. I'd like to see that carry on. Bring some of the things back that we used to do. And in the fall when we were growing up too, we had the same thing, skating night with all the teens skating together in one area and again we'd have a bonfire."

Hilda states that one of the reasons she likes berry-picking so much is the chance to be with other people, talking all day. "We're out there all day long and sometimes you're with people that you don't get a chance to talk to on a day to day basis and all of a sudden you're with them one whole day. That way it's good."

To the young adults one of the most significant factors in their positive experiences is comradery. When asked how he spends his time Cam explains, "Party, play cards, and go out for walks."

To the people of South Indian Lake time spent with other community members, family and friends, were times that were cherished and appreciated.

"Just the way people are, being in a group, everybody's just about the same. Just the feeling that's there. Team spirit." (Brenda)

## CHAPTER 6

**Factors Affecting Leisure Behavior**

The focus of this study was to determine the conceptualization of leisure to the community as a whole. The themes I have presented thus far are themes that were drawn from all interviews. The concept of leisure that has emerged best represents the community as one.

In the analysis of data I found that the themes of age and gender also arose. These themes are not necessarily components of the conceptualization of leisure but rather indicate that people of different age groups and those of different genders have varying priorities and participate in different activities while in the state of leisure. Although the conceptualization of leisure that has emerged from the data pertains to all community members, with further research these factors could be explored in more detail to determine additional components to the conceptualization of leisure for these differing groups. At this point I have looked at these factors with relevance to how they affect the opportunities available to individuals and the choices being made in terms of leisure behavior.

Age and Gender

The different age groups within the community are as follows: children, adolescents, young adults, older

adults and elders. Each of these age groups has different priorities in terms of leisure behavior. These differences can be attributed to two factors; the first being that the individuals are in different life stages with each of these stages having unique roles, concerns, values and norms. The second contributing factor is that of cultural change.

While one's stage in the life cycle is an important determinant of leisure attitudes and behavior, we should remember that different generations of those in the same life stage will often behave differently. Those who are retired now, for instance, are likely to behave differently from retirees of a previous generation. (Godbey, 1981, pg. 198)

Over the years the lifestyle of the community members has changed, slowly at first and then much more rapidly in the past 20 years. As the culture of South Indian Lake continues to change, so will leisure attitudes and behavior.

### Adolescents

"We mostly like to walk around and play sports, go to a friend's place, watch movies and talk." (Crystal)

The youngest age group that I talked with were the adolescents. Many of the stories that they told contributed to the conceptualization of leisure that has been outlined in the study thus far, but there are some factors that distinguish their behavior from those of other age groups. The element most unique to this group is the school. Adolescents have opportunities that are

unavailable to others in the community. They can play on school teams, go to dances, take part in competitions with other schools, participate in exchange trips to other communities.

Lesley is a recent graduate of high school. "Oh ya we used to do just the school activities eh, volleyball and floorhockey and that, school oriented. Now I do more like they do (parents), now you do your own thing."

Emma explains how her 14 year old daughter spends her time. "Mostly sports, she spends most of her time in school after school hours. She does lots of school activities."

Another major element in the lives of adolescents is the peer group. "As children enter adolescence, they begin to increase their independence from their parents and are affected more by the influence of others their own age." (Godbey, 1981, p. 175)

"Used to hang around with my buddies. We used to watch the store and all that stuff. Nobody hired us, we used to walk around and make sure nobody broke in, just for the hell of it. We caught a lot of people, turned them in. Ya we were the, what do you call it? Neighborhood Watch I guess. We didn't do it all the time, just what we did. We'd hear somebody broke in, let's go check it out. Walk around tonight, see if we'd catch them, sure enough we'd catch them." (Frank)

"Water ski, drive around in the boat. I mostly like water skiing cause it's fun, all my friends want to do it." (Larry)

The adolescents are also drawn to the traditional lifestyle of the community. They expressed an interest in camping, being at the fishcamps and the trapline. They enjoy the lifestyle that went along with living in the bush.

"You get to check on traps, cut wood, build fires. You have to get up in the morning, like at 6:30 in the morning, and it's always cold so you have to build a fire. ...You get to use the skidoo more and you get to learn about trapping and all that." (Larry)

"It's fun, you can sit by the fire and get warm, you can go swimming anytime you want." (Cheryl)

But as Tom explains, the opportunities for experiencing this lifestyle are becoming less. "A lot of times they want to go out again, where we used to stay, but I never have time to go camping. I never have free time, I have to work for my business." For the children in the community today, the opportunity to be outside is not diminishing but the chance to be involved in the traditional lifestyle is being offered less often and to fewer people.

As the community changes, the children grow up with different influences and different needs than their parents. Structure and organization are two such needs.

"That's uh, I think, well things would have to be different now than when I was growing up, everything has to be organized and structured and if that was being done with everything in town here, we'd see them getting involved, things would be more positive." (Hilda)

There is a concern amongst the adults of the community that there is not enough for the adolescents to do. "I guess one of the things always, is that there's not enough things for the kids to do in the community. So one of the biggest things that we've been wanting in the community is a recreation center which would have a skating rink. We do have an outdoor rink but it's hard to maintain because of all the snow that we get. ...But if we had an indoor rink, I'm sure that we can at least, get our kids in the community interested in playing hockey, curling and all those different types of things. That's one of the things I'd like to see because there's not much." (Shirley)

#### Young adults

The young adults of this community began their life before the flood but when they were children the most drastic changes occurred. This is the age group that I found to be in greatest turmoil. They are finished school and the opportunities that came with school are over. There are few jobs in the community, commercial fishing is expensive and hard to start up, fur prices

are getting lower each year, and welfare and UIC are easily obtained.

From this point on gender becomes an important factor along with age. For many of the young men, their priorities do not seem to be that much different from the adolescents. They can no longer participate in school-sponsored activities but friends and sports remain important in their lives. When in the community, many of the young men play volleyball at the school in the evenings and hang out with friends much of the rest of the time.

"We're starting an all native men's volleyball team and we'll go out somewhere. Last year we went to Brandon. So we'll probably go this year. (We practise) a few times a week. Well, they have co-ed volleyball on Monday, there's time to practise on Tuesday which is men's night. We get the gym on Fridays so we could practise. This is just men. We'll probably have another team with men and women so the ladies can go out. Give them a chance." (Lawrence)

Most of the young men still speak fondly of life in the bush and although many still go out to trap and fish, they are going out for less time each year and fewer are going out at all. This has a direct effect on leisure.

"People who are unemployed for long periods of time do not experience leisure. The absence of work does not



mean presence of leisure." (Graham et. al, 1990, pg. 26)

These young men without jobs in the community have become dependent on social assistance, some have become dependent on alcohol. They spend much of their time watching TV and hanging out with friends. They do not have the drive to get out and experience a sense of work or leisure. As Frank has described, "(They) drink, hang out, they don't do nothing, just drink. I guess they mostly wait for the trapping season or the fishing season and work them eh. But most of them don't go out, course they don't feel like it. Ya, they get lazy."

Leisure takes on a different quality when you are unemployed. It involves staying longer in bed, watching more TV or just lazing about, but lacks the sense of restoration that is felt when you have a meaningful job. (Hill, 1978, pg.118)

"Goalless leisure, then, is a contradiction which illustrates, even in our times, the differences between leisure and idleness." (Brehga, 1982, pg. 35)

Most of the young women that I met have children. Their lives are quite different from the men's lives and there have been great changes since adolescence. "We used to go to the gym a lot before I had 2 more kids. We used to have a women's night, we played volleyball. I used to go a lot but not now, I'm all tied up at home." (Justine)

Pam talks about what she used to do before she became a mother. "Even like, before I had her, I used

go to the bushes with a sister or something and go snaring and try and kill a rabbit or something. I used to do that a lot. Now I don't bother with it."

Children bring focus to the lives of young women. They now have something to do and life becomes centered around their children.

Kelly: So Patti you like to stay in town?

Patti: No.

Kelly: Do you like to do anything at the gym?

Patti: No.

Kelly: What do you like to do?

Patti: Stay here, with my daughter.

The majority of the mothers have the primary role of caregiver for the children. In many cases the young women are raising their children alone or with the help of their mothers but there are fathers who take an active role in their children's lives. These men experience the same change in priorities as the women.

"Two sons. We do anything, I take them out for a walk. Like my oldest one, I take him for a walk. I'm really close to my son. I always take him out when I go home, I take him for a walk but the other one's too small. He gets cold. I have to wait til he's older then I'll take him too. ...I just watch him, see what he does, his reactions, like if he sees an eagle or a skidoo or something, he'll scream. What he sees eh, I like his reaction. I'd like to take them hunting, even

if we don't kill anything, just to be out there. Show them that there's more to do around here than go out and get drunk all the time." (Frank)

For these young adults leisure behavior becomes more centered around the family and children. This is consistent with other cultures and societies.

The family lifecycle has been found to be an important factor in explaining the orientations of leisure for adults. In general parents with children living at home have leisure more closely confined to home locale and to family associations and orientations. (Kelly, 1978, pg. 58)

### Older adults

The older adults continue this pattern where leisure activities are centered around the family and spending time with the children. "Steve's always taking them out hunting and we go together as a family. So being together as a family and also learning our way of life in the past. They want to learn that." (Shirley)

"We usually go skidooing, skating, sledding down the bank by our house. I go sliding, my baby gets mad at me when we go sliding. Like I don't want to go fast eh, when the snow goes in my face. He gets really mad at me(haha)." (Suzanne)

Many of the men in this age group still spend much of their time trapping and fishing. They were adults when the flooding occurred and still hold on to the lifestyle that they grew up with.

"Fishing and trapping, most of the men here, that's what they do eh. They fish and trap. Like sometimes, they spend their time here only when it's time to go fishing, they have certain times like in June, sometimes they go fishing, they go trapping on October, they'll come home when they need groceries, then they'll go back." (Dora)

The mother's role is that of caregiver for the children. "I go moose hunting with my husband once in a while. But not this summer, I haven't been out with him. He's always out hunting. But I didn't go out with him, cause of the baby and my daughter in school so I can't go." (Suzanne)

"I like it (the trapline), I wouldn't mind to have a permanent home up there. I enjoy staying there but that's the school. I have a young son that's 12 years old that has to go to school." (Vivian)

As the children get older, roles begin to change. For the mother of boys, there comes a time when she stays home while the boys spend time with their father. "I used to do, like the other thing that I really enjoyed doing, I don't do it as much now. I used to go out with Steve when he'd go hunting, you know, when he'd go for ptarmigan, like setting his traps. But know I've moved away from it. I guess the time that I used to do it the most was when my boys were younger and then him and I used to go out. But now it's, the boys are in

their teens and it's their turn. It's them now going out with their dad instead of me." (Shirley)

For the mother of girls, they often start all over again. Often grandmothers will raise their daughter's first child. "...She was the first one in the family so I raised her. Then her mom got married and this is the rest of the family. She has 5 kids." (Harriet)

"I had my first kid when I was 18, I was carrying her when I was 17, so I never had free time to myself and then when I thought my baby would be in school all day and I'd have this free time to myself and I end up with another baby." (Suzanne)

"But what I, like I had all my children grown up, I didn't expect a baby. Then my daughter had her kid and dumped it on me. I didn't expect it, all my kids were grown up and I could have been on my own, doing things on my own and now I'm stuck with a baby again." (Florence)

As Henderson(1990) states, "Family traditions and involvements are therefore common containers for women's leisure." (pg. 237) The men and women have well-established roles in this community. These roles become even more identified with the addition of children to the family and they affect the leisure behavior for both parents.

Elders

As an elder one becomes free of family obligations. Many of the elders that I met spend their time enjoying the lifestyle that they have grown up with.

"They usually like to go out rabbit hunting and set up snares. Just do little things eh, not very much. My mom still tans moose hide, that's her favorite past time, making moccassins, doing beadwork." (Amelia)

Rosie spends time gathering wild plants. "Labrador tea, use it for anything, when somebody got bad cold. This one is ginger. Sometimes we boil it up, wash my hair with it. It's nice. With the labrador. But we wash it 2 times. You find the ginger in the water. This is a mix, you chew it or boil it, for when you have a sore throat. ...I know lots of Indian ways. It's nice to use what's there than go to nursing station. They always come, ask me to give them something."

"Well that's all I gotta do now is spend my time, go for touring or something like that, exploring. That's about the size. But I'm not too much good for working anymore, well I can handle the motor and I can I give a little bit advice." (John B.)

"I do anything, pick berries, anything. Just take a paddle and away I go. 3 miles, 8 miles, I go pick. I'll do anything, I don't mind it. I never get lonesome. I glad to say I'm not a bear. The bear stays once a year in a hole right(haha). That's no good. We

have a tent sometimes in the winter, using snares, catching rabbits. I'm used to that, cause I was born outside." (Isabelle)

"They still like to visit each other. I think, especially at church time, they really like coming there because they get to see each other there. But as it is now, some don't have the transportation to move from one place to the other and back. But they keep up with the handicraft, they sew as much as they can." (Hilda)

As great-grandparents they no longer have the responsibility for looking after children and have less constraints on their time. Until they get too old, they have the freedom to choose their activities and fill their days with experiences they enjoy.

The different age groups within the community each had unique roles, concerns, values and norms. Men and women also had different priorities and roles within the community. The differences became very apparent when children were born and the women's lives became focused on the children and family. Their primary role became caregiver to the children and their choices in leisure behavior reflected this role. The factors of age and gender affected the leisure choices made and those choices available to each group of individuals.

Although there are themes that describe the conceptualization of leisure that relates to the

community as a whole, further research could be done to determine distinguishing factors in the conceptualizations of leisure between the genders and age groups.

### Season

For a community that is tied to the land and the outdoors, it makes sense that choices in leisure activities are greatly affected by the changing of the seasons.

"When they're not doing anything they go hunting, like in the fall they go moose hunting, in the winter, like when the caribou come down, they're all out caribou hunting and in the spring they go goose and duck hunting. The different seasons eh, they go by seasons. In the summer they fish, in the fall it's moose hunting, winter comes they go trapping, then they have a break there too and they go caribou hunting, spring, like in the winter there's also winter fishing in January so some of them do that. ...It's alright, people keep busy, they have their own thing." (Fred)

"It just seems that at certain times of the year, like spring, it's in you, like at certain times of the year you just gotta go and that's all there is to it. Same thing in the fall with the trappers, like right now, it's October, and the last 2 weeks that's all you've been hearing people talk about. It's that time of



the year and they gotta go." (Hilda) In the summer, activities revolve around the lake. "In the summer I like to be out berry picking or going out for a ride in the boat. Just to go have a picnic across the lake, or way further in the lake." (Janet)

"They water ski all summer, these guys." (George)

"Swim, bike, go for boat rides, sometimes go on the lake and fish." (Crystal) "Swimming, in this community, you see all the kids in the water every day in the summer." (Hilda)

"Probably a lot more boating and I really love picking berries, no matter what distance or how much time it takes, I'll go." (Hilda)

Summer is the time for fishing and camping. "We'd go fishing or swimming, canoeing. Sometimes just hiking. ...All that fresh air, and the open space. We'd go with all my kids. I took my grandson there, swimming, he was so cute. He liked the water. He'd come out of the water and go lie on the sand and roll in there. He looked so cute." (Florence)

Winter brings the snow and ice and a chance to skidoo and trap. "Yes in winter I like to do a little part time trapping. I don't commercial fish in winter, outdoor activities like ski-dooing and that, it's lots of fun, everybody enjoys that."

"Skidooing, I just love skidooing. ...Just, you can go anywhere through the woods, across the lake."  
(Brenda)

"Sliding. There's a good place up by the church. You just go down there, but you go crashing into the police station though, (haha) you just have to switch it around and watch out. We like to skidoo too." (Cheryl)

"In the winter time we'd go sliding, we did a lot of sliding. It was really nice, we used to go sliding all night." (Dora)

Spring and fall are the transitional seasons. Hunters can go for moose in the fall and ducks and geese in the spring but around the community there is less to do. "Now's the worst time eh, hardly anything to do."  
(George) "Right now ya, because the fishing season is off. Like there's a slack period for 2 weeks before the trapping activity starts. So the only other recreational activity other than school activities, right now is what we do in the evenings." (William)

Although not all activity is based on the season, for a culture that is connected to the land and the natural world, the seasons do play a major role in how they spend their time.

"Different seasons for different species. You don't walk a girl in the day or the morning... (haha)."  
(William)

### Tradition

Despite, or perhaps because of, the changes happening within the community, traditional activities are still very important to the people of South Indian Lake. The community was founded because of the opportunities to fish, trap and hunt. The land provided plants for eating and medicine. The meat from animals was eaten, the hides were used for clothing, and the fur was used for trading. The natural terrain also provided opportunity for recreational activities. Although the lifestyle of the people has changed over the years, much of the activity within the community is based on tradition.

"It's growing up with it (hunting and trapping), their fathers and grandfathers did it, it's just growing up with it I guess." (Gail)

"He's never gone to school, my younger brother, he went up to grade 3 and he dropped out to learn how to fish and trap. He still does it today. Spends his time out in the bush."

"...We used to go out camping, living out in the fish camps, when my husband takes a holiday. We'd take the family, he'd be out fishing and we'd be in the camp. ...Oh I really love it, that's the way I was brought up eh. And my kids really love it too." (Emma)

"I learned that I guess from my mom. She's always done it her whole life. I guess that's how I got interested, she used to sit down with me and taught me how to do beadwork. That's probably where the interest came." (Shirley) "Before it got cold we went berry picking, twice I think. With my aunt and uncle, just behide the hill here, we have a campfire, hotdogs, we made like bannoc over the fire on sticks, it was nice. Boating, eating out over the campfires, sleeping out, it's nice. I like the ways of the past..." (Brenda)

"...Maybe it's part of us that have grown up in the north. It's just the thing to do, just go, like although you get the benefits, like if you snare rabbits, you can eat them, use the fur. Just something that's really apart of you." (Hilda)

"Like everyone in our family, all these Dysarts, we all play poker. Even the little kids, they learn early! Family tradition." (Brenda)

The community events are also based on traditional activities. "They even have an Iron man contest. They have to run a distance, then they pick up a canoe and portage and then they paddle, and they come in and pick up a sack of flour and they carry it on their backs. When they get to the end they saw a log and then they are finished." (Lawrence)

"In March we have a festival, a lot of activity going on. Snowshoeing, skidoo races, trap setting all

kinds of stuff pillow fighting -- they build a platform, sort of a pole 6 feet off the ground that people sit on. It's 2 like this with one cross ways and the people sit on, sit on this log, it's really funny. And there's pack racing, 25 lb pack on your back and you run around a point and come back as fast as you can do it. There's bannoc baking, tea boiling on a fire -- you build a fire and boil your tea as quick as you can, log sawing, fish-gutting, nail driving, jigging contest, moose-calling. ...They have a dress up contest, where a lot of the women show off their work. So they get the men, women, kids dressing up. The best dressed contest it's called. As much as you can, as nice as you can. The mitts and the jackets, hats, the mukluks, Beaded work." (Gail)

"We have these exchanges, they get a school from a different province, we go there, they come here. They come in spring so we take them to a trapper's cabin. They see the traps, how to set them, if he caught an animal, he would show them how to skin it and dry them out. It was really neat. (We stay for) three nights. We were cooking ribs, caribou ribs, weren't they? Kids from Alberta, "EEEH I won't eat that!" When they were done, they tasted it, they just about ate the whole thing. Bar-b-q ribs over the fire, out in the open. "I won't eat that" they say when I put them on, they've never done that, they didn't like the idea." (George)

Although less people are spending time in the bush, the activities connected with that lifestyle are still prevalent in the community. Youth spend time in the bush around town, build fires when they're cold, shoot squirrels and ptarmigan. They know about snaring and what to do with the rabbit's fur and brains. In one home I visited a young man was using bear grease in his hair to make it stronger and healthier. I had an opportunity to try "Indian Popcorn" which is made by scooping off the fat that rises to the top of the water when boiling meat and freezing it.

With the influx of television, computer games, video movies as well as the many other changes in the community, the traditional activities may start to disappear. But as Hilda points out, it could take a while yet, especially if some people continue to learn from their grandparents and parents so that they too can pass this knowledge on to others.

"You'll probably see a decrease in it but even in some of the young kids, you see them getting that same feeling, that they should go out. You even see it in some who haven't been out there, and don't even have the equipment to get out. They're all worked up from everybody else(haha)." (Hilda)

"I guess, the main thing is that they keep the language, be able to speak it and maintain their own language and keep it alive. I guess the other thing too

is our way of life, the livelihood we had in the past. Steve's always taking them out hunting and we go together as a family. So being together as a family and also learning our way of life in the past. They want to learn that." (Shirley)

"I have a young son that's 12 years old that has to go to school. But I think it's very important for him too, to learn about the Indian ways of life. Cause you know a lot of people that are drop outs, when they go back to their native ways, they don't know how to work out things. They don't even know how to dress themselves to keep warm when they work outside. I guess it's pretty good to learn both ways, our native way and our whiteman's society(haha). The Indian culture and the whiteman's society, to me it's better to learn both and both languages too. Cause most of the people that are old, that are spending their time on the trapline, can hardly speak English. Like when I tell the story about my grandmother who was a good thoughtful teacher, those teachers are really good." (Vivian)

Margaret's story brings together many of these factors that affect leisure choices. She talks of different seasons, traditional activities and her role as mother and teacher of her two boys. "In the summer time I go for boat rides, go camping, go pick berries, just go out and do different things. In the fall go

walk around and see the changes, I like to take my 2 little boys and walk around, especially in the evenings. We see rabbits hopping around. I tell them 'be quiet and we'll see one' and we do! They like it and they say 'Mommy let's go for a walk'. I take them for walks like that so they can see things like that. I like spring, in the mornings you can see rabbits sitting out. In the winter time I take them out and they see tracks and I tell them who made the tracks, things like that. I do different things like that and they learn. It's good to learn about the culture. I show them how to prepare a rabbit, like if you get one in your snare and how you skin it and what you do with the fur if you want to keep it. Sometimes I make a fire outside in the spring and they help me. We catch a goose, they make a fire and we cook it. They watch and see what I do and same with fish, they sit around and I say 'give me this so I can cook it'. They like that."

#### Jobs within the community

"On weekends I like to go out trapping and hunting, every weekend." (Steve)

Another factor that affects leisure activity is employment patterns. Those who have jobs within the community have found a difference in the amount of time they have for the doing the things they love. The choice of activity may be similar to other members of



the community but the time they have to participate in these activities is limited.

"Now well we have (gone to the trapline) but not that much because my husband and I both work, but we go out on the weekends, stay out and learn different things and do different things. We take our kids out so we can learn about nature, what happens on the trapline, what they do and stuff like that. We went moose hunting, a couple of times we went out. We got lucky, we killed a moose." (Virginia)

"Now that I'm working it's different now eh. Now when I get home I'm usually tired so the only time I can do the things I like doing is on weekends." (Dora)

"I used to do that a lot more before I had a full time job. Like on a day like this, it's a nice bright sunny day today, the first thing you do this morning is get dressed and go and set snares. It wouldn't seem like any time was spent if you were outside all day on a day like this." (Hilda)

"He's got a job so the only time he goes is in his spare time. He enjoys carrying that on from when he was growing up. That's what he used to do with his dad. Now he still enjoys doing it and like on weekends, sometimes he goes after school. That's the time that we go out. The trapline, we don't go out that much to the trapline. We go in the fall, just for the long weekend,

also in spring for the long weekend. That's the only time when we get a chance to go in the season. But not as much as we used to." (Shirley)

In South Indian Lake, activities chosen while experiencing leisure are affected by age, gender, season, tradition and employment.

## CHAPTER 7

**Discussion and Conclusions**Conceptualization of Leisure in South Indian Lake

Drawing the themes discussed in the previous chapters together, one arrives at a meaningful conceptualization of leisure for this community. Leisure in South Indian Lake is characterized by an inner drive to be outdoors, close to the natural world where one's senses come alive and where one is free to roam with no boundaries. A leisure experience is freely chosen and provides freedom from the pressures of other aspects of life. Leisure evokes feelings of self-reliance, satisfaction, fulfillment and contributes to a positive self-esteem. Leisure experiences can be intrinsically as well as extrinsically motivated and satisfy a need to be busy and productive. One partakes in leisure to develop and maintain positive relationships with other people. Overall, leisure results in feelings of enjoyment and pleasure. Activities chosen while experiencing leisure are affected by age, gender, season, tradition and employment pattern. Although this conceptualization is supported in part by current research in leisure, there are some components that are culturally based.

Throughout the literature, leisure is most often defined by enjoyment and elements of freedom; freedom of choice and freedom from obligation. These factors are

also integral components of leisure in South Indian Lake. Intrinsic motivation is another of the important determinants of leisure according to current research. People in this community are also motivated by the intrinsic rewards offered through participation in leisure. Feelings of self-reliance, satisfaction, fulfillment and positive self-esteem are all intrinsic benefits of leisure. The maintenance of social bonds is seen as an element of leisure both in South Indian Lake and in the current research. The factors that affect leisure choices in this community, (age, gender, season tradition and employment patterns), are similar to those affecting leisure in most societies.

From here the conceptualization turns to the differences based on culture and society. As Bammel & Burrus-Bammel(1992) stated, within each society, leisure will have a distinct definition. The conceptualization of leisure in South Indian Lake is based on its unique culture and environment.

Life in South Indian Lake is interconnected with the land and the lake. From the time they can walk, children spend time outdoors, exploring the natural world. They are born into a culture that has traditionally had a great respect for nature and they learn to appreciate the powers and gifts of the earth. It makes sense then, that in leisure people are drawn to

the outdoors and that they are aware of the beauties of the natural world.

Before the flood, and for some to this day, the people of South Indian Lake lived a life where leisure and work were intertwined. The lifestyle connected with fishing, trapping and hunting is multi-faceted and there are no clear cut lines to show where work ends and leisure begins. This lifestyle is characterized by self-reliance and independence. There is always much to do and these activities are seen as worthwhile, fulfilling and productive. Success is easily definable and satisfaction is immediate. Even today with fewer people involved in this lifestyle full-time, there is the sense that people identify themselves with this culture and traditional native ways. For many members of the community, this traditional culture is often thought of as more positive than the life they lead now. Some people have picked up the pieces of their lives as a result of the flood and continued where they left off or moved on and taken advantage of the new opportunities available, but many still consider the traditional way of life to be a better lifestyle. Therefore it is understandable that the people look for the benefits of this lifestyle and culture in their leisure and that the conceptualization of leisure reflects the positive outcomes of this life. Feelings of self-reliance, satisfaction, fulfillment and positive

self-esteem can all be described as benefits one gains through life in the bush. This lifestyle can also be extrinsically motivating and satisfy a need to be busy and productive. "Our leisure is a product of our culture, and to some extent, our culture is a product of our leisure" (Godbey, 1981; pg. 123). This statement holds very true in South Indian Lake.

#### Leisure in the Future of South Indian Lake

At this point in time, life in South Indian Lake is still based on tradition and history. Every child in the community grows up with an awareness of life in the bush. Although they may not spend as much time in the bush as their parents did, they are surrounded by the implications of this lifestyle. The people are proud of the skills needed to survive in the bush and identify themselves with this lifestyle. This life on the trapline or at the fishcamps epitomizes the conceptualization of leisure by the people of this community.

A study completed by Hrenchuk(1991) on land use around South Indian Lake, supports this idea. One of the issues that Hrenchuk dealt with was why bush life was important to community members. The responses and reasons that he received, as outlined in Table 2 on page 146, can be compared to the components of leisure that I

have outlined elsewhere in this paper; an inner drive to be outside, close to nature and free to roam the open spaces; free to do as one chooses and free from pressures in the community; positive feelings about oneself and positive feelings about others; both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation; enjoyment and pleasure.

Because life in the bush has such a strong influence on the conceptualization of leisure, a question about the future of leisure arises as we look at the changes occurring within the community today. As fewer of the young adults head out to the bush and as fewer children are given the opportunity to experience this way of life, the culture of the community is changing and therefore the conceptualization of leisure will likely change as well.

Many people that I spoke with feel that these changes in lifestyle are resulting in problems and difficulties for the community. There is a general feeling that life in the bush and the values associated with this life are integral components in the well-being of the community. This way of life is seen to have positive influences on the young people. On the other hand, there is also the feeling that the children need to learn English and obtain an education. They need to understand the ways of the southern world as these ways

are getting closer to South Indian Lake. There needs to be a balance in the lives of the children.

"I guess it's pretty good to learn both ways, our native way and our whiteman's society(haha). The Indian culture and the whiteman's society, to me it's better to learn both and both languages too." (Vivian) With this balance in mind, we can look to the practical purpose of this study.

#### Practical Purpose of this Study

This study has provided us with a detailed look at the community of South Indian Lake. We have learned of the history, the culture, the values of the people who live there. One of the purposes of this project was to bring life in this northern community to people in the south. Those who do not have the opportunity to visit the north and meet the people of these settlements can see the world through their eyes and hopefully come to a deeper understanding of their life and their history. Through this knowledge I hope that respect and trust can grow.

Another goal of the study was to learn more about leisure and the role it can play in the revitalization and healing process of the northern reserves. Through the nature of the study, we have discovered the needs and wishes of the community members. This knowledge can be used to help direct activities in the community.



## STATED IMPORTANCE OF LIFE IN THE BUSH

INT. #	MOTIVATIONS			COMMENTS
	Personal	Economic	Cultural	
9	*	*		you're free in bush; lots of food
12		*		livelihood was good; ever everything was rich
14		*		costs less to live on trapline
16	*	*		people can get what they want
17	*	*		where he gets his food; family in the bush
18	*		*	totally used to it; free to do as you feel
20	*		*	lots to do in the bush
21	*	*	*	no drinking; well off
24	*	*		food; quiet
25	*	*	*	scenery; more alive in the bush; less expensive; raised that way
26	*	*	*	quiet; healthier; loves making his living that way
27	*	*	*	likes hunting; quiet
29	*	*	*	peaceful; part of culture; can live on wild meat
30	*	*		fish; moosemeat; contentment
32	*	*		independence; spiritual reasons; confidence from feeding self
33		*	*	likes the way he was taught to survive
35	*	*	*	loses appetite on store food; traditional way of life
36	*		*	likes travelling; the quiet; lots to do
37	*	*	*	likes traditional life; freedom; feels better
38	*	*		to feed family; being own boss
41	*	*		more freedom; fresh air; of value regardless of money
42	*	*		likes feeding himself; where he makes his living
44	*		*	in your blood; dreaming of what it used to be like
46	*	*		live as he wants; live for next to nothing; prefers bush life; freedom
47			*	likes hunting; no one waking you up

Table 2. Importance of Bush Life (Hrenchuk, 1991; p.72)

As Gray(1972) pointed out:

The imperative is that persons planning programs and parks must know intimately the culture, wishes, social patterns and lifestyle of the people who use them; the program or park must fit the condition" (pg. 46).

In South Indian Lake, the conceptualization of leisure finds much of its meaning in the traditional way of life and we have discovered that there is a desire in the community to maintain this part of their life. Because of the changing lifestyle within the community, people are able to spend less and less time enjoying this way of life full-time, but this is where recreation, school, daycare and church programs can help. The people have shown that the maintenance of traditional culture is an important priority to them and a concerted effort can be made to establish programs that meet this goal. As Csikszentimihalyi and Kleiber(1989) pointed out, "...a single intense leisure experience is more significant in determining the course of a person's life than thousands of more mundane obligatory experiences" (pg. 5). Intense leisure experiences involving the traditional culture can help to shape a child's life and help to maintain this way of life within the community. Programs can be developed whereby those with knowledge of traditional skills have the opportunity to share these with people who have a desire to learn.

Another priority identified by the study, is that children and teens need more to do. As the culture and lifestyle in the community changes, so do the values and needs of the youth. Children now need programs that are structured and organized. These programs can help to provide the balance between the traditional culture and the "white" culture that they are learning to adapt to (egs. weekend field trip to the trapline and a evening broomball league; hunter safety course and drama club that performs the legends of their ancestors).

One can also use the components of the conceptualization of leisure discovered through this study, to help plan and develop programs. Programs will meet the needs and desires of the community members if the activities allow these components to be met. For example, Vivian can run a workshop on how to make down-filled quilts. This will allow participants to feel self-reliance and satisfaction upon learning a new skill. While working on the quilt, they will satisfy the need to be productive and busy. If they finish a quilt, this contributes to positive self-esteem, plus they will have a beautiful, warm blanket to sleep with; extrinsic motivation. While in the class, they will develop or maintain positive relationships with others and finally, people learning how to make quilts will help to maintain skills of the traditional culture.

Another example would be a family day with many families travelling to a campsite up the lake. People would be outside, they would travel there by skidoo or boat or snowshoes and experience the freedom of the boundless space. Once they get there, they could participate in activities such as sliding, skating, rod and reel fishing, swimming, baseball, snow soccer. They could go berry-picking or look for medicinal plants; they could learn about tracking. They could have a cook-out over an open fire. They could stay longer and have a bonfire late into the evening telling stories and legends. The whole day would help to maintain and develop positive relationships with others, bring them closer to the natural world and depending on the different activities, promote feelings of positive self-esteem and satisfaction.

If leisure and recreation are to do more than just keep people busy, those planning programs within the community must take into account the needs of the people. The conceptualization they give to leisure can help to identify these needs. Carleton(1984) gives further advice:

A recreation program having relevant value must be more than mere busywork and pure entertainment. It should include activities which promote the communication of ideas, self-confidence, self-esteem, artistic and skills development and allow its participants the luxury of obtaining a healthier, happier life (pg. 34).

Ideas for Leisure Programs in South Indian Lake

I have gone through the interviews and compiled the following ideas for programs. These recommendations are based on the needs and ideas expressed by community members.

1. Parents, young adults or elders are needed as volunteers to supervise activities for the children and teens.
2. More activities are needed for the youth.
  - (i) The idea is good for the children to use the gym from 5:00pm to 7:00pm, just need supervision.
  - (ii) The teens would like to have the building designated for teen center to be opened, again just needs supervision.
  - (iii) Some teens really enjoy playing with younger children and could be encouraged to provide leadership (play games and do activities) for the younger children in the gym each evening. Perhaps some one would volunteer to run a "Leaders Group" in which the teens would meet once a week to learn about leadership, organize things for the younger children, organize special events for themselves...
  - (iv) Many of the youth are very interested in camping, trapping, hunting. They enjoy the bush life but don't get to go as often as they would like. They expressed an interest in learning traditional skills. Weekend or school trips could be arranged with some of the elders in the community to take small groups of teenagers out to the bush and show them the way of life and to teach them the skills they need.
  - (v) The younger children (grade 3 to 6) really enjoyed it when elders came to the classroom to teach them about the traditional life -- story-telling, beadwork, how to skin a rabbit or a beaver, snare setting....
  - (vi) Sports leagues could be organized for the youth to play either in the evenings or on the weekends. In the winter -- broomball, non-contact hockey (need less equipment), soccer on

the ice, curling. The rink would have to be cleared often but perhaps the kids would do it if they knew there was things going on for them to do. In the summer --baseball, soccer, touch football, outdoor volleyball.

- (vii) The youth showed an interest in special events like the winter festival in school, perhaps there could be a few more of these scattered throughout the year --fun competitions, outdoor cook outs, evening bonfires, big sliding parties, skating on the lake...
3. The women would like to have some programs as well.
- (i) A place that they could meet to do beadwork or other handicrafts and visit.
  - (ii) A time that they could use the gym and not feel intimidated by the men. Not many women show up to women's night now and some feel it is because there are always men in the gym or they don't know when it is. The men don't think the women want the gym. It may take a month or so to get the women out, but many have shown an interest in having time in the gym.
  - (iii) If the women bring their children with them to the school, perhaps some of the teens who are interested in playing and being with children can babysit them in half the gym or the multi-purpose room while the mothers play.
  - (vi) Some women expressed an interest in having a broomball league, playing for fun in the community and possibly arranging some games against other communities. Just like the Screaming Eagles...
  - (vii) Many of the women expressed an interest in learning some of the traditional skills like fixing hides, making moccasins and other clothing, doing beadwork, cutting meat. An evening a week or a special Saturday program could be arranged for older and younger women to get together and teach each other the different skills.
4. Besides the teaching of traditional skills, there was an interest in upgrading and further education and training taking place in the community.

5. The young men also showed an interest in sports leagues with other sports along with volleyball.
6. People would like to see more family events for example: Family Days -- sledding parties, skating parties, beach parties, family baseball tournaments, family fishing derby...
7. There was much interest in having events for people who don't drink -- dry socials, square dancing...

### Reflections of the Researcher

When I first began this study, the only thing that I really wanted to do was visit a northern reserve and meet some of the people who live there. I wanted to learn what life was like through their eyes, learn how they filled their days and learn what they wanted out of life.

As a young girl, I had developed an interest in the historic stories of Native people and often romanticized about life on the plains, riding horses and living in tipis or travelling the lakes and rivers in a birchbark canoe, living off the land. It wasn't until I was much older that I began to learn about the more recent history of the aboriginal people of Canada and the negative relationship between them and the dominant society. I began to understand the reasons for the problems they face today. There are many people in our society who have little knowledge of the history of Native people in Canada. The history books in school do not tell the whole truth or give the whole picture. But if things are to change, we need to learn. We also

need to meet and get to know Native people, to develop respect and trust. This paper is a small step in that direction.

While in the community, I felt welcome just about everywhere I went. Much of this had to do with arriving as a friend of someone who was already accepted and respected by the community but also because of the people themselves. Most people were very friendly and open to visiting and sharing coffee and their thoughts with a stranger with a tape recorder. I was amazed by the manner in which I was welcomed and the ease at which people spoke with me.

I was intrigued by the everyday life of the people and enjoyed listening to the stories the people told. I was angry and shocked by the devastation that the flood has caused and I admire the people who have been able to stand up, brush themselves off and go on with life. I admire the way, through all the drawbacks, they've been able to hold on to a culture and tradition that is important to them and I hope that they are able to continue to hang on to what they feel is important.

I may have painted a more positive than real picture of the community. I have only addressed the problems of alcoholism, substance abuse, and violence in passing but I feel that by looking at leisure we are striving to see the positive. It is through these



positive aspects that the problems can be helped.

Leisure and recreation are not the only answers but they can play a role in the solution.

None but the Natives have ever lived in this country,  
and they exist only as part of it.

They have never attempted to assert themselves, but have  
grown up in it like the trees.

It is their food, their drink, their life.

Their songs and prayers are all of the earth,  
the sky, the rain.

They never struggle with it but use it to help them  
only as a part of themselves.

They pass through it silently leaving as little trace as  
sunlight through the wind.

(Hall, as quoted in Canadian Outward Bound, 1991; p.15)

## REFERENCES

- Arnold, S. (1980). The dilemma of meaning. In T. Goodale & P. Witt (Eds.), Recreation and leisure: Issues in an era of change (pp. 5-18). Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing.
- Bammel, G., & Burrus-Bammel, L. Leisure and human behavior. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Pub.
- Barritt, L., Beekman, T., Bleeker, H., & Mulderij, K. (1985). Researching education practise. North Dakota: Center for Teaching and Learning.
- Bregha, F.J. (1980). Leisure and freedom re-examined. In T. Goodale & P. Witt (Eds.), Recreation and leisure: Issues in an era of change (pp. 30-37). Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing.
- Bruchac J. (1989). Birdfoot's Grampa. In M. Caduto & J. Bruchac (Eds.), Keepers of the earth (p. vi). Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum, Inc.
- Bryde, J.F. (1971). Modern Indian psychology. Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota (Institute of Indian Studies).
- Carleton, N.L. (1984). Grassroots involvement in recreation for Native Americans. Paper presented at the Annual National Indian Child Conference. Albuquerque, NM.
- Cheek, N.H., & Burch, W.R. (1976). The social organization of leisure in human society. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Cheska, A.T. (1979). Indian youths' sports choice today and some historic notions why. Proceedings and newsletter-North American Society for Sport History. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University.
- Chick, G., & Roberts, J.M. (1989). Leisure and anti-leisure in game play. Leisure Sciences, 11, 73-84.
- Chief Luther Standing Bear, (1868). In Canadian Outward Bound (Ed., 1991), Winds of the wilderness, Toronto: The Outward Wilderness School.
- Clairborne, R. (1973). The first Americans. The emergence of man. New York: Time Life Books.

- Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Kleiber, D.A. (1989). Leisure and self-actualization. Paper presented at the Benefits of Leisure Conference. Snowbird, Utah.
- Dean, J., Eichhorn, R., & Dean, L. (1969). Establishing field relations. In G.J. McCall & J.L. Simmons, Issues in participant observation (pp. 23-36). Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Dewdney, S. (1975). They shared to survive. The Native peoples of Canada. Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited.
- Eisen, G. (1978). Games and sporting diversions of the North American Indians as reflected in American historical writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, 9, 58-95.
- Farina, J. (1980). Perceptions of time. In T. Goodale & P. Witt (Eds.), Recreation and leisure: Issues in an era of of change (pp. 19-29). Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing.
- George, Chief Dan. (1974). My heart soars. Saanichton, British Columbia: Hancock House Publishers, Ltd.
- Godbey, G. (1981). Leisure in your life. Philadelphia: Saunders College Publishing.
- Goodale, T. (1980). If leisure is to matter. In T. Goodale & P. Witt (Eds.), Recreation and leisure: Issues in an era of of change (pp. 38-49). Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing.
- Graham, R., McGill, J., & Perrin, B. (1990). Leisure a replacement for work? Journal of Leisureability, 17, 23-28.
- Gray, D. (1972). Exploring inner space. Parks and Recreation, 7, 18-19, 46.
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1981). Effective evaluation. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers.
- Hall, D., (1991). In Canadian Outward Bound (Ed.), Winds of the wilderness, Toronto: The Outward Wilderness School.
- Harper, W. (1986). Freedom in the experience of leisure. Leisure Sciences, 8, 115-130.

- Hart, R. (1990). Wapi-see river '90. Department of culture, heritage and recreation regional bulletin: Norman. October, 1990.
- Henderson, K.A. (1990). The meaning of leisure for women: An integrative review of the research. Journal of Leisure Research, 22, 228-243.
- Henley, I. (1987). Qualitative Research. Unpublished paper, University of Manitoba.
- Henry, D. (1990). Interview at the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation. Thompson, Manitoba. November 3, 1990.
- Highway, T. (1989). In G. York, The dispossessed (p. vii-ix). Toronto, Ontario: Lester and Orpen Dennys Publishers.
- Hill, J. (1978). The psychological impact of unemployment. New Society, 23, 118-120.
- Hill, R. B. (1979). Hanta yo. New York: Warner Books.
- Howe, C.Z. (1985). Possibilities for using a qualitative research approach in the sociological study of leisure. Journal of Leisure Research, 17, 212-224.
- Hrenchuk, C.J. (1991). South Indian Lake land use and occupancy. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Manitoba.
- Iso-Ahola, S.E. (1979a). Some social psychological determinants of perceptions of leisure: Preliminary evidence. Leisure Sciences, 2, 395-314.
- Iso-Ahola, S.E. (1979b). Basic dimensions of definitions of leisure. Journal of Leisure Research, 11, 28-39.
- Iso-Ahola, S.E. (1980). The social psychology of leisure and recreation. Dubuque, Iowa: William C Brown Publishers.
- Kaplan, M. (1975). Leisure: Theory and policy. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher.
- Kaplan, M. (1960). In Godbey, G. (1981). Leisure in your life (pg. 128). Philadelphia: Saunders College Publishing.
- Kelly, J.R. (1972). Work and leisure: A simplified paradigm. Journal of Leisure Research, 4, 50-62.

- Kelly, J.R. (1978). Family leisure in three communities. Journal of Leisure Research, 10, 47-60.
- Kelly, J.R. (1982). Leisure. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Locke, L.F. (1989). Qualitative research as a form of scientific inquiry in sport and physical education. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 60, 1-20.
- Mannell, R.C., & Bradley, W. (1986). Does greater freedom always lead to greater leisure? Testing a person X environment model of freedom and leisure. Journal of Leisure Research, 18, 215-230.
- McArthur, P. D. (1987). Dances of the northern plains. Saskatchewan: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre.
- McCall, G.J., & Simmons, J.L. (Eds.). (1969). Issues in participant observation: a text and a reader. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Mohawk words of Thanksgiving, In Canadian Outward Bound (Ed., 1991), Winds of the wilderness, Toronto: The Outward Wilderness School.
- Murphy, J.F., & Howard, D.R. (1977). Delivery of community leisure services: An holistic approach. Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger.
- Native Education Branch. (1988). Native studies. Middle years. Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Education.
- Neal, L., & Coles, R. (1989). Liveable winter cities--leisure attitudes and activities. Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, 60, 35-64.
- Neulinger, J. (1974). The psychology of leisure. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.
- Noe, F. (1970). A comparative typology of leisure in non-industrialized society. Journal of Leisure Research, 2, 30-42.
- Paget, A.M. (1909). People to the plains. Toronto: William Briggs.
- Pellitier, W. (1971). For every North American Indian who begins to disappear I begin to disappear. Toronto: Neewin Publishing Company Ltd.

- Pratt, R. (1979). Native Americans vs. domestic capitalist expansion. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August.
- Roadburg, A. (1983). Freedom and enjoyment. Disentangling perceived leisure. Journal of Leisure Research, 15, 15-26.
- Sando, J.S., & Scholer, E.A. (1976). Programming for native Americans. Parks and Recreation, 11, 24-26, 53-54.
- Sarkadi, L. (1992). Switching channels or cultures in the North? Edmonton Journal. March 27, 1992.
- Seattle, Chief. (1854). Speech at a tribal assembly. In M. Caduto & J. Bruchac (Eds. 1989), Keepers of the earth (p. 4). Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum, Inc.
- Shaw, S. (1985). The meaning of leisure in everyday life. Leisure Sciences, 7, 1-23.
- Sinclair, L. (1992a). Lecture at the University of Alberta, March 24, 1992.
- Sinclair, L. (1992b). Healing through the Native American Tradition. Conference: Edmonton, Alberta. March 13-14.
- Smith, S. (1980). On the biological basis of pleasure: some implications for leisure policy. In T. Goodale & P. Witt (Eds.), Recreation and leisure: Issues in an era of change (pp. 50-62). Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Storm, H. (1972). Seven arrows. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Snyder, G. (1990). The practice of the wild. San Francisco: North Point Press.
- Thistle, P. (1986). Indian-European trade relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River region to 1840. Winnipeg, Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press.
- Van Kirk, S. (1980). Many tender ties. Women in fur trade society in Western Canada 1670-1870. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Watson and Dwyer Publishing Ltd.

Winther, N. (1989). Recreation: an agent of social change in remote northern communities. Recreation Canada, 11, 1-5.

York, G. (1989). The Dispossessed. Toronto, Ontario: Lester and Orpen Dennys Publishers.



## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The interviews did not follow these questions in any specific order rather I used these to fall back on when the conversation began to slow down. I tried to go with the flow of conversation and get as much information as I could about what was being said before going back to this list of questions. I tried to use the answers the co-researchers were giving to direct the questioning.

1. What do you like to do with your time?
2. Why do you like to do these things?
3. How do you feel at these times?
4. What do you when you can do anything at all?
5. How often do you do the things you want to do?
6. Who do you like to do these things with?
7. Where do you like to spend your time?
8. What did you like to do as a child? an adolescent?  
What do you think you'll be doing when you get old?
9. Do people in town like to do different things?
10. Are there things you do especially with your family?  
your friends? alone?
11. What is a typical day like for you?
12. What do you like to do in different seasons?
13. What makes you happy? Are you basically happy? What  
would make you happier, more satisfied?

While interviewing, I began to ask about the following:

outdoors	women/men
tradition	activity vs. nothing to do
family	nature
being quiet/alone	seasons
community	visiting/comradery
gambling	internal challenge
flood/changes	health
freedom	fairness/competition
camping	church
living on the trapline	crafts

## APPENDIX B

FIRST SET OF THEMES AND DESCRIPTORS**OUTDOORS**

wildlife  
wild  
nature  
awe of nature  
senses  
wilderness  
peace  
quiet  
simple life  
natural fun  
weather

**RELATIONSHIPS**

family  
comradery  
self-respect  
community  
learning from parents  
                    grandparents  
sense of belonging  
fun competition  
friendship

**TRADITION**

learning  
extrinsic  
adulthood  
work/leisure connected  
Health  
grew up with it  
gambling

**SELF-ACTUALIZATION**

challenge  
excitement  
freedom  
alone  
productive  
active  
busy  
self-reliant  
independence  
self-respect  
purpose  
learning  
responsibility  
accomplishment  
adventure  
satisfaction  
fulfillment

**TIME**

diff. times in life  
seasonal  
lack of activity  
no time limit  
life changes iwthkids  
early families  
"used to be active"  
kids school centered  
sports in early

# FINAL THEMES AND DESCRIPTORS

## **LOVE OF THE OUTDOORS -- AN INNER DRIVE**

wildlife  
wild  
wilderness  
natural fun  
"gotta go"  
excitement  
challenge  
adventure

## **CLOSENESS TO NATURE**

nature  
awe of nature  
senses  
peace  
quiet  
wildlife  
simple life

## **POSITIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS**

comradery  
community  
family  
sense of belonging  
learning from parents  
grandparents  
friendship

## **FACTORS AFFECTING LEISURE BEHAVIOR**

age  
gender  
seasons  
tradition  
employment

## **POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH SELF**

self-reliant  
productive  
busy  
activity  
learning  
responsibility  
accomplishment  
satisfaction  
fulfillment  
self-esteem  
extrinsic  
self-respect  
satisfaction  
independence  
purpose

## **PURSUIT OF FREEDOM**

freedom  
no time limit  
no pressure  
escape  
go where I want to go  
do what I want to do

APPENDIX C  
EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS

**BRENDA**

- |                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Positive relationships with others               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-being in a group (playing vball)</li> <li>-team spirit</li> <li>-it brings the community together</li> <li>-it was nice, like everyone in our family, all these Dysarts, we all play poker</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                              |
| pursuit of freedom                               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-you can go anywhere, like anywhere through the woods, across the lake</li> <li>-it'll take you anywhere you want</li> <li>-it's nice, brings you freedom,</li> <li>-travelling, I'd like to go to Paris, I'd like to go to Germany, anywhere</li> <li>-freedom (of life in summer), it's quiet, it's nice</li> <li>-freedom from drinking</li> </ul>               |
| positive relationship with self                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| self-esteem                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-that was the best day of my life</li> <li>-that's one of the reasons I won't play now, they yell at you and that yelling hurts</li> <li>-when not drinking she has a respect for herself; enjoys the activities she does now that she's not drinking</li> <li>-when the little boy used to chase her out to the street, wait for me, made her feel good</li> </ul> |
| can be extrinsically motivated                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-(enjoys rod and reel fishing because of the activity but also eating the fish) usually evenings we have a pickerel fry, like almost every other day</li> <li>-berry picking and my grandmother making pies for us after we picked the berries</li> </ul>                                                                                                           |
| self-reliance<br>productivity<br>self-sufficient | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-I miss that cause that's all we do when we're out in the bush eh, we use the gas lamp and we have a stove with 4 holes, you put your wood through there, put coffee to heat up on there, you cook on there, bake on there</li> <li>-you go gather sticks for firewood, chop wood, wash your clothes outside</li> </ul>                                             |

closer to the natural world

- I walked out about 10 feet and there was a bear right there, I sat down and watched him
- I like nature, the birds, the acorns you find on the ground, the smell...
- get out and enjoy the fresh air
- the air's so clean
- you can smell the smoke from the fire
- it was really neat, that was the 1st time I've ever seen moose, that small, I was so proud of him
- eating out over the campfire, sleeping out, it's nice
- wash clothes off the dock in the open water
- sees the natural world as a comfortable place in her description of getting lost at 6 and not being scared

activities based on tradition

- even the little kids, they learn early, family tradition
- enjoys life without electricity, things she did as a child
- I love kids

## SHIRLEY

brings her closer to the natural world

-it's the natural beauty. You're looking around, it's there, it's not been destroyed, or anything. The beauty of nature is all around you. All the sounds you hear are not things you hear on a daily basis here.

-I guess you become very cautious about just leaving garbage laying around and destroying the natural beauty of it.

-in the nice moonlit fall, it was just beautiful doing that

pursuit of freedom  
freedom of choice

-it just helps me feel relaxed and just calming down, just to be working so that my mind is off things.

freedom from  
pressure

-But when you're out there, it seems like you're free and there's nothing that you have to get done by this time, you're just free and you're there to enjoy alot of your freedom.

freedom of  
space

-But the whole day was spent, like you'd be in the boat all the time just going out to these spots where the berries were, and you'd go up on these high eskers and come back down and have a snack and go back up and then come home late.

productive  
self-reliant  
positive  
relationship  
with self

-I'd like to go back to that. With no running water, nothing. Doing everything on your own. Hauling your own water, no taps to turn, cutting your own wood, there was always something for you to do and now things are becoming so easy, people are getting lazier. I would love to see back the way we were. That's what I'd like. If I could go back 15 years down the line and live the way we were brought up. Maybe that's the reason why when I retire I want to go back to the trapline, I guess.

can be extrinsically motivated

-That's the other thing I enjoy doing, is berry picking and stocking up berries for the winter.

positive  
relationships  
with others

-(the festival) people together having fun  
-they started last year again, you know the airport, people got together on Sunday, and they were sliding down from the big hill at the airport

specifically  
with family

-the 3 of us and now what we're doing now is fixing up his room, like doing the walls and ripping up the tile and he's always involved in what we're doing.  
-Steve's always taking them out hunting and we go together as a family, so being together as a family and learning our way of life in the past

activities based on tradition

-I learned that I guess from my mom. She's always done it her whole life. I guess that's how I got interested, she used to sit down with me and taught me how to do beadwork. That's probably where the interest came.  
-He enjoys carrying that on (hunting) from when he was growing up. That's what he used to do with his dad.

activities based on gender

-used to go hunting with Steve but now it's the boys turn so she stays home more



APPENDIX D  
EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCHER'S JOURNAL/BRACKETING

Why do I want to do this paper?

Everyone is trying to "help" native people. They are quite capable of helping themselves. Wanting to help them is another form of paternalism. Instead we should find out about them, from them. Try to understand who they are and where they are coming from. I can give them what I have learned and they can use it as they wish.

Who do I think they are?

I have a romantic view of native people, something based on the stories I read as I was growing up. People who lived a pure life, real life, true freedom. People who love the land and knew of its worth. I know that this view is not necessarily reality today. Not sure what they will be like today?

I don't want to appear like I'm "studying" them, I want to learn from them, I want them to share their life experiences with me. Why would they want to talk to me?

Leisure, what is leisure? It's not time, it's not activities -- well activities happen during leisure, leisure activities, but it is more than that. It's how you are feeling, it's what motivates you to do these activities, it's what makes you happy. Work can be leisure? Work can happen during leisure, it's all in your state of mind.

By finding out what they like to do -- will that be their meaning to leisure? Is leisure a part of the normal vocabulary there? By asking what do you like to do -- is that asking what leisure is? Then from what to why? What feelings do they get? What do they think about when they do these things?

What do you consider work? No work? What's leisure? Time when you are satisfied, enjoying life? Freedom, where does one feel true freedom? On the trails? While hunting?

Can I do this? I can be so intimidated by native people because I have put them on a pedestal. Remember they are just people.

When I tell people what I'm doing, so many laugh and say that's all they know -- leisure or they say beer. Why has it come to this? Why do people have prejudices so strongly ingrained? Don't they know it's because of white people that the natives have these problems? They

**Sunday October 7**

Kids setting snares, teens driving for driving sake, a boy using old coffee table for sled, big Edmonton Oilers fans.

Questions:

- games      - skidooing to get away?
- hunting    - what is the big attraction to the outdoors?
- feelings

What is leisure?

**Tuesday October 9**

At dinner at Hilda's she talked about setting snares around town, gets in your blood, parents raised us fishing, hunting.

Go out just to be away from the community, go where the fishing's good. William said he hunts, traps, fishes, because it's good to be there, not for a livelihood or a job, it's good to be there. Your cabin is where you are when it gets dark. Says he'll buy a licence but if they get caught up in bureaucracy, he goes when he goes.

Hunt when the animals are there. Like the geese are here in the spring, not in the fall, don't want to go 500 miles for the geese in geese season in the fall.

Justice Inquiry -- JJ Harper was blown out of proportion, Betty Lee was not fair.

William said a holiday is doing nothing.

Tonight was a leisure experience, people dropping in, pulling up a chair, started with 6 for dinner, ended up serving at least 10.

**Friday October 12**

Observation: kids at play ground were hearty, aggressive, pushing and shoving but not much crying, quite daring on equipment, 2 bloody noses, kids playing with an old door frame.

**Monday October 15**

Went to women's volleyball night, only men playing, a few girls in sight but no women.

Quietest volleyball game I've ever seen, good skills, no keeping score.

Walking home was so quiet, only sounds of snow mobiles, kids shouting in fun.

**Tuesday October 16**

Themes I think may be arising:

outdoors, nature, wildlife, some kind of attraction....

family, friends, people just dropping by, camaraderie

traditional activities, hunting, fishing, berry-picking

work is positive, well not work as in job but work as in cut firewood, haul water, cook on open fire....

life in the bush, simple life

**Wednesday October 17**

Seems that women have become less active as Hilda and Harriet have talked about active parties, baseball all summer.

Stop asking what it is like but what do you like about it?

Gail says the flood is an excuse for some people.

What do I want people to say??? Lots of stories.

Observation: Lesley and George working on a snowmobile in the morning then the cabin later that day. Whatever comes up next?

Ask more about what a day is like? How often do you get to do the things you really like to do?

Wow, people have been so accepting! Only old Robert was too shy, I hope that was it.

**Friday October 19**

What am I finding?

Outdoors, everything is outdoors!

So much tradition.

Nature

women and men different activities -- but traditional.

People want to be at the trapline, fishcamps, simple life.

young men? what do they do? Many are going trapping or working at the school, or stuff around but there's lots who don't do much.

Young women would be the same except they have kids to fill their time.

**Sunday October 21**

I'm in church, singing in Cree, only older women, 4 men, 2 or 3 families, about 45 people. Women visiting after around the stove.

Later: kids out snowmobiling 10:34pm, they'll be out for a few more hours until they run out of gas. Guess the kids can't have jobs yet so nothing interferes with fun.

**Tuesday October 23**

Am I getting a true picture? Everyone I talk to says alot the same, but what about the folks that don't do anything, who are drunk, who hang out?

**Wednesday October 24**

Themes that are emerging:

outdoors, natural fun

tradition, grow up with it, gotta be there...

something about finding oneself or what's that word

Maslow uses -- self-actualization, looking after

oneself, doing things for oneself...?

outdoors? nature, wildlife, wild spaces, freedom, peace, quiet, alone?

competition vs cooperation -- naaaaa

being together? families, community festival  
 age? time?  
 male vs female

#### **Thursday October 25**

Conversation with a consultant from Frontier: I said about how the young people don't like to leave, there's nothing to do here, but they are drawn back. She said, ya but they gotta go, like in my home town. There's nothing to do so kids leave, it's a fact of life. BUT when they leave they are white, the world is much the same out there for them. Here it is very different, there's racism, the family structure is different, support is gone, the values in the white world are so different, time is so different... She's got to see this!!

#### **Sunday October 27**

In church again, mostly older women with their grandchildren, gather around the wood stove after walking in sub zero temps to church. Young boy just telling his friend how he shot a ptarmigan and brought him down, he must be 11 or 12. One little guy with his grandma has a fox collar sewed on his store bought ski jacket, and leather gauntlet type mitts, high top leather bball shoes, a real mix of cultures.

People laugh somewhat the same, pull back and make a sound and some people point with their lips. Three old ladies sitting around laughing and chatting about going to the trapline (Rosie told me what they were talking about).

#### **Wednesday October 30**

So looking at all this:

- outdoors seems to run through it all
- nature, wilderness, quiet, peace, freedom
- traditional activity
- desire to be busy, active
- for women, families/kids become very important
- older people flood changed alot
- work is enjoyable, most people are happy to be working, desire to have a job
- less activity as time goes on, for everyone not just older people, I guess as people lead a more sedentary life

**September 18, 1991**

Why this study?

- to understand, spend time with, get to know native people
- not everyone can do this so I want to write of what I learned to inform others
- what good is it?
- inform those not living there, can be used by the people in the community to meet their own needs

What is leisure to these people, not how it fits into current definitions...

Still enjoy hunt/gather, more non-work time, some types of work is leisure...

Alcohol, abuse, sniffing, troubles in the community are beyond the scope of this study....