

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND THE MICMAC OF NOVA SCOTIA

by

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### ABSTRACT

This thesis will examine the programs and policies of the Department of Indian Affairs in light of their almost complete failure to bring any measure of development on Micmac reserves of Nova Scotia. This failure is attributed to the absence of a clear understanding, on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs, of contemporary Micmac culture, values and social organization, and how these factors must be integrated into any plan for Micmac community development. Certain aspects of Micmac culture are discussed as integral to the establishment of a more compatible development process and are in antithesis to the value system upon which Indian Affairs programs and policies are based. Ethnicity is discussed as both the tool through which to promote cultural integrity on reserves through culturally defined development strategies, and the political vehicle through which to gain support for their politically stated goals of community-centred development and self-determination. The basic argument is that Micmac people must be given control over development processes at the reserve level, so that economic, political, social and educational institutions may be created based on the culturally defined needs and interests of the population they are intended to serve.

## RESUME

Cette thèse examine les programmes et les politiques du Ministère des Affaires Indiennes dans les réserves Micmac de Nouvelle-Ecosse. Les échecs répétés de ces programmes sont attribuables à un manque de compréhension, de la part du Ministère, de la culture Micmac contemporaine et à une absence d'intégration des valeurs et des principes d'organisation sociale en vigueur dans les réserves Micmac aux politiques de développement communautaire mises de l'avant par le Ministère. Certains aspects de la culture Micmac sont en conflit avec les politiques du Ministère. Pourtant tout programme intégré de développement communautaire devrait tenir compte de ces aspects culturels.

L'ethnicité est considérée comme un moyen de promouvoir, au niveau des réserves, une intégrité culturelle à travers des objectifs et des stratégies de développement culturellement définis. L'ethnicité est aussi considérée comme un instrument politique efficace pour gagner l'appui nécessaire à la poursuite des objectifs de développement communautaire et des objectifs d'auto-détermination. Les Micmacs doivent avoir un contrôle direct sur les processus de développement au niveau local. Il leur sera alors possible de créer des institutions politiques, économiques, sociales et éducationnelles qui seront mieux adaptées aux besoins culturels et aux intérêts des populations qu'elle serviront.

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### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge first the support of my thesis advisor, Dr. Carmen Lambert, members of my Committee, Dr. John Galaty and Dr. Richard Salisbury, and Dr. Jerome Barkow, who all provided me with helpful and concise criticism throughout the various stages of writing this thesis. In addition, a summer fellowship from the McGill Centre for Northern Studies and Research and a Quebec Bursary assisted in funding the research involved in the writing of this thesis.

Secondly I would like to thank Stuart Killen, Research Director for the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, who supported my fieldwork and provided me with an opportunity to live and work on Micmac reserves.

Next I would like to thank the Micmac leaders and populations of Nova Scotia, who accepted me into their homes and spoke honestly of their goals and frustrations.

Lastly, I would like to thank the members of the Chapel Island Band Council and staff, and in particular Russell Marshall, whose trust in me has provided me with invaluable experiences, and made the writing of this thesis possible.

## INTRODUCTION

While the Department of Indian Affairs has the explicit goal of promoting the development and self-sufficiency of the Micmac people of Nova Scotia, it has been largely unsuccessful in alleviating the situation of chronic welfare dependency on Micmac reserves through Departmental programs and policies. In actuality, as I will later argue, the Indian Affairs bureaucracy has been largely instrumental in creating and perpetuating the current situation of almost total Micmac dependency on government aid in its various forms. Reasons behind this failure to promote economic independence are multi-dimensional: a lack of cognizance, on the part of most bureaucrats, of the existence of Micmac culture, values and social organization; the absence of understanding that white man economic enterprises are heavily dependent upon culture, values and social organization radically different from Micmac society; and in the place of a coordinated approach to socio-economic development, the provision of a welfare economy which has only magnified the dependency of Micmac people on the government, and succeeded in increasing community "purchasing" rather than "producing" power.

The goals and objectives of the Department of Indian Affairs with regard to the development of Indian communities are analyzed in terms of its role as intermediary between the dominant economic and political structure, and its interests with regard to aboriginal peoples. The implicit function of Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) policies aimed at

fostering reserve development is the cultural homogenization of these populations so that their values and interests correspond with those of the status quo, and the gradual assimilation of native population into the global economic system. This process is ensured by total governmental control over funding and its utilization. Economic needs of Indian populations are answered in primarily two ways.

The first is through welfare grantism in its various forms, from direct benefits to individuals or families, to provision of housing, special needs, adult care, education (including post-secondary), medical and dental treatment. With a welfare dependency of approximately 92% on reserves, it is evident the Micmac people rely primarily on this type of economic security for a multitude of reasons which will be further discussed. The second form of economic relief is government sponsored economic/employment development, which is dominated by the provision of short-term work projects such as Canada Works. These make-work projects are utilized primarily to hire men from the reserve in housing construction, which, being a non-profit making activity, effectively denies any long-term economic spinoff from the allocation of these funds. Other types of economic aid through loans or contributions to on-reserve businesses have produced negligible results as these ventures have normally been subject to a number of constraints such as external markets, ongoing injection of funds, management skills and required productivity levels. Historically, government has focused on efforts to link on-reserve business into the external economy, rather than emphasizing the satisfaction of the internal needs of the community through the application of land-based, more self-sufficiency oriented

programs. This direct injection of funds into the reserve to support isolated labour or business projects without supporting community infrastructure has resulted in the almost complete drainage of funds outside the community.

This emphasis on job creation illustrates the conflict between the long-term goals of the Indian Affairs bureaucracy, that being to increase the economic and political independence of Indian people, with the short-term means imposed on the bureaucracy for measuring its success. As institutionalized labour, whether short or long term, reduces welfare statistics, utilization of work programs produces immediate quantifiable results. This benefits the continued job security of the individual bureaucrat and the overall success rate of the bureaucracy. While it is generally recognized that a minimal period of five years is necessary before the average new business can become financially self-sufficient, Indian Affairs consistently expects on-reserve businesses to turn a profit within a year or two, and rarely provides guaranteed ongoing support funding during the crucial first five years. Apparently the major concern of Indian Affairs is the accountability, administration and early profitability of these ventures as these are areas in which they are judged by Treasury Board, rather than on their success in meeting long-term goals. Evidently, it is a bureaucracy geared towards meeting short-term goals, while the challenge of establishing economic development on Indian reserves requires long-term solutions. A major concern of this thesis is the need to redesign the Indian Affairs bureaucracy so that its interests meet its stated objectives and the



needs of the Indians, not the interests of individual bureaucrats or the short-term goals imposed by Treasury Board.

The Department of Indian Affairs can be perceived as having to answer to two masters; one being the Indian people of Canada who are in many ways 'wards' of the federal government, and the other being the federal government and the public interests it represents. However diligently the Departmental bureaucrat seeks to remedy the needs and interests of Indian people, he is ultimately restricted in the services available, and method of delivery by the policy and operational guidelines of the DIA which are passed down by government.

If analyzed in terms of the relative power associated with each of these two 'masters', it is evident that the Department has as its ultimate interest the preservation of the status quo. This objective is easily rationalized by DIA bureaucrats through their misconception that the social, economic, educational and political interests of Indian people will be best facilitated by promoting their access to the dominant institutions. Regardless of whether or not the needs and interests of Indian people lead them in a parallel course of development, the Department of Indian Affairs, in every policy directive and program delivered, assumes a consensus of values and interests. (The only notable exception to this policy appears in the education program, where the Department addresses the need for community-based schooling as a means through which to support cultural integrity and local interests. In the Atlantic Region this has resulted in the establishment

of many on-reserve schools, where the Band, being exempt from provincial curriculum requirements, has the opportunity to make innovative changes.) This assertion is corroborated by the statements made by numerous DIA Program and Policy Directors, Planners and support staff that Micmacs have no culture, and that their assimilation of white values and interests has been complete. This provides them with a simple yet effective way of covering their ignorance of Micmac culture and social life (most DIA employees spend no time whatsoever on reserves), and of justifying the goals and objectives of their programs.

The Department of Indian Affairs, for purposes of this analysis, is perceived as an intermediary for the interests of the industrial economy, and thus of government with regard to Indian populations. The individual serves the industrial system by consuming its products, and the planning sector of the economy, aided by government, must ensure that there is a steady market for its goods and services. Thus the planning sector of the economy holds it as a maxim to control the environment in which it operates, through seeking to determine the perception of needs and interests of the consumer population.

Galbraith (1967) discusses this process of consumer persuasion as "cultivation of useful belief", and discusses the contemporary relationship between producer and consumer as one where individuals are becoming increasingly more susceptible to the interests of the corporate economy; an economy where the producers, not the consumers, are defining the needs and interests of the population they supposedly serve, and by some coincidence also possess the means toward gratification of these wants.

The effects of consumer persuasion in industrial societies is evident; the economy is in effect assuming the role previously assigned to culture in defining the needs, interests and values of the general public, and matching every supposed need with an array of commodities to ensure individual satisfaction. People more and more come to define happiness through a standard of living prescribed by levels of consumption. Control by the industrial economy over the consumer public is characterized by a homogenization of cultural differences over time as people of differing ethnic groups are persuaded to adopt the values and interests which complement the goals of the industrial state. As Levitt (1974: 76) describes...

Because economies of scale in research, design and technology are realized by spreading costs over total output, the global profitability of the international corporation is assisted by every influence which eliminates cultural resistance to the consumption patterns of the metropolis. The corporation thus has a vested interest in the destruction of cultural differences and in a homogenized way of life the world over.... For the corporation, there is no shortage of capital - only a shortage of homogenized consumers.

In addition, the technostucture has another concern with regard to the consumer - that is, that the public has sufficient access to income which will allow it to purchase a steady supply of goods and services. Persuasion on the part of the technostucture will come to naught if the consumer public does not have sufficient access to income to allow it to purchase commodities. Therefore, one of the main concerns of the industrial planning sector and the state is that unemployment be restricted and that all individuals have a steady income (through steady income, U.I.C. or Welfare) to ensure a stable level of national

consumption. The interests of the state and the industrial economy are intertwined; one in the name of profit, the other in the name of public good. Both seek the advancement of structured employment for capital gain, both have a mandate to ensure every individual has an income to support a dependency on a consumptive lifestyle. Both are opposed to development of alternative lifestyles based on individual or community self-sufficiency, as this reduces the individual's dependence on the industrial economy and thus his level of consumption.

The Department of Indian Affairs illustrates its level of cooperation with the goals of the industrial state through its measurement of development on Indian reserves as an increased standard of living as defined by national standards: that being increasing levels of consumption and dependency on the goods and services of the external economy. Programs for economic development are designed in isolation from the communities they are intended to serve, and the encapsulation of various programs within Indian Affairs is reflected in the isolation within which economic development is imposed apart from social, educational, infrastructure and cultural development. As Manuel (1974:206) states:

We are expected to create economic development without any of the things that CIDA, DREE, or the United Nations consider essential to real economic change: human resource development; a program to train and upgrade our manpower potential; proper educational facilities fashioned to meet local needs; improved community services such as water, roads, sewerage, hydro; total economic and social planning at the local level that will encourage people to stay in the area so that their technical and leadership skills will be there to be used.

All economic development dollars are externally controlled and allocated by the Department of Indian Affairs, with the individual or business forced to comply with the constraints of program regulations, the inefficient delivery of dollars, and the supervision and direction of Department of Indian Affairs Business Services Officers - in other words, control by 'outsiders'. This perception of Indian Affairs control and involvement, and the hostility and frustration it creates, has been well documented by numerous discussions with on-reserve entrepreneurs in all twelve Nova Scotia Bands.

A discussion of the problems of underdevelopment on Micmac reserves compels us to look at the issue of political control. The Micmac, and other Indian groups across the country, are advocating community control over all aspects of its development, to replace the present role of the Department of Indian Affairs, as prescribed by the Government of Canada within the Indian Act, "to manage the affairs of Indians". The authority, responsibility and resources to administer every aspect of the lives of Indian people still rests primarily with the Department. This situation has been characterized as a 'radical monopoly' (Beaver, 1979, National Indian Socio-Economic Development Committee Report:26).

In the case of Indian people, the Government of Canada, and particularly Indian Affairs, possesses a radical monopoly because it has taken on the exclusive control over the definition and the purported satisfaction of almost all the basic human needs (healing, teaching, provision of food and shelter, burying the dead) to the point that it restricts or inhibits the natural competence of people to provide for themselves.

The Department's shift in emphasis from assimilation to development since 1969 has resulted in greater intervention on the part of Indian Affairs in all aspects of reserve life. However, the Department's policy equates development with maximization of material good, with little understanding of the culture and social life of the people involved and the fact that all elements of social structure, culture, values, economics, education and Band government must be integrated into any meaningful plan for on-reserve development.

Another approach, and one which this thesis will advocate, is to focus on development "as a process of increasing the communities' perceived level of well-being" (Henderson and Barsh, 1979). This subjective interpretation of development requires that goals and standards be set by political and social processes within the community. As aspirations and values tend to be most consistent at the smallest levels of community organization, effective planning and the impetus for development must rest at the Band level. This premise corresponds to the basis for Canadian federalism, which recognizes the principle that individual freedom and welfare are greatest in an association of communities, each possessing some measure of independent power to serve its needs, i.e. provinces, counties, district municipalities, municipal corporations (Henderson and Barsh, 1979).

The need for native control over native development has been advocated by a number of native and non-native spokespersons, Cardinal (1969, 1977), Manuel (1974), DeLoria Jr. (1970), NWT Indian Brotherhood (1975), Usher (1973), Brody (1975), Watkins (1977), Puxley (1977), Bean (1977), National Indian

Brotherhood (1977). The case for native community-based control and development has recently and most strongly been advocated by the National Indian Socio-Economic Development Committee (NISED, 1979), a group commissioned jointly by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Department of Indian Affairs, with a mandate to assess existing governmental programs and structures and develop advice on policy with respect to Indian socio-economic development. The Report states:

In essence, Indian reserves remain in a state of social disorder and poverty because the development philosophy of the Department of Indian Affairs has been inappropriately conceived. The development of Indian communities cannot be 'programmed' in a linear fashion or at a rate of change independent of the ability of people to participate in it. It must evolve from both the availability of factors of production, and their mobility. Most importantly, development must be grounded in the non-material aspects of Indian culture that are indigenous to the whole society.... Therefore, there is theoretical and practical validity to the strong emphasis given by Indian people that only a 'holistic approach' to development determined at the level of the community will materially affect the socio-economic condition on the reserve. To implement this new approach to development the authority, responsibility and resources for development must rest with and be controlled by the political level of Band government.

Development, thus stated, emphasizes both the material and non-material aspects of culture, and is based on the aspirations of the people that the programs are designed to serve. Development must evolve from the skills and aspirations which are indigenous to the society. Only through self-defined and controlled development, and devolution of governmental responsibilities to Micmac institutions will the native people of Nova Scotia be able to advance their self-stated goals and interests. Transferring control over development from Indian Affairs bureaucrats to Micmac people is also recommended as a means to reduce the present level

of apathy and frustration with which Micmac politicians and administrators increasingly perceive the whole question of 'development', and as a means to increase creative thinking towards solutions to problems which rest at the community level.

The Contemporary Context:

In 1982 there are approximately 5900 Micmacs living in Nova Scotia, with the largest percentage occupying the reserves of Eskasoni (approximately 2000) and Shubenacadie (approximately 600). With an estimated annual growth rate of 2-3%, the population should be 6194 in 1985, and 6706 in 1990 (Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), Dalhousie University, 1976).

There has been a gradual decline in the birthrate over the years: the pattern in Indian, as in non-Indian society, has been to restrict family growth for economic reasons, which has been facilitated by the increased use in family planning and a gradual falling away from the strict doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The Micmac birthrate is still higher than the national average: in Chapel Island Reserve the average per family is four children, as compared to the average non-Indian family of two children or less. This example is somewhat indicative of other Micmac communities and may be attributed to the cultural value Micmac people place on having many children and the fact that welfare makes large families more economically possible.

The average educational level of Band members in 1975 was 7.3 years with nearly 50% of the population having less than grade 10. Fifty-three percent



of the Micmac workforce had less than grade 9 as compared with only 18% of the provincial workforce. In 1975 only 5% of the native workforce had some post-secondary education as compared with 40% of the provincial workforce (IPA, 1976).

There has been a significant shift in the educational achievement of the Micmacs over the past thirty years. The 1976 data illustrates that while only 13% of individuals over 35 years (35 - 55 years) had achieved grade ten or higher and only 1% of those over 55 years, of the adult on-reserve population between the ages of 20 to 35, 34% had achieved grade ten or higher (DPA Consultants, 1982). A Chapel Island survey done in 1978 indicated the average grade level of respondents was nine, with a breakdown as follows (Kuhn, 1978:28):

Educational Level of Respondents:

<u>Under</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>Vocational/University</u>
1		2	2	5	6	8	9	5	4	6	2 / 7

There is an increasing emphasis among Micmac parents to encourage children to excel academically as a means to escape the poverty and dependency which characterizes the reserve. As a result, there are currently 50 Micmac students enrolled in universities, with many others attending business or vocational trades training. Creation of skilled jobs on the reserve will ensure that Micmac communities may benefit from this trend and that Micmac professionals may lend their expertise and provide role models to their communities in all areas of development.

In 1982, it is estimated that between 85 to 92% of Micmacs are statistically unemployed (Union of Nova Scotia Indians (UNSI) Files).

These percentages vary from season to season as the availability of short-term employment through government sponsored projects usually provides jobs for ten to twenty percent of the on-reserve workforce for periods of thirteen to twenty weeks. In 1975, 37 to 49% of rural Nova Scotians received Social Assistance as compared to 64% of the native population. For the non-Indian group, approximately two-thirds of the assistance was in the form of old age pensions while for the Micmac population two-thirds of the assistance was in the form of welfare provided through Indian Affairs (DPA Consultants, 1982). Social Assistance contributions to Bands usually amount to one-half of the total assistance provided to the Band by the Department of Indian Affairs to support all programs. For example, in 1982 the Social Assistance budget of the Chapel Island Band will amount to \$350,000 (not including potential program overexpenditures) as compared to the total Band budget of \$700,000.

Occupational skills on all reserves are concentrated in the areas of wood harvesting, fishing (Cape Breton), construction and administration. For example, in Chapel Island Reserve, 1978 statistics indicate that of the total male/female workforce of 98, fifteen individuals stated skills at wood harvesting, twenty-eight at construction, eight at fishing and ten at Band administration (Chapel Island Community Profile, 1978:36). Construction skills are learned primarily on-the-job in government sponsored housing construction and repair programs (Community Development Program), while administration through Band government provides employment to at

least 10% of the total workforce. The proportion of the on-reserve workforce involved in hunting, fishing, trapping, forestry and Band government is more than double that of the Nova Scotia workforce (DPA Consultant, 1982). Some examples of fairly stable on-reserve businesses include: service industries on some reserves such as convenience stores, gas stations and fuel service; the Crane Cove Oyster Farm and Obomweg Woodworkers in Eskasoni (Cape Breton); the Abenaki Motor Inn, Marshall Cabinet Shop and the tubular steel factory in Millbrook (mainland); numerous logging and trucking companies in Eskasoni; craft operations in Millbrook, Whycocomagh, Eskasoni and Chapel Island; and many independent construction firms including drywall, excavation, electrical, plumbing and cement contractors. These various businesses, in conjunction with band administration, may provide tax-free incomes of \$30,000 annually and higher to their owners. However, they are few in number and, combined with the relatively small number of employees they require, they do little to affect the overall unemployment level of Micmac reserves.

There are significant differences between the mainland Nova Scotia and Cape Breton bands; Cape Breton Micmac populations are more involved in natural resource-based occupations such as fishing, hunting, trapping and wood harvesting (23% as compared to 3%) than mainland reserves, which are more involved in off-reserve employment, manufacturing and service-related industries. This is also reflected in statistically higher unemployment rates in Cape Breton than in the mainland (75% as compared to 52% in 1975: IPA, 1976). This may be attributed to the fact that Cape Breton is more geographically isolated from industrial centres and

associated opportunities, with the establishment of road links to the mainland a fairly recent event. These differences spell out diverging paths for economic development based on the interests and the indigenous skills of the populations involved.

This situation has also resulted in greater cultural integrity among the Cape Breton Micmacs: with the Micmac language the first language in all reserves; a much stronger and more traditional family and social structure (57% of the Cape Breton Micmac population is under 35 years as compared with 47% of the mainland native population); and culture providing the vehicle for articulation of social, political, economic and educational goals on the reserves. This compares with mainland populations and politicians who express more desire to integrate into existing non-Indian economic and educational institutions or to provide parallel institutions on the reserve and to create greater employment mobility for their people off the reserve. These perceived differences in values and interests create a situation of factionalism between Cape Breton and mainland bands at the political level and impedes their ability to organize and further the development goals of the Micmac people of Nova Scotia. This situation will be further discussed at the conclusion of this thesis.

While criticisms of the Department of Indian Affairs abound in terms of its general ineffectiveness in meeting stated objectives of the development of Indian and Inuit communities, less attention has been paid to analyzing the value system and interests upon which current programs and policies are

based, and how these interests may conflict with the culture and aspirations of the populations they are intended to serve. While considerable attention has been paid to the socio-economic ramifications for native communities of industrial wage labour in the north, less attention has been given to how similar development and in particular, government policy, affects the cultural integrity of more southern-based native populations. A theoretical contribution of this thesis is an examination of this subtle process of assimilation being advanced through the delivery of various Indian Affairs programs on Micmac reserves of Nova Scotia.

In addition, while there is a clear attitude on the part of most Micmac people and politicians in particular that the white mode of economic development is not compatible with Micmac culture and community life, there exists no articulation of what cultural factors exist which may be in conflict with these non-Indian values as represented in DIA programs and policies for economic development. A theoretical and practical contribution of this thesis is a discussion of contemporary Micmac culture and how tribal values may form the basis for a potentially more compatible form of socio-economic development on Micmac reserves where retention of cultural values and a Micmac way of life is a matter of community and political concern. This thesis is thus a discussion of issues involved in development anthropology and applied anthropology.

My analysis will commence with an overview of Micmac aboriginal economic life and discussion of Micmac - European contact. The metropolis/hinterland model developed by Innis (1956) provides the most appropriate framework for this discussion of the early collapse of the traditional Micmac economy and the ensuing absorption of Micmac people into the fur trade economy. This period of Micmac-European contact set the stage for the increasing dependency of the Micmac on the external economy over which they exercised little control. The period of British colonial rule until confederation is discussed as it established the relationship between the Micmac and the government and the system of wardship which developed provided the framework for later government policy towards native people.

Chapter II focuses on discussion of the policies and programs of the Department of Indian Affairs over the last hundred years and how these programs have served as a destructive force fragmenting the cultural, social and economic bonds of Micmac communities. The role of the Department of Indian Affairs is perceived as meeting the interests of the dominant political and economic institutions through the destruction of the economic base of the Micmac people and in its place, the provision of a grant economy which maintains a situation of dependency on Micmac reserves.

Chapter III includes discussion of historical and contemporary Micmac culture and values as they are restricting the adaptation of Micmac people to the economic system imposed on their society by government programs and policies. A clearer understanding of Micmac community life

as it exists apart from government programs contributes to a better understanding of how Micmac and white value systems clash when government programs are imposed with little understanding of the cultural forces within the communities they are seeking to develop.

Conclusions form the basis of the last chapter, including directions for future socio-economic and political change within Micmac communities based on the community-centred model of development. Current problems in political leadership are discussed, including the factionalism which exists between bands within the provincial association regarding the direction which development efforts should take and how related goals and objectives should be articulated at the political level. This factionalism results in lack of clearcut direction and action and thus exacerbates the socio-economic plight of Micmac communities. It is recommended that community-based control over development would assist in alleviating the need for political unity over development strategies and result in clear goal focus at the local level.

Methodology:

The fieldwork towards my Master's degree is divided into two parts. The first, carried out in the summer of 1978, under the auspices of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, involved travel to all twelve reserves in Nova Scotia as well as other reserves in New Brunswick. Informal interviews were held with Chief and Councils, economic entrepreneurs on reserves and individuals who attempted to enter into business with assistance provided from the Indian Economic Development Fund (I.E.D.F.), in order to discuss problems with this approach to economic development and possible alternatives. Effort was also made to observe the more traditional economic activities of Micmac Indians such as berry-picking in Maine, pulp cutting, hunting and fishing, in order to draw comparisons between jobs and job creation as it is envisioned by the DIA and economic activities as they have been in the past and are currently being undertaken by Indians on their own initiative and planning. Through observation of these activities, values and objectives of Indian people with regard to employment become more readily apparent.

In addition to interviews among Indian people on reserves, economic development among native people was discussed with various officials within the Department of Indian Affairs, both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in order to ascertain the priorities as they are seen by people in a position to structure and implement programs. Focus was also placed on whether these officials felt there existed any conflict of interest between the Department of Indian Affairs and Indian clients in terms of economic development interests and objectives.



The second part of my research involves ongoing employment with the Chapel Island Band Council as Research and Planning Consultant since September of 1978. As part of my job contract, the Chapel Island Community Profile was researched and published, a one hundred page report which documents the human and physical resources of the on-reserve population in addition to defining the occupational and community development aspirations of the Chapel Island Band. An effort was made to document the criteria economic development projects should follow with regard to management structure, salaries, work hours and type of production. This document lays down in detail the occupational structure of the reserve, population trends, educational levels and employment skills, and provides the basis for information upon which many statements in this thesis are based. As a follow-up to the Community Profile, a Chapel Island Community Plan was developed which describes the community's development goals in terms of planning, capital requirements, project description and potential funding sources. These two documents fully equip the Band Council to enter into long-term planning and funding agreements with the Department of Indian Affairs and other funding agencies.

In addition, ongoing involvement with the delivery of Department of Indian Affairs programs and policies has given me an invaluable opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of these programs in meeting their stated goals at the community level and insight into the factors which deny their effectiveness. This expertise has been utilized by Indian Affairs as I have acted in a consultant capacity to advise District and Regional branches on program and policy development. I have also assisted the Union of

Nova Scotia Indians on an ongoing basis in the monitoring of Canada Employment Commission policy towards native people, in drafting of regional housing policy, in evaluation of the Band Work Process Program (DIAND), and in the development of an alternative format for economic development based on community-based control and family-centred projects. This ongoing consultation and involvement with the Micmac people at the provincial, Band Council and community level has provided me with the insights upon which this thesis is based, as the ideas stated are primarily a reflection of attitudes and concerns as expressed to me by the Micmac people of Nova Scotia.

## I. MICMAC/EUROPEAN CONTACT

Aboriginally the Micmac Indians occupied a territory of over fifty thousand square miles, from the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec to most of New Brunswick outside of the St. John River Valley, to all of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. While limited farming took place during the summer months, the Micmacs mostly lived a migratory existence of fishing, hunting and gathering. They moved with the seasons in an annual cycle. Small bands lived near the coast in January to fish for smelts, cod, seal, and walrus. Larger groups spent the months of February and March inland, hunting for deer, moose, beaver, and bear. By the end of March the Indians moved back to the coast to form villages where they remained from April to October harvesting shellfish, eels, lobster, crab, fish and hunting wild fowl. In the summer months their diet was supplemented by small farming plots of grain and vegetables (S. Henderson: pers. comm.), roots, berries and nuts. As fall approached, villages began to break up as the Micmacs moved inland to smaller groups to hunt and fish. In January they moved downstream to start the cycle again (Upton, 1979:2). The Micmacs had no permanent settlements but they did possess traditional and well defined sites which they occupied year after year. Their technology was appropriate to their needs and limited to available resources; skin clothing and footwear, bark canoes and wigwams, bark dishes and containers, shoes and bows and arrows and knives fashioned of wood and rock flint.

The first Europeans to bring their ways to the Micmacs were the coastal fishermen who were largely, but not exclusively, French. Trade between

the Indians and the fishermen commenced sometime in the first quarter of the sixteenth century with the Micmacs trading furs for whatever the fishermen could spare, including foodstuffs, alcohol, knives and other metal goods. As the Micmacs gathered on the same coastal sites each summer they could be located easily. This form of trade became so profitable for the fishermen that they returned annually until the end of the seventeenth century and by the end of the sixteenth century, financially justified the establishment of settlements and missionaries in the Maritime region.

The infiltration of the French fur trading economy into Micmac society occurred easily as nothing new was required of the Micmacs who had aboriginally hunted the animals whose pelts now proved to be highly valuable commodities. European goods introduced through trade simply made the old way of life easier as guns were more efficient than arrows, metal pots more durable than bark, and iron knives more functional for skinning and fashioning of wood and bark. However, it changed the annual subsistence pattern from sustained food gathering, particularly of marine resources, to hunting for beaver, moose, mink and otter pelts, combined with long periods of inactivity; from self-sufficiency to reliance on foreign foodstuffs and goods purchased, not made.

Their relationship to the world around them also changed as the bond which united man to animals was lost in the rising spirit of materialism and commerce and the Micmacs began to adopt a more European perspective of exploiting rather than living with the natural environment. The demands of the fur trade also eroded their traditional leadership

structure as the Europeans found it increasingly necessary to hold one individual accountable for payment of goods received. As the Chief was often either not recognized by the Europeans or not available, they would appoint their own trade boss who came to increasingly undermine the position of the traditional chief through the power he maintained in the trading economy.

The presence of the Catholic priests also challenged the traditional spiritual life of the Micmac which was already undermined by the fur trade economy and the authority of the traditional religious leader, the buoin. Priests were useful in that they could communicate with the French, traders, settler or soldiers, and also provide spiritual leadership in the contemporary context of rapid Micmac culture change due to European contact. The priests assisted the fur traders by settling the Micmacs into trading camps where they could be easily located and by teaching them European values and the language of the fur trade.

The development of the fur trade transformed the Micmac economy from one of self-sufficiency and independence to one of hinterland, with a newly-established economic role as supplier of natural resources to the metropolitan region of France where goods were manufactured. Thus economic needs and interests external to Micmac society commenced to dictate the economic activities in this hinterland region. Provision of goods to the Indians, such as firearms, metal, cloth and foodstuffs which they did not possess the technology to manufacture, ensured their captive participation in the European based economy. As described by

Watkins (1974:52):

In summary, the regional economy was transformed by the new fur trade conditions from a 'total economy' to one which relied both on local subsistence and the use of externally produced goods exchanged for furs...

The development of the fur trade economy established a metropolis/hinterland relationship between the Micmacs and the European based manufacturing economy (Innis, 1956), with the Micmacs participating as supplier of staple products in return for European technology. The fur trade in Acadia was established as a means whereby the French could further the economic interests of their home country, the impetus for development largely being to fill the gap in raw materials needed to generate the manufacturing-based economy of France. As Watkins (1977:52) notes:

The prosecution of the fur trade depended, at least initially in each region in which the trade expanded, on the Indian as fur gatherer. As such the Indian was a commodity producer, not a wage earner, and the fur trade was literally a trade, or a commercial activity, not an industrial activity.

With the gradual depletion of fur-bearing animals, the fall of the beaver pelt market in France and the power struggle between France and England for control over the New World, the stability of the fur trade economy faltered. With the establishment of British colonial rule in Canada in 1763, the Micmacs found themselves without a clearly defined economic role and unable to revert to their aboriginal economy due to land encroachment by the British settler, game depletion and serious changes in their social, cultural and economic institutions. Perhaps most importantly, their world view had changed radically as a result of European contact, and the change in their needs and interests

as a result of dependency on European goods nurtured their dependence on the British colonial government.

The Micmacs, however, posed an administrative problem to the colonial government. They possessed economic skills for which there remained little resource and a dwindling market and they impeded colonial settlement, the force behind British presence in the New World. With the rise in popularity of 'social Darwinism' in the early nineteenth century (Pritchard, 1826; Spencer, 1852), the Indians were regarded as savages at a lower stage of social development than the British who were nonetheless compelled to provide for them the virtues of civilization. The cornerstone of Indian policy was settlement, as by settling the Indians the British could ensure that they were out of the way of colonial populations and administer them with increased efficiency. On May 8, 1820, reserves were created in each county of Nova Scotia not exceeding 1,000 acres apiece. While the Micmacs were encouraged to settle on these relatively worthless plots of land set apart from white settlements, these lands were not protected and suffered continuous encroachment by British occupants. In addition, lack of food, crop failures and the Micmacs' resistance to fully adopting a farming and sedentary existence, all provided obstacles to their settlement.

In an effort to come to the relief of the Micmacs, whose numbers had dwindled to 1,000 by 1842 (Commissioner Howe's Report), a law was passed providing for the appointment of an Indian commissioner to

supervise the reserves, act against squatters, consult with chiefs to encourage settlement, and arrange for admission of Indians into local schools. In addition, 300 pounds sterling was to be provided annually to the Micmacs to purchase for them necessary food, tools and provisions for survival. By 1850, with their numbers still dwindling, Indian Commissioner William Chearnly proposed that, as their numbers were "fast passing away" that their end be eased by the allocation of blankets and seed potatoes, and additional funds be generated through the sale of reserve land. With Confederation, in 1867, the Dominion of Canada took over responsibility for providing for the needs of the Micmac along with all other aboriginal peoples of Canada. The Department of Indian Affairs was created to provide the integral link between the Indians and the government and to be responsible for their well-being and development.

In this period of rapid settlement, however, the Micmacs proved in some ways more fortunate than the more western Indian populations. They had been in contact with European civilization for approximately 350 years, longer than any other aboriginal population in Canada. They had a wealth of experience in coping with the changing ways and developed a resilience to culture change that enabled them to maintain some of their traditional culture while adopting some features of European civilization. During British colonial rule, they persisted in retaining their mobility, fishing and hunting to survive and generating additional income by selling their baskets and other wares to the settlers. They retained their traditional political structure, the Grand Council, with its



system of hereditary descent, their language, and many of their traditional customs and values. While life under British rule had been harsh, their isolation had enabled them to return to and strengthen their traditional political, economic and social life. Their experience with the French and the British had enlightened them to new ways and interests of the white man, which enabled them to face the new era after confederation with a perceptiveness towards government and its interests that continues to preserve and protect their cultural integrity.

## II. THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

The efforts of the Department of Indian Affairs to advance the socio-economic development of Micmac people of Nova Scotia have largely failed. The reason presented by the author is because programs and policies have been geared toward the assimilation of Micmac people into the dominant economic fabric, through the development of a consumptive lifestyle on reserves based on provision of external resources, and the creation of a work force increasingly becoming dependent on government funded wage labour employment. This approach to development of Micmac reserves, through the cultivation of dependency and consumerism, is most evident if one looks historically at the evolution of Departmental policy.

With the legislation of the Indian Act in 1876, and the creation of the Department of Indian Affairs, government policy with regard to its native populations became the "object of aiding the Indian to raise himself from the condition of tutelage and dependence; and of encouraging him to assume privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship" (DIAAR, 1876:8). These objectives were to be fulfilled through the transition of Micmac people from a transitory existence of hunting, fishing and gathering to one of reserve life and agriculturalism. The difficulties experienced by the Department of Indian Affairs in its efforts to inculcate a whole new set of values and priorities among the Micmac people which would foster the establishment of sedentary populations on reserves have been documented by Upton (1979:130):

Since whites only hunted for diversion, they could never accept that hunting or anything connected with it was 'work'. The prototype of the industrious person was the farmer, and 'work' was measured against his labours. This sedentary, repetitive and slow-moving life held few attractions for the Micmacs. It was not only a strange form of work, but the very assumptions behind it were instinctively recognized as a threat to their existence. The Micmacs, as Titus Smith observed, 'have as strong a prejudice against our way of living as we can have against theirs'. He noted that the few Indians who had taken up farming gave 'great uneasiness to their relatives and countryman' who tried everything to discourage the habit. In one case, the farmer's wife took off to the woods when she could no longer stand the strain, and the husband had to give up farming while he went searching for her.

During this post-Confederation period, however, the prime concern of the recently established Department of Indian Affairs was not the handful of scattered Micmacs who posed no threat or impediment to population and economic expansion, but Indian populations located westward who were standing in the way of settlement. While government negotiated treaties to peacefully remove these Indians from their homelands, the Micmacs enjoyed and suffered the rise and fall of Maritime prosperity. Early benefits to the region as a result of Confederation, primarily through the establishment of a rail link to central Canada and preferential freight rates, led to rising industrial growth and employment in coal mining, steel factories and secondary industries. Micmacs participated in this economic boom through selling of craft goods to travellers, making pick handles from their native ash tree to supply the steel and coal industry, and assuming wage labour employment in the railways and factories. With the general collapse of the economy, and the onset of the Great Depression, the Micmacs,

who were generally unskilled labourers, were the first to lose their jobs.

While World War II provided much needed employment opportunities to the Micmacs (Upton, 1979, notes that officials described the year 1945 as one of the most prosperous the Micmacs had ever enjoyed ), the end of the war resulted in Micmacs returning from war with no hope of employment. This brought on the first conscientious attempts by Indian Affairs to provide jobs and increased services to Micmac reserves. Housing grants of \$2,320 were available to veterans, while Indians on the reserve provided housing materials through cutting and sawing of logs (Upton, 1979:174). Additional income was also available to families who travelled to Maine to pick blueberries and potatoes in season. This was and continues to be an appreciable source of revenue for Micmacs of all ages, an annual pilgrimage of sorts which also renews old friendships between Micmacs of different reserves who meet in Maine or visit families residing in the U.S.

The first major administrative campaign of the Department involving the Micmac came in 1941 with its efforts to increase the efficiency of administering to the needs of the Indians through the amalgamation of the existing 19 administrative districts to two, located at Shubenacadie and Eskasoni reserves. A number of incentives were employed by the Department of Indian Affairs' officials to entice Micmacs to leave their communities and relocate to Eskasoni (for Cape Breton Micmacs) and Shubenacadie (for mainland Micmacs), such as promises of new housing, grants to purchase seeds, farm equipment or other equipment

necessary to become economically self-sufficient again, and employment in the construction trade. Individuals who resisted relocation were threatened with termination of government assistance and potential loss of their Indian status.

Centralization caused radical changes in the economic and community life of the Micmacs. Although they were not living in prosperity before this government relocation effort, Micmac people today reflect on the independence which they enjoyed before centralization. It was a time of self-supporting, if not prosperous farms, where each family had a few cows, a horse, chickens and garden plots which would provide for the needs of its members. Hunting, fishing and trapping also provided an integral part of the community's economy. Before centralization, the reserve population lived and farmed in areas strongly delineated by family and political ties. In Chapel Island reserve, Cape Breton, the community was divided into residential and farming areas of the two major family groups of the reserve who rarely interacted and maintained an almost feudal relationship. In addition, a number of families were located off the reserve in neighbouring towns and rural locals, as the tendency to draw strong divisions between on and off reserve residency came after centralization. These families who resided off the reserve were also forced to move to the central district of Eskasoni, usually suffering expropriation of their land and assets without compensation.

Centralization served to destroy not only the economic base of the people who were forced off their land to a reserve where the large influx of new residents would prohibit any viable form of land-based economy, but also many of the links to a more traditional time and system of economic self-sufficiency. Those people who agreed to relocate on the basis of the promises of the DIA bureaucrats were not long in being disappointed. As McGee (in Campbell, 1978:28) relates:

All new housing was built 'in town'. Those who had been promised farms discovered that their homes and their farms were usually separated by a mile or two of road or bush. The clearings and pastures which were promised were not provided - housing came first; when the houses were done then the fields and pastures would be cleared. In the view of the Indian Affairs Branch industrial wage labour, rather than agriculture, was the way to make the Indian self-sufficient in the 1940s. But the predicted rush of industry to take advantage of these concentrations of cheap labour did not materialize. Consequently when the housing spurt was over, so were the jobs. Many people told me that before 'relocation' the Indian may have been poor but he wasn't on welfare. The farms had been small but they were adequate to provide clothing and small luxuries. Many Micmac see the relocation program as the major factor in destroying local initiative and pride.

Some individuals remained hostilely opposed to the centralization program, and refused to relocate despite the threats and promises of Indian Affairs (for example, Chapel Island, from being one of the largest reserves in the province was reduced to a population of approximately 30 after centralization). Due to the disillusionment and frustration of those who agreed to relocate and their failure to find alternative means of self-sufficiency in these crowded and hostile communities, the centralization program was terminated by the Department in the mid 50s.

Since then there has been a gradual trickle of former residents back to their birthplace, particularly as their families grow up and couples return to retire in their home reserve.

Through the destruction of their land-based economy and self-sufficient family units and the failure of the Department of Indian Affairs to replace this economy with an alternative means of self-support, the Micmac people were forced to accept the introduction of the welfare program on reserves to provide the mainstay of their economy. By doing so the Department of Indian Affairs has created for itself the problem of spiraling government dependency and increasing responsibility for the needs of a captive, consumer-oriented population.

Since the 40s, welfare has provided a way of life for Micmacs (the exception being the Second World War, during which the Micmacs enjoyed an unusually high level of employment). In 1981, approximately 92% of the Micmac population subsists on welfare (UNSI:Files). Most Micmac people under the age of fifty have never experienced another type of lifestyle. Welfare is regarded as a right, with many Micmacs legitimizing welfare expenditures by government as "back rent" for unsettled land claims. Many Micmacs express the idea that welfare, although evidently detrimental in many ways, has also provided Micmacs with an escape from

total participation in the white industrial economy and thus has provided them with a form of cultural refuge. This type of logic does hold legitimacy. Guaranteed welfare has provided Micmacs with sufficient funds to remain on reserves; thus, despite the lack of employment opportunities on most reserves, they are not forced to relocate into non-Indian society. Welfare also supports the egalitarianism which was a dominant value in aboriginal Micmac society and one which continues to restrict Micmac assimilation into the dominant economic system by providing a similar income level to all people and ensuring that all community members are equally provided for. It also provides cultural continuity by providing Micmacs with a stable income base to cover most of their consumptive requirements thus allowing time to follow more traditional, land-based activities such as blueberry picking, potato harvesting, pulp cutting, fishing, trapping, hunting and handcraft production. These activities also provide supplementary income to welfare payments, particularly for young single men who average only \$49.00 every two weeks on welfare.

Welfare has thus sheltered the Micmac people from the necessity of having to leave their communities in search for employment. The only institutionalized form of labour which is successful in breaking this pattern of welfare dependency are the government-sponsored make-work programs such as the Local Employment Assistance Program (L.E.A.P.), Community



Development Program, Local Improvement Program (L.I.P.), Work Opportunity Program (W.O.P.), etc. These projects, which usually range from 13 to 20 weeks in length (the exception being L.E.A.P., which funds projects for a possible five years) provide most of the work opportunities on reserves and usually provide participants with Unemployment Insurance (U.I.C.) benefits for up to one year after the work terminates. It is my hypothesis that one of the reasons for the relative popularity of these programs among the work force is that they occupy individuals for a relatively limited period of time, usually during the winter months which are the slow period in the Micmac calendar. Upon completion he/she is left the freedom of collecting U.I.C. benefits (in addition to a welfare supplement based on number of dependents) and to pursue other economic and social activities.

These are some of the 'positive' aspects of the welfare system on reserves which to some extent explain the almost total accommodation of Micmacs to a welfare subsistence. However, the insidious effects of welfare dependency are also fully evident on reserves and to the individuals involved. Welfare, as a form of dependency on resources beyond the community's control, robs people of initiative, self-sufficiency, independence and pride. Welfare economies are characterized by a high level of alcoholism and drug abuse, suicides, violent deaths and family conflict (Barkow: 1980). While in the short term, welfare has provided a means of economic assistance to the Micmac people whose subsistence economy has been eroded through European contact and Indian Affairs programs; in the long term, continued

dependency on welfare could spell the total demise of Micmac society..

In addition to paying the family a basic bi-weekly allocation, welfare pays for all additional expenses including heat, lights, some special needs (beds, fridge, stove, etc.), education, hospital and dental care. Welfare recipients also become eligible for the highest level of government assistance in other programs; for instance, the Housing Program where the maximum \$18,000 contribution in the Atlantic Region is pro-rated on a scale according to earned income. This has the effect of strongly deterring individuals from pursuing a wage labour occupation, as employed persons automatically become responsible for personal and household expenses that previously the Welfare Officer would take care of. As the salary level of most on-reserve jobs are set at a minimum wage level (in Nova Scotia this being \$144.00/week), in most cases individuals are far better off remaining on welfare and supplementing this with other sources of income. The Welfare Officer, in this manner, also acts as intermediary between the individual and the outside world thereby relieving the individual of responsibility and the necessity of handling bills and payments. The welfare program illustrates the degree to which the Department of Indian Affairs has fostered dependency on reserves on both government-provided funds and externally available goods and services. The capital provided to welfare recipients, due to a lack of infrastructure on reserves, is channelled almost entirely outside the reserve community, thereby producing little ongoing benefits or economic 'spinoffs'. Many Micmac people today comment on the extent to which welfare has "spoiled" their

people to the point where many no longer seek to produce for themselves but expend their energies in devising means to justify more personal gain from the government programs available.

Not only does welfare serve to deter individuals from seeking employment, it also undermines the necessity of work itself and thus the level of worker productivity and commitment while on the job. Discussion with several managers of on-reserve employment projects indicated their resentment of the present situation whereby the individual whom they reprimand or fire for legitimate reasons has only to turn to the Welfare Officer to regain income stability. The employee thus has the employer over the barrel which reduces the success level of many of these projects as economic viability depends to a large degree on the motivation and dedication of workers. In this situation, the employees need not necessarily depend on wage employment to satisfy their minimum economic requirements.

The post-World War II era witnessed a shift in Indian Affairs policy: the encouragement of war veterans to assimilate into the mainstream economy through the process of enfranchisement. Enfranchisement is the legal procedure contained within the Indian Act whereby an Indian person can choose to freely relinquish his/her Indian status and thereby supposedly participate more freely in the dominant social, political and economic institutions of Canada. Incentives used by government to promote enfranchisement were the individual's new-found right to vote, purchase liquor and gain access to his/her share of Band funds. For men who

enfranchised, their wives and families were automatically enfranchised as well and lost their Indian status. Although enfranchisement was generally not successful in either reducing the number of status Indians in the country or permanently relocating them off reserves (changes in the Indian Act in 1957 granted Indians the right to vote and purchase alcohol), the ease with which Indian people could acquire funds from Indian Affairs to relocate off the reserve, primarily to urban centres, did produce a temporary trend towards out-migration. From the 50s to the 70s, many single people and families utilized various DIA relocation grants to move to find employment in the industrial sector, primarily in the Boston area. Many Indian families who moved to Boston in the 50s remained there to raise their families, returning to their home reserves when they reached retirement age. In some Nova Scotia reserves, particularly Shubenacadie, young single men continue to spend a few years of their youth working in Boston as steel workers or factory workers. The unusually high rate of violent crimes in this reserve as compared to other Nova Scotia reserves is attributed by the Micmacs to the "Boston influence".

While this trend toward urbanization among the Micmacs has decreased, relocation and education grants are still readily accessible within the Department to provide support to Micmacs interested in relocating to find work or attend post-secondary institutions. These programs prove largely unsuccessful among the Micmac population as people are unable to make the cultural transition required to adapt to a white milieu and eventually return to their home reserve and family. The Chapel Island

Community Profile (1978) indicates that approximately 76% of respondents expressed a desire to live and work on the reserve given the availability of jobs. While reserve members may leave for from three months to three years, for the most part they return to the reserve with or without the prospects of available employment. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a growing tendency for young women to leave the reserve either to acquire employment or attend university or trade school. Discussions with some of these women indicate they felt compelled to leave the reserve either due to a lack of eligible boy friends (these women invariably have aspirations which lead them to supercede their male peers, both in income and educational levels), or because of the lack of opportunity for them to advance in a society ruled by a highly patriarchal and chauvinistic ethos. However, these young women also tend to return to their home reserve or that of their boy friends or husband for reasons of homesickness, desire to speak the Micmac language and to reside in a Micmac community.

The development of the "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy - 1969", or the "White Paper" as it is more notoriously known by Indians, represents a blatant illustration of government policy toward Indian 'development' - that of assimilation into the dominant society. This period also marks a turning point in the political and cultural consciousness of Micmac people. The basic position of government and the Department of Indian Affairs as contained in the contents of this policy document illustrates the view of the bureaucracy that inequities suffered by Indian people can be attributed to their special

legal status which effectively isolates native peoples from the rights and privileges shared by their fellow Canadians. The paper states (1969:5):

The Indian people have not been full citizens of the communities and provinces in which they live and have not enjoyed the equality and benefits that such participation offers. The treatment resulting from their different status has often been worse, sometimes equal and occasionally better than that accorded to their fellow citizens. What matters is that it has been different.

Thus the White Paper contradicts the basic ideology upon which the Canadian liberal government is founded, which purports in rhetoric that all cultures have their place in the Canadian "mosaic". In reality, the federal system is strongly opposed to articulation and advancement of institutions based on cultural differences in the economic or political arena or, in this instance, the perpetuation of a bureaucracy created to serve the needs of a distinct ethnic group. The White Paper clearly illustrates the superficial place attributed to Indian culture on the part of bureaucrats and politicians in order to potentially dissolve the force of culture as a political tool through which to unit Indian people and creat institutions based on their ethnically defined needs and interests. Culture is recognized in the formulation of policy only as it relates to history and folklore as the following excerpts from the '69 White Paper illustrate:

The Indian contribution to North American society is often overlooked, even by the Indian people themselves. Their history and traditions can be a rich source of pride, but are often not sufficiently known and recognized. Too often the art forms which express the past are preserved, but are inaccessible to Indian people. This richness can

be shared by all Canadians. Indian People must be made to become aware of their history and heritage in all its forms, and this heritage must be brought before all Canadians in all its rich diversities.

...rich in folklore, in art forms, and in concepts of community life, the Indian cultural heritage can now grow and expand further to enrich the general society. Such a development is essential if the Indian people are again to establish a meaningful sense of identity and if Canada is to realize its maximum potential (1969:9).

By recognizing the existence of culture only in its historical, static and material form, i.e. history and handcrafts, the DIA is partially succeeding in alienating Micmac politicians from the total relevance of culture as a base from which to develop strategies and institutions that serve ethnic needs and interests in a political and economic sense. While Micmac culture is alive and well in the values and lifestyle of its people, the DIA ignores or fails to perceive the importance of cultural differences in shaping development programs and policies. The Government Statement on Indian Policy concerns itself primarily with ridding the government of the Indian Affairs bureaucracy as a sort of white elephant and filling the void by reverting responsibility for Indian people to the provinces. The fact that the provinces have interests that are in conflict with those of Indian-based development on reserves is not addressed (such as the province's interest in Indian land and the necessary creation of a tax system on reserves). That the provinces have exhibited no particular sensitivity to ethnically defined problems and goals is not considered primarily because the 1969 Policy Statement carefully avoids any mention of a value conflict between Indian people and the white majority. That the federal government has a legal

responsibility to provide services to Indians is regarded as an obstacle to Indian advancement primarily because departmental bureaucrats perceive Indian interests as a mirror image of their own, rationalizing the problems on reserves as ultimately attributable to the lack of access which individuals have to the outside world and all its 'benefits'.

The 1969 Policy Statement was tabled by government due to the unexpected high level of opposition and militancy which it evoked in the native populations affected. It served as a rallying point around which Indian politicians could solicit active support from their constituents and served as a common political problem uniting the interests of Indian groups across the country. The DIA, in retrospect, appears to have recognized its blunder in clearly articulating assimilationist policies rather than through a subtle introduction of assimilationist strategies through an operational plan. The ten years following the White Paper witnessed a massive influx of government funding to assist in the development of Band government and the establishment of Provincial/Territorial Associations to assist in the development of Indian people.

As Upton (1979:178) documents:

A Department whose budget had hovered around 5 million for years was handling \$435 million in 1975, and provided services to the value of \$2,000 for each Indian man, woman and child in Canada. When other sources of government support were added in - family allowance, economic development and cultural grants, guaranteed mortgages and health care - that average rose to \$2500. Beginning in 1970, a five year core programme to create Indian organizations and finance research cost a further \$31 million.



However benevolent this massive influx of funding on the part of government appeared to both the general public and native populations; it seems the federal government had successfully found a way to 'buy off' Indian communities and politicians by making political organizations and local government totally contingent on externally applied funds for their existence. Research among Micmac chiefs of Nova Scotia reinforces the fact that the 70s was a time of 'easy money' with funds readily available to support a variety of on-reserve projects. Political organizations and Band Councils which had been actively fighting bureaucratic assimilation were now unconsciously becoming the tools of the Department of Indian Affairs as, with control over funding, the Department had increasing control over the economic, social, educational and political affairs of Micmac people. With the decrease in the Indian Affairs budget toward the late 1970s, Micmac politicians have become increasingly consumed with the single-minded problem of how to acquire more funds; thus the government has redefined the concerns of Indian people from assimilation, cultural integrity and self-determination to lack of dollars to support a multitude of Indian bureaucracies (in Nova Scotia along there are seven independent organizations which serve the needs of the Micmac people in the province) and to perpetuate the system of government grantism on reserves. Taken to its extreme, Micmac conceptions of development in many cases only support government policy through playing by government rules in order to acquire more funds while the larger issue of how to escape from the government stranglehold which will remain intact as long as Indians fight for dollars and government controls the purse strings is ignored.

By the 1980's, the state of government fiscal restraint has curtailed the development of programs which could provide solutions to the socio-economic ills of reserves. Even the most basic of community services such as upkeep of roads, water and sewage projects, housing development and infrastructure have been seriously reduced. However, the level of bureaucratic incompetence within the Department of Indian Affairs to effectively administer and deliver funds to Indian Bands as highlighted in the 1980 Auditor General's Report has seriously hampered the prospects of further Treasury Board funding to support Indian Affairs proposals. An analysis of the cash flow of the Department prepared by Jack Beaver for the National Indian Socio-Economic Development Committee (1979 Report) states that as little as \$5.00 out of every \$100.00 spent by the DIA actually reaches the Indian at the reserve level. That this financial mismanagement has escaped the public's eye for so long may be attributed to the success with which the Department of Indian Affairs has been able to censor information concerning its operational management. The Auditor General's Report comments on the almost total lack of knowledge at the Cabinet level concerning the internal workings of this government bureaucracy. Ready access to the media and to Cabinet has enabled the DIA to divest the blame for financial mismanagement to administrators at the reserve level with a relative degree of success which has reduced public support for the Indian cause.

Band government has thus been made to wear the blame and assume ever increasing loads of paperwork and red tape sent down from the Department in the name of "financial accountability". It appears the Department's

objective in developing responsible Band government is to turn Band staff into unthinking bureaucrats, delivery agents of Departmental programs and policies with no time or resources to devote to the development of more creative, culturally compatible forms of socio-economic development. While Chiefs and Councils are in reality the creation of the Department (legislated in the Indian Act in 1960) and the right arm of the bureaucracy on reserves, they are placed in an adversary role when it concerns lobbying for funding or recommended changes in policy. (This situation is perceived as a 'love-hate' relationship by many Indians; on the one hand Indian politicians are totally dependent on the Department of Indian Affairs for the legitimacy of their positions while on the other they are opposed in principle to the development goals and operations of the Department.) Efforts on the part of Band Managers to maintain Band financial accountability are persistently daunted by the DIA's inefficient delivery system for funding to Bands. While Bands operate from fiscal year to fiscal year, applications for funds, once approved, take from two to six months to reach the Band level during which time Bands must operate these programs and provide essential services with ever-increasing bank deficits.

In a recent strategy change, the Department of Indian Affairs Executive Planning Committee (the chief policy and operational committee of the DIA, comprised of all Regional Directors-General across the country and Headquarters executives) is advancing the concept of "community-based planning and development". While this strategy has been linked by the DIA to development goals proposed in the "Beaver Report" (1979 NISED)

and by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians' (UNSI) Community Centred Development Proposal (Henderson and Barsh, 1979), their interpretation differs fundamentally from proposals written by and for Indian people. While the latter recognize the need for increased political autonomy and community-defined development strategies, the Department's concept of planning focuses primarily on increasing the efficiency of Band administrative operations and better budget management, in addition to provision of more information to the DIA with regard to Band development priorities and associated costs in order that the Department may potentially increase the efficiency of its own operations. Recognizing Band Councils as strictly administrative units they ignore crucial aspects of political development and formulation of policy based on the ethnically defined needs of the Micmac people. In the Atlantic Region, community-based planning is most notably linked to the Department's goals of developing Band Government along the lines of the municipal government model thereby facilitating their ultimate assimilation into the provincial government system.

The priorities in terms of the Department of Indian Affairs concept of community based planning appear mundane. Bands are taught that proper planning will facilitate the beautification of their communities, will better ensure that constituents have a say in the planning process, that basic decisions to be made are...should the Band decide on a new sewer system in 1981, a school in 1983, a new Band Hall in 1985...and what are the priorities? All this planning, however, operates in a vacuum. While Bands jump on the planning bandwagon, they realize

ultimately that there is no mechanism in place within the DIA to fulfill their goals or even their most basic needs. Funds are allocated on the same basis as before with each Band getting their share of financial resources in almost the same manner as before. Thus while the concept of planning and organized development is sound, the Department of Indian Affairs has only succeeded in shattering the hopes of communities which try but fail to get ahead of the Department's game.

While planning is essential in any economy where free capital is relatively scarce and expenditures must be carefully planned and controlled, the importance placed on planning as it disciplines an individual's lifestyle is a social more more readily found in Euro-American society than in Micmac culture. The emphasis in Canadian society placed on a highly structured and disciplined lifestyle corresponds to a value system which places priority on deferred gratification, or the sacrifice of immediate wants for long-term gain. Weber (1930) suggested that the Protestant ethic promotes this type of behaviour pattern which predominates in modern industrial and capitalist society. The merits of planning and saving as measures of self-discipline are integral to the process of deferred gratification and members of Euro-American society are socialized at an early age to conform to this value system.

Problems arise when DIA bureaucrats appeal to Micmac leaders to utilize the planning process by associating planning as an integral aspect of everyday life. Appeals to psychological unity of this nature are exemplary of the naivete of Indian Affairs when it comes to understanding

the culture and values of the population it is seeking to develop, as the internalization of the value of planning and self-discipline finds no parallel in Micmac society. The following excerpt from a paper entitled "Community Planning Defined" (D. Sparks, R.D.G. Atlantic Region, 1980:2) which was distributed throughout Bands of the Atlantic Region, is a case in point:

In the most basic sense there is an element of planning in the personal life of everyone. When one arises in the morning the sequence of getting dressed is 'planned'; breakfast, 'planned' before preparation, is eaten in a 'planned' fashion; travel to one's place of work must be 'planned' as must the day's work itself; recreational activities for the evening are 'planned'; and one retires at a 'planned' hour, to arise in this continuation of daily 'planning'. Furthermore, occasional major decisions such as the termination of one's life vocation are the subject of careful 'planning', analysis and consideration.

When asked to comment on this passage, Micmac people chuckle and respond "but we don't live like that!". In reality, policies of this type are exemplary of Indian Affairs attempts to foster a value system on reserves which is in conflict with the Micmac value system and corresponding lifestyle which prioritizes immediate gratification, appreciation of other pursuits than those directed solely at material striving, and labels Indians who act in such a deliberate and restricted fashion as "apples" (i.e. Red on the outside, white on the inside!).

Concomitant with the fostering of community-based development and planning on reserves is the advancement of the DIA's ultimate objective of assimilation of Indian people into the mainstream. Governing bodies on reserves are being encouraged to structure their bureaucracies and operations in terms of a municipal government model. In a propaganda

campaign by the Department, the Atlantic Region distributes information to Band Councils regarding municipal government structures and means of implementing a tax base on reserves. Evidently, adoption of these municipal government models will facilitate the incorporation of Band Government into the provincial government. Another factor advancing this assimilation at an alarming rate is the increasing utilization of provincial funding by Indian Bands such as Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (C.M.H.C.) loans, Department of Development monies, Department of Regional and Economic Expansion (D.R.E.E.), etc., necessitated by cutbacks in Indian Affairs programs. Bands are actively encouraged to diversify their sources of funding, which reduces the responsibility of Indian Affairs to the development of Indian communities and ultimately results in decreased assistance. As an example, the bureaucratic shuffle of employment creation responsibility from DIA to C.E.I.C. (Manpower) has resulted in almost 50% fewer jobs for students and adults alike on the Chapel Island reserves since the dissolving of job creation programs in 1980. Utilization of these outside funding sources has also jeopardized the protection of reserve land, as C.M.H.C. loans require individuals to use land as collateral. In addition, signing of D.R.E.E. agreements with native communities out West has created uncertainties about the tax exemption status of Indian businesses, as they must incorporate to receive D.R.E.E. assistance (see the Garment Workers Case, 1981).

Simultaneously, the objectives stated within the 1969 White Paper (p. 8) that "legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination must be

removed.... The ultimate aim of removing specific references to Indians from the Constitution may take some time, but is a goal to be kept constantly in view' is fast becoming a reality as the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution is effecting disastrous changes to the status of Canada's native peoples. With limited recognition of the aboriginal or treaty rights of the 'first Canadians' and decreasing responsibility of the federal government for their protection and ongoing assistance, native people and their lands will increasingly come under provincial jurisdiction and therefore cause no further impediment to industrial expansion or provincial interests.

Historically, the governments' policy of advancement through assimilation has not worked; Micmac people continue to hold tight to their culture and communities despite their long history of culture contact with Euro-American society. Micmac people for the most part astutely realize that minimal opportunities are open to them in the non-Indian world due to racial and educational barriers and simply due to the general lack of job opportunities. They also prioritize their allegiance to family, community and to the Micmac culture, which impedes their assimilation into the mainstream economy. The present situation of poverty and dependency on reserves will continue as long as assimilation remains the cornerstone of government policy toward Indian 'development'.

Much of the problem that Micmac leaders and spokespersons are experiencing in combating assimilationist policies is that they are not articulating the importance of preserving their culture as a way of life, largely



because of misunderstandings of what 'culture' is and because it operates on the subconscious level of individual and community life.

Understandably it is easier to comprehend and fight against legislative assimilation but it is in the area of cultural assimilation that Micmac leaders will find the vehicle through which to unite their people and propose alternatives to present government programs towards development. Knowledge of culture as a vital force in the community and the articulation of new policies and programs geared toward building upon, rather than destroying cultural differences, will provide Micmac people with a philosophy of development that will further the aims of both government and the Micmac people toward reducing dependency and increasing the self-sufficiency of Micmac communities.

The following chapter will proceed to discuss some areas of contemporary Micmac culture which are inhibiting the successful implementation of Indian Affairs programs and the assimilation of Micmac people into the dominant society. The basic premise is that for development to take root in Micmac reserves, social, political and economic institutions must be structured to serve the community defined needs and interests of the Micmac people.

### III. MICMAC CULTURE: ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS

#### A. Wage Labour Commitment:

Assimilation as it is currently being fought by Canada's native peoples is in actuality the subversion of their culturally defined needs, interests and values to meet the interests of the industrial society. The effects of this economic coercion are becoming more and more apparent on Micmac reserves as a greater portion of the population receive capital in the form of welfare, Unemployment Insurance benefits, or salaries, and thus have greater access to the consumptive lifestyle of their non-Indian counterparts. It is not uncommon to see the average welfare recipient squander his monies to purchase a new car, liquor, color television, clothing, etc. Micmac people on reserves are beginning to perceive increased consumption as indicative of the 'good life'. Problems arise when they perceive they do not have the access to wages and material goods that non-Indians appear to enjoy. This situation of relative deprivation is aggravated by the fact that most Micmacs gain most of their knowledge of the internal workings of white society through watching the 'soaps' on television where the lifestyle of the characters is rich and self-indulgent. As these television characters do not appear to have to work to enjoy luxuries, neither do the Micmacs appreciate that for the majority, a consumptive lifestyle requires a serious commitment to steady employment.

This gradual change in Micmac perception of their needs and interests is a superficial change which exists in conflict with those of their values which have not been so vulnerable to corporate persuasion. Micmac

values, stemming from a hunting, gathering and fishing technology, still place great emphasis on availability of leisure time in which to pursue inter-personal relationships and other activities, as well as devoting energies to the satisfaction of economic requirements. Pre-technological societies, unlike contemporary industrial societies, regard economic pursuits as answering only one part of a person's total needs and interests...

To a greater or lesser extent in all pre-modern societies the economy—considered as the organized production of the material necessity of life — was embedded within a total cultural milieu which regulated the circulation of goods according to social norms and determined what kind of things could be exchanged.... The division of labour, investment in technological innovation, and the exploitation of natural resources were governed only in part by principles of productive efficiency, for these activities were inseparable from other concerns, such as the maintenance of kinship, caste and rank orders, upon which were grounded social stability and authority (Leiss, 1976:3).

Modern capitalist societies tend to place divisions between the sectors of an individual's everyday life, the social, the educational and the economic realms of activity. Pre-industrial societies did not compartmentalize the different sectors of the individual's life in this manner, as his activities answered a variety of needs simultaneously. That the economic requirements of a hunting and gathering society could be met in a much lesser time than that required by contemporary industrial society is verified by the work of Lee (1968). In his studies of the 'Kung Bushmen of the Khalahari Desert, Lee (1968:94) notes that, even

in this harsh environment...

Even the hardest working individual in the camp, a man named =oma who went out hunting on 16 of the 28 days, spent a maximum of 32 hours a week in the food quest...in all, the adults of the Dobe camp worked about two and one half days a week. Since the average working day was about six hours long, the fact emerges that the !Kung Bushmen of the Dobe, despite their harsh environment, devote from 12 to 19 hours a week to getting food.

Lee (1968:98) concludes on the values and interests of this hunting and gathering society...

The totality of their subsistence activities thus represents an outcome of two individual goals: the first is the desire to live with adequate leisure time, and the second is the desire to enjoy the rewards, both social and nutritional, afforded by the killing of game.

Lee contends that hunting and gathering societies maintain a satisfactory level of existence and do so during a working day less extensive than our own. He argues that felt or perceived scarcity is the only means to measure the degree to which a particular society is successful in satisfying its own needs and wants. If scarcity is viewed as the difference between our wants and ability to satisfy them, we can understand that scarcity might increase concurrently with rising social wealth and productivity.

Therefore, two fundamentally different perceptions of the place of economics within the total cultural milieu can be said to exist between pre and post-industrial societies. Pre-industrial societies (the basis for Micmac tribal culture) pursue economic activities to satisfy readily definable needs such as for food, clothing and shelter. Once these life necessities were met the Micmac, as a case in point, were encouraged to develop their spiritual and social self, through participating in rituals, celebrations, and interactions with other members of the family, Band, or through extensive visiting between bands (the social-ability and transitory nature of Micmac people is still greatly in evidence in their contemporary culture). The relative importance of economic striving gratified a totally different perception of need in comparison to their European counterparts. As a hunting, fishing and gathering people, Micmac culture traditionally placed little value on the accumulation of goods which would ultimately become more a hindrance than an asset in their food quest. Due to the highly egalitarian nature of Micmac society, individuals who strove to produce a surplus did so only to further their prestige through redistribution of goods by the Headman of the band. Once sufficient energies had been expended to ensure a stable food supply, sufficient clothing and a warm place to live, an 'economic ceiling' was reached which allowed individuals to devote their time to social, educational or spiritual matters.

Modern industrial man, on the other hand, with antecedents in his earlier European counterpart, is guided by his unending quest for greater levels of productivity and material consumption. Capitalism,

unlike the hunting and gathering technology which characterizes the Micmac aboriginal economy, places growth and accumulation as central economic tenets. The success of a capitalist economy is measured in terms of growth and productivity, i.e. Gross National Product (GNP). Value is placed on pursuit of economic goals before all others, and the diligent employee is accorded much prestige. Individual good is measured both in terms of levels of productivity and consumptive activities. Viewed in this perspective, the economy can be seen as taking over the primary responsibilities of culture, to instill a coherent framework of needs, values and interests in the individual. Galbraith (1967:200) states:

The system requires that people work without any limiting horizon to procure more goods. Were they to cease to work after acquiring a certain sufficiency, there would be limits on the expansion of the system. Growth could not then remain a goal. Advertising and its related arts thus help develop the kind of man the goals of the industrial system require - one that reliably spends his income and works reliably because he is always in need of more.

Evidently, the feature of traditional Micmac society to place an economic ceiling on their needs and interests would be totally dysfunctional in modern capitalist society, where to place a limit on individual wants would be to curtail the growth of the technostucture. Yet, as I will proceed to argue, this is precisely the situation in contemporary Micmac culture and a culture trait which impedes their adaptation to the capitalist-based economy advanced by the Department of Indian Affairs.

How can one explain such fundamentally different psychological perceptions of needs, interests and values between tribal Micmac culture and contemp-

orary industrial society with its roots in early mercantile and colonial occupation? By perceiving human existence as superordinate to the laws of nature, a system of capitalism has developed whereby nature is viewed by modern man through a purely utilitarian perspective. While every pre-modern civilization appropriated nature to some extent to serve its needs, all such societies placed limitations on the utilization of nature to meet human needs.

All such limitations were removed when the emerging image of nature as devoid of purpose was joined with the social practice of capitalism, which repealed existing limitations on economic activity (such as the exclusion of land and labour from most exchange relationships) in accordance with a developing vision of society's goals as the maximizing of material productivity through a self-regulating market economy (Leiss, 1976:40).

Hunting and gathering economies emphasize the need to conform to nature's laws and the balance of nature. Once a certain low is reached in the animal population of the area occupied by the band, populations either move to another area or turn their attention to other more plentiful species. Technological societies typically view nature as something to be appropriated for their own use. Thus, hunter-gathering and technologically based societies illustrate two different perceptions of the nature of human needs and interests: the first recognizing limits to human satisfaction, the second placing no limits on the extent of human interests. The former placed limitations on the appropriation of nature for human use, the latter repealed such limitations by introducing the commodities of labour and land in economic exchange relationships "in accordance with a developing vision of society's goals as the

maximizing of material productivity through a self-regulating market economy" (Leiss, 1976:40).

The Micmac people of the Atlantic region lived in an aboriginal environment which afforded them with an ample supply of foodstuffs, primarily in the form of marine resources (Hoffman (1955) estimated that the sea provided approximately 90% of the Micmac diet), moose, beaver and gathered vegetation. Extrapolations of the quality of life in hunting and gathering societies made by Lee can be made to the Micmac's aboriginal lifestyle as the abundance of resources allowed them to develop complex social and political institutions more characteristic of sedentary agricultural populations. As Thornwaite (1948) documents (in Hoffman, 1955:118):

The Maritime provinces possess an exceptionally humid, micro-thermal climate—more humid, in fact, than the Northwest Coast of North America. This is reflected in the diverse and sometimes unique flora to be found in the region.

Approximately fifty years after European contact, Denys and LeClerq wrote, in the early 1600s, colourful descriptions of the ecology in which the Micmacs pursued their subsistence economy... "...so great a quantity of Wild Geese, Ducks, and Brant...that it is not believable, and they all make so great a noise at night that one has trouble to sleep..." (Denys, 1672:212). And LeClerq wrote (in Ganong, 1910:281), "...the hunting of them is easy, especially in Spring, when they seek to lay their eggs; because then they make a noise, by beating their wings, and this reveals them to the hunter."



It is difficult to find information in archival material to document the amount of time devoted by the Micmacs to economic activity. Given descriptions of the lush nature of their environment, I would argue that sufficient leisure time must have been afforded to aboriginal Micmac society to allow individuals to devote considerable time to pursuit of non-economic goals. Hoffman (1955:705) notes that 'Micmac socio-political structure seems to have been the most complex of any known non-agricultural group within the Northeast.' This allowed a balance to be arrived at between economic endeavours and activities directed towards satisfaction of other culturally-defined goals, a balance that continues in contemporary Micmac culture to define the values and lifestyle of their communities. Their differing perception of the relative importance of economic striving has prevented their successful assimilation into the industrial economy. The lack of motivation on the part of most Micmacs to 'work for work's sake' has earned them the stereotypes of 'lazy', 'shiftless' and 'undependable' among their non-Indian counterparts. Their perpetual tardiness and lack of concern over punctuality and time in general dates back to a less institutionalized concept of regulating one's activities and has been fondly nicknamed by Indians and non-Indians alike as "Indian time". (It is interesting to note that Micmacs often intentionally accentuate this cultural difference by deliberately appearing late at meetings with governmental officials, particularly Indian Affairs and passing off inconveniences created as part of being Indian. While this behaviour is often dysfunctional, it does serve to reinforce cultural differences. Those Micmacs who regard themselves as more "professional" and who

appear to have more fully assimilated the values of the status quo make a point of being punctual, thereby setting themselves apart from their more culturally-oriented peers.)

While the contemporary Micmac are adopting the consumptive lifestyle of their non-Indian counterparts, they are as yet insufficiently acculturated to allow themselves to become the slaves of either the industrial economy or the commodities it produces. Although as a general rule most Micmac people will espouse the desire for 'full time employment' (refer to Chapel Island Community Profile, where 76% of respondents stated a preference for salaried employment, 15% stated a preference for piecework or contract wages with the remainder stating no preference), they tend to make fairly non-productive wage earners. This apparent generalization is made as a result of interviews held with the management of major production-oriented businesses on reserves including the Glooscap Sawmill, Crane Cove Oyster Farm, Abomweg Woodworkers, arts and crafts outlets, etc., and with Indian Affairs Economic Development Officers. Lack of sufficient production on the part of workers is attributed as one of the most crucial factors undermining the success of these businesses. This is also an insight provided by the author through considerable experience in acquiring salaried positions for Micmacs at the Band level and in assisting to establish the Chapel Island Craft Co-operative. In the latter business, it became apparent in the early stages of operation that the weekly salaries and production schedule were not compatible. Docking employees wages did not serve as a negative stimulus to bring employees to work, nor did an incentive scheme produce higher productivity levels. The

fact that the business was government sponsored, that employees were expected to keep regular hours, and the ready availability of welfare as an alternative to employment, was reason enough for participants to become disenchanted and uncommitted with the operation. A later change to piecework wages appears to have brought better results, as workers can keep their own hours and work either on site at the outlet or at home. This type of income can be more accurately labelled 'discretionary income', and appeals much more to Micmacs who usually require monies to afford luxuries, pay for bingo, and other expenses which their welfare cheque will not cover.

It is my hypothesis that Micmacs are in varying states of cultural transition from a traditional perception of economic interests to the values and perceptions of a consumer-based society. Economic needs accorded in Micmac culture require a level of effort that greatly undercuts that of the average wage-labourer or white-collar worker. Not that when a situation warrants labourious toil (such as when the community well breaks down, when land needs cultivation, when individuals cut pulp, trap or fish to earn cash or meet their needs) the Micmac are not ready to participate. On the contrary, the level of cooperation and dedication to a job that prevails when the situation is totally individually, family or community-controlled is astonishing in contrast to the productivity afforded by the same individuals in institutionalized job settings (Band run projects, government funded short and long term job creation projects, etc.). It is from these community defined and demanding tasks that individuals derive a sense of contribution to the community, individual pride and satisfaction of a job well done.

As the Micmac people have neither been exposed to the same extent, or given equal access to the consumptive lifestyle of their non-Indian counterparts, less value is placed on the acquisition of goods which lessens their commitment to wage labour. Other activities can readily lure an employee away from the daily grind: family events such as weddings and funerals, shopping trips, sickness of any degree, sleeping in, drunkenness, etc. The individual who behaves in this manner is not chastised by family, friends or community residents. The jobs which are salary positions on reserves are invariably government funded and the alienation and antipathy with which Micmacs perceive white political institutions characterizes their regard for economic development and make work projects on reserves which are created through government intervention. Lack of commitment to institutionalized work is not regarded as laziness or shirking of one's responsibility, but a basic right of any individual to prioritize his activities in the way he sees best. Evidently the welfare system serves to reinforce this cultural response as, while holding down a job results in a slightly higher standard of living, employment is not essential to any individual living on reserve in order to survive.

The foregoing has been a discussion of one of the cultural factors characterizing Micmac society which I believe is acting as a deterrent to the assimilation of the Micmac people into the mainstream industrial economy: that of a basic lack of commitment to the concept of 'work for work's sake' and wage labour employment. This stems from an aboriginal world view which placed a ceiling on economic needs and wants and placed a high value on the merits of leisure time to afford individuals the opportunity to pursue other activities that strengthened social and

cultural bonds.

B. The Bond of Family and Community:

Another cultural determinant which facilitates this lack of individual commitment to wage labour is the level of family and community concern for the well-being of its members. Micmac reserves are proudly spoken of by residents for their being able to take care of their own. The level of caring, sharing and hospitality among Micmac people stands in proud comparison to the increasing alienation of the nuclear family unit which characterizes white communities in Canada. Every individual grows up with the comfort and security of knowing that he or she will be provided for, primarily by the extended family unit, but also by fellow Band members if called upon. Ostracism and loneliness on Micmac reserves are practically unheard of. The homosexual, the alcoholic, even the criminal is accepted and helped in time of need. This allows the individual an element of security unknown in non-Indian communities. This facet of Micmac culture enables individuals to subsist on a welfare economy as the family, not the individual, survives on the welfare budget. This situation indicates the viability of the family, not the individual, as the central economic unit on reserves.

C. Capital and the Question of Motivation:

The system of resource redistribution that prevailed in aboriginal Micmac society still, to a greater extent, provides the basis for contemporary Micmac economic organization. Despite over 400 years of culture contact,

there is little evidence of class distinctions on reserves despite the fact that incomes range from minimal welfare earnings (\$49.00 bi-weekly) to tax-free salaries of \$30,000 and up. Individual families of a variety of income brackets grow up together, socialize together, and for the most part do not associate on the basis of class distinctions. An exception to this rule may appear to be the labelling, on most Micmac reserves, of the ruling political families as 'Kennedy's' (coined from the renowned Rose Kennedy and her family, the political elite of particularly two of these reserves bear strong resemblance to the Kennedy family structure; a strong mother, politically inclined sons, power and prestige). It is a practice of fellow Band members of the opposing family group or political faction to label disparagingly any member of the family group as a Kennedy, particularly those who benefit from the system of political patronage on reserves when their relative is Chief or Councillor (i.e. bus contracts, new housing, Band administrative jobs). While this may appear to illustrate the seeds of class distinctions emerging on reserves, it is more a political than an economic slur and serves to chastise members of the 'Kennedy' family for possibly possessing materialistic values. However, even members of this elite group suffer welfare dependency and unemployment with its associated problems and the relatively few 'affluent' leaders still place great precedent on sharing their resources with other members of family and community.

The capitalist system is based on individual saving and accumulation of wealth and the commitment to daily employment which the purchasing of commodities necessitates. Understandably, if Micmac tribal society

places little value on never-ending accumulation of wealth and encourages individuals who possess more to distribute their resources among the less fortunate, capital would fail to provide the motivation for labour that it does in industrial society.

In consumer-based societies, capital is not only the central factor in determining level of economic success and power, but also provides the main motivating factor to ensure continuous employment and thus steady levels of consumption. In industrial society capital replaces all else as the main ingredient for survival. Thus the average individual's commitment to wage labour is not questioned; it ensures availability of capital through which the individual measures personal success and secures gratification of needs and wants through a millenium of consumptive activities ranging from satisfaction of minimal survival requirements (food, heat, shelter) to luxuries. In order for an individual to accumulate capital the practice of saving must be an internalized value and indeed the virtues of 'saving for a rainy day' are socialized into most members of industrial society at an early age. The relative value placed on capital accumulation and the subsequent purchasing power provided the wage earner will thus be a determining factor in the relative success of the individual or society.

Aboriginal Micmac culture placed little emphasis on saving, either in the form of foodstuffs or in the accumulation of goods. As a transitory people, their lifestyle necessitated that they encumber themselves as little as possible with materials goods. The emphasis was on mobility, as Upton (1979:4) notes:

The Micmac knew how to preserve food by smoking fish and meat, drying roots, and shelling acorns and wrapping them in bark containers. However, once this was done, the food was not transported; it was left suspended from trees out of the reach of animals. Thus, the presence of such preserves diminished the mobility of the hunting band. There were two choices: either stay put until the stores had all been eaten or move on and hope that the cache would be there when the Band returned. If preserved food was on hand when a real emergency arose, it was more by accident than design. Instead of averting hardship by stockpiling food, the Micmac preferred to mitigate it by sharing whatever they did have. Their society placed little value on producing a surplus, either individually or collectively.

LeClerq (in Ganong, 1910:110) wrote in the 1600s that:

...they are convinced that fifteen to twenty lumps of meat or of fish dried or cured in smoke, are more than enough to support them for the space of five to six months. Since, however, they are people of good appetite, they consume their provisions much sooner than they expect. This exposes them often to the danger of dying from hunger, through lack of the provision which they could easily possess in abundance if they would only take the trouble to gather it....



Despite the descriptions of the Micmacs at the hand of the French explorers such as Biard and Lescarbot as 'savages' and 'barbarians', even these men were quick to note the generosity and sharing ethos characteristic of Micmac culture. In the face of European capitalism and the value placed on accumulation of certain commodities such as furs, the actions of the Micmacs in their careless treatment of wealth left them open to exploitation by the French. Lescarbot (1914:210-214), in his treatise on the virtues of the 'savages' wrote:



Liberality is a virtue as worthy of praise as avarice and prodigality, her opposites, are blameworthy.... Our savages are praiseworthy in the practice of this virtue, according to their poverty; for as we have said before, when they pay visits to one another, they give presents to one another.... This custom of the said savages could not come from but a liberal mind, with much of good in it. And although they are very glad when the like is done to them, yet it is they who begin the venture, and run the risk of losing their merchandise... And to show the high-mindedness of our savages, they do not willingly bargain, and content themselves with that which is given them honestly, disdaining and blaming the fashions of our petty merchants, who bargain for an hour to beat down the price of a beaverskin.

Biard (1616, in JR Vol. 3:91-97) adds: "They are in no wise ungrateful to each other, and share everything. No one would dare refuse the request of another, nor to eat without giving him a part of what he has." And Denys (1908:415) confirms:


The law which they observed in the old times was this—to do to another only that which they wished to be done to them. They had no worship. All lived in good friendship and understanding. They refused nothing to one another. If one wigwam or family had not provisions enough, the neighbours supplied them, although they only had that which was necessary for themselves. And in all other things it was the same."

A system of reciprocity and exchange characterized aboriginal Micmac society and provided a cultural adaptation to their hunting and fishing way of life that ensured the survival of the Micmac Nation. In times of plenty, Bands would come together to feast and perform ceremonies; in times of scarcity, Bands would split up into individual hunting groups to further their chances of survival. Distribution of resources between members of the band ensured that when one family lacked provisions, the relative wealth of another family would see them through hard times. Although the kill was a highly prestigious and desirable commodity, it only assumed prestige value for the hunter when it was shared among tribal

members. The notion of 'ownership' was weak in Micmac traditional society as was the concept of property.

The previous discussion has described aboriginal Micmac culture as possessing a whole different set of values and beliefs with regard to economics and the value placed on individual accumulation of wealth. If savings, investment and commitment to steady employment form the basis of economic stability in capitalist society, how do the contemporary Micmac, with their cultural differences which resulted from the ecological adaptations required of a hunting and gathering subsistence, compare to the non-Indian population in their relative commitment to the pursuit of capital?

Despite over four hundred years of culture contact with Euro-American society, the Micmac people have not assimilated the interests and lifestyle of the dominant society but have incorporated a mixture of consumer-oriented and traditional values - cultural accommodation rather than assimilation. A superficial view fails to differentiate in a cultural way the Indian from the non-Indian community (outside of relative degree of affluence). Both live in houses designed by white architects, both groups depend to differing degrees on consumption rather than subsistence to support their lifestyle, both groups drive new cars and spend most of their leisure time absorbed in television or bingo. Closer analysis however, reveals quite a radically different value placed by the Micmacs on the importance of capital and material possessions and level of commitment toward its acquisition.



As a general rule, the quest for capital and the prestige value it affords the individual in white society - in other words, capital possession as part of the industrial value system - has no parallel in Micmac tribal society. Capital is valued by Micmacs primarily for its purchasing power and the gratification it provides for immediate wants. Money received is quickly spent (including those who enjoy high income levels and therefore are not forced to spend of necessity) and commodities purchased are treated as having very utilitarian value. Neither commodities nor capital are appreciated for any inherent value, but only for the pleasure they can provide the owner. This pattern of spending is illustrated in the following incidents (names are fictitious):

Ralph had just returned to the reserve after spending six months in prison. During his first week home he came into some quick money through liquidation of his shares in the local fisheries co-operative, amounting to approximately \$1,700. Although Ralph was broke with no foreseeable job in sight, he took the money and went to Sydney the following day spending \$500 on a winter coat and \$900 on a used car. The remainder of the money was spent on drinking for he and his friends to enjoy while it lasted.

At a home in Eskasoni, a few women were gathered around discussing the bingo windfall earned by a friend of theirs the night before. 'Typical Indian', one of the ladies exclaimed to me. 'She went out the next day and spent the entire \$4,000 on a brand new car!'

Charles, although just 25 and a very astute young man, never seemed to be able to get ahead. Despite the numerous chances for training and employment offered to him, he never exhibited the drive and dedication required to complete anything. Whenever he came into any money of a sizeable amount, it was usually gone within a few days, spent more on family and friends than anything else. Charles expressed the opinion to me that the money itself meant nothing to him and only became valuable when he could spend it on his friends and family, thereby bringing both them and himself pleasure.

The prevailing attitude towards money and material goods seems to be one of 'easy come - easy go', as the Micmac have not assimilated the often divine respect for capital and commodities which typifies the capitalist. The reserve economic system is based on a number of activities which involve the individual as a free agent, or entrepreneur, such as participation in make-work projects, individual or family-owned businesses, self-employment in the resource or cottage craft sector, bingo, card playing, berry picking, potato picking, and government lotteries. Most Nova Scotia reserves (particularly in the Cape Breton area) lose half their population during the months of July and August, as Micmac people go south to Maine for blueberry picking. This economic activity can bring in tax-free income of \$500 per week for experienced pickers for a three to four week period. In September, families and men go to northern Maine for potato picking. Gambling and other forms of 'windfall' income provide one of the major forms of entertainment on Micmac reserves. Perhaps one of the most industrious days on the reserve is the day of the community bingo when you find a multitude of different activities being undertaken by individuals to earn money to go to bingo; basket weaving, quilt making, selling tickets on a 40-ouncer, to travelling from neighbour to neighbour asking for a loan until next week. Perhaps one of the most striking differences between Micmac and non-Indian communities is that no one is left out of the quest and no class barriers exist to restrict the mobility of the wealthier accepting a loan from their less wealthy friends or relatives, or vice versa.

Capital in the form of savings is almost non-existent among the Micmac, even among those whose income levels allow them the opportunity of saving and investment. For those with discretionary income, saving is regarded as having no real purpose, that trouble in the future will be reconciled when it happens. Individuals who exhibit an extraordinary desire to save and acquire commodities are regarded as exhibiting 'white' values, and often are subject to suspicion and attack from fellow community members. An overconcern with one's own affluence is perceived by the Micmacs as a white frailty. The Micmacs like to regard themselves as a people who take care of their own.

It appears that the traditional economic value system of Micmac culture is acting to restrict the acculturation of Micmac people into the dominant economic system. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the case of the entrepreneurial Micmac businessman who establishes a viable business for himself on the reserve, but who is invariably regarded with a high level of suspicion and resentment from other less fortunate members of the community. These entrepreneurs must possess a certain empathy with the goals and procedures of business practice, an appreciation for the merits of saving and investment, and the desire to compound their capital gain in order to secure their business future. As these individuals usually receive the greatest amount of financial assistance from the Department of Indian Affairs these entrepreneurs are often regarded as sell-outs to the Department. Micmac people usually perceive these businessmen as possessing white values which is reinforced on the surface by the increased standard of consumption these people enjoy. Due to the

cultural tradition of sharing among Micmac people, these few who are able to 'get ahead' are usually forced to deny help to others, particularly as it concerns credit. The practice of giving credit has spelled the demise of many on-reserve enterprises, for culturally-understandable reasons.

In a society whose economy is based on the high-intensity market setting, people are encouraged to satisfy their needs through consumptive activities. Money provides the major means to motivate the workforce by increasing the employee's purchasing power. More and more this comes at the expense of other forms of job satisfaction such as pride in one's work and personal responsibility. This effectively orients the individual's perception of his needs in terms of consumption which robs him of a variety of other experiences leading to self-fulfillment which do not require capital, such as appreciating and developing the spiritual, social and intellectual aspects of community life. Capital alone has proven to be a relatively ineffective motivator to entice the Micmac to participate in wage labour employment. Perhaps this is because capital, as a motivator, will only be as effective as the degree to which it answers a range of needs or desires as perceived and prioritized by the individual.

The Micmac people of Nova Scotia, with their cultural traditions and values based in a hunting, gathering and fishing technology, represented a subsistence pattern of work solely for use. Due to their need for mobility, accumulation of goods was neither advantageous nor prestigious for the individual. Their religious and philosophical perspective on life was of respect for the ecology where an individual should only take what

he required. Accumulation of material wealth by an individual was frowned on by tribal society as a sign of greediness and avarice, behaviours which could destroy the economic structure of a society based on sharing and cooperation as a means to ensure group survival. This cultural perception of capital acquisition is illustrated in contemporary Micmac society by the slander and accusations placed on individuals who strive to accumulate and hoard wealth. Indeed, an old Micmac saying goes... "if a Micmac Indian becomes rich, he will die", which Micmacs will signify means that Micmacs are not meant to become wealthy or at least the 'Indian' part of themselves will die.

A majority of Micmacs still display the traditional attitude towards work; that it should answer their economic needs but not control them through year-long wage labour employment where benefits of production accrue to the business or the Band Council and not directly to the individual involved (outside of salary). If a pressing need for capital is not felt on the part of the individual, capital acts as a very ineffective motivator, as Micmac people place a high value on neither commodities nor savings. As the Micmac value system has not been assimilated by the interests of the status quo, individuals tend to lead lives based on a more balanced mixture of labour for capital gain, labour directed toward providing a service to family or friends rather than toward individual capital gain, and time spent on leisure activities to enhance interpersonal and intra-family relations. This perception of the importance of capital varies from reserve to reserve, as Cape Breton Micmacs maintain a more traditional approach to work and leisure while Mainland reserves tend to have interests that more closely parallel those of their non-

Indian counterparts. A remedy to this value conflict entails economic development strategies on Micmac reserves accommodating the perceived needs and interests of Micmac people at the community level, gearing economic development in a more holistic way to accommodate the culturally defined lifestyle, economic system and interests of the people involved.

D. Micmac Egalitarianism: The Effects of Childrearing

The last cultural determinant in Micmac society relating to their lack of integration into economic development strategies advanced by the Department of Indian Affairs which I would like to discuss is Micmac childrearing practices. The differences between child socialization in Micmac society as compared to that of middle-class Canadians has wide-reaching implications with regard to the cognitive styles and level of individuality and egalitarianism which characterizes contemporary Micmac culture.

The question of whether the cognitive processes of peoples reared in different cultures differ and what factors shape these differences has formed the origins of the school of culture and personality within the discipline of anthropology. In searching for these culturally defined psychological differences, theorists have been led to study both socio-cultural and environmental factors. Witkin (1967) has identified two sociocultural factors influencing psychological development as one: the opportunity given the child to achieve separation or independence, particularly in his family situation and principally by his mother, and two: the way in which adults treat the child's expression of impulse. Differ-



entiation is fostered when the child is permitted to form his own standards of behaviour and has to deal with his own impulses (in Cole and Scribner, 1974:83).

Berry (1959) elaborated on the ideas of Witkin and hypothesized a link between the ecological demands of the group and socialization practices. Based on comparative studies between the Temne, an agricultural people of the jungle region of Sierra Leone, West Africa, and Eskimo hunters of the Canadian Arctic, Berry found that severity of childrearing practices and emphasis on conformity decreases as hunting becomes more important as a subsistence pattern. Temne tribal values are characterized by a high level of aggression, the mother being an extremely dominant figure and the discipline in the home being very strict. Socialization practices stress obedience training to produce individuals who primarily conform to society's code of behaviour. "There is a strong ethic to conform in Temne society, fostered by secret societies and very harsh discipline after the child reaches the age of two and one half years" (Cole and Scribner, 1974:34).

Eskimo childrearing practices, on the other hand, stress development of independence and self-reliance among their children whom they treat with great kindness, patience, and rarely practice punitive forms of punishment. The most common method of discipline is ostracism, teasing or ridiculing (Lantis, 1960). Parents play less of an authoritarian role and the children are encouraged to develop individual initiative in response to situations.

Brody (1975:193) elaborates on present-day Inuit childrearing practices in the Eastern Arctic, in a description which also relates to many of the features of Micmac childrearing practices:

Yet custom and belief do not change in equal and direct proportion to their change of context. Social life and culture develop in far more complex and far less mechanistic a fashion. Even in the largest and most modern of today's Arctic settlements, social and cultural practices still exist that are distinctively from an earlier and more traditional time. Parents continue to be extremely forbearing and tolerant in their attitude towards children. Even very small children are permitted to play out of doors, and they often roam quite far from the village. They are well clothed before they set out, but there is a minimum of quizzing or reproaching or other anxiety that parents show towards their children in southern Canada. Children eat in whatever house they wish, and since mealtimes or bedtimes are irregular, it is unusual to hear a parent express unease about the whereabouts of the child at any particular time. How the child uses its day is felt to be its own concern. Similarly the child is generally held to be the best judge of his own needs; whatever food or drink he wants is, if possible, provided. The southern observer will not find evidence of socialization in any careful and self-conscious provision of what parents hold to be the child's real needs. To such an observer, this absence of discipline might be taken as an absence of any socialization at all, but in fact it is the continuation of the traditional avoidance of manipulation or authoritarian treatment of young children.

The socialization practices of these two cultures, characterized by their widely different ecological adaptations (one a hunting people, the other following an agricultural subsistence), are designed to produce cognitive skills in the members of a culture to increase survival chances. For agricultural people such as the Temne, conformity to the routine of an agricultural existence and the annual cycle of farming and harvesting and the self-discipline this requires is best accommodated by child socialization practices which stress obedience to society's norms. For hunting and gathering peoples such as the Inuit, the demands which hunting

places on the individual's ability to make spontaneous decisions and act independently is best fostered by socialization practices which emphasize the development of individualism, achievement orientation and autonomy in children.

The Micmac people, with their aboriginal culture based on a hunting and gathering economy, would be expected to exhibit similar childrearing methods as the Inuit and other hunting and gathering peoples, in order to foster adaptive cognitive styles to their way of life and economic expectations placed on them. Permissiveness and non-authoritarianism does characterize aboriginal Micmac socialization practices as documented by LeClerq (in Ganong, 1910:91) in his observations of Micmac culture in the early 1600s.

Their children are not obstinate, since they give them everything they ask for, without ever letting them cry for that which they want. The greatest persons give way to the little ones. The father and mother draw the morsel from the mouth if the child asks for it. They love their children greatly. They are never afraid of having too many, for they are their wealth....

Given their cultural tradition of indulgent and permissive childrearing practices and the personality type of independence and self-reliance which this approach to socialization fosters, one should expect to find vestiges of the traditional approach to childrearing with subsequent influence on personality type in contemporary Micmac society. An outsider is immediately struck by the cultural differences which do exist between Micmac and white society when one visits a Micmac home and notes the widely different childrearing practices. Children are most notably the focus of the entire

household and every Micmac, despite age or sex, is encouraged to lavish attention upon those younger than himself without fear of evoking jokes or ridicule from peers. Micmac people with whom childrearing practices have been discussed state that children provide the primary bond between man and woman and the major source of family stability (indeed there is no word in Micmac to express the concept of 'love' between man and wife). Despite the fact that children provide the focus of attention and prestige for parents, they are also brought up as individuals, with the permissive attitude of parents permitting the child to develop a sense of autonomy and self-reliance at an early age. Whereas Micmacs perceive middle-class white parents as over-protective and authoritarian, they regard it as their responsibility to foster self-sufficiency in their children which will better equip them to deal with the world as individuals. Rarely does one find Micmac parents worrying about the whereabouts of their children, as they respect the child's right to cultivate friendships and utilize his time in his own way. While the non-Indian parent may use scolding and physical punishment as means to modify unacceptable behaviour, the Micmac parent uses traditional techniques of ignoring or teasing the child, thus making him 'lose face' before others. Parents in Micmac society are not regarded as authority figures in the same way that white children perceive their parents; the role of the Micmac parent is regarded as one of responsibility to provide the necessities of life, in addition to being somewhat of a friend and advisor to their children, necessitating less punitive and rigid methods of childrearing. This apparent lack of an authority figure in the child's life may also serve to explain the almost total lack of a generation gap in Micmac society, where it is not

unusual to see father and son chumming around, or best friends being ten years apart in age. As children are encouraged to interact freely at an early age with both peers and elders, their perception of those older than themselves is not one of fear and formal respect and detachment for those older, but a relationship characterized by its informality and egalitarianism.

In a contemporary setting this fact of Micmac childrearing perhaps partially explains the total non-conformity among Micmac to non-traditional authority (for instance, in economic development projects) because each individual rationalizes the legitimacy of behaving in a certain way and every individual wants to be boss..."too many chiefs and not enough Indians", as one young Micmac phrased it. This lack of a cultural framework for an authority figure per se therefore, constitutes part of the question of what alternative development strategies would provide a better fit with Micmac values, interests and tribal society.

In the preceding discussion I have attempted to illustrate the value split between the Micmac people of Nova Scotia and the prevailing system of values and interests upon which the industrial economic structure is based. While capitalism emphasizes individual gain and advancement, Micmac tribal culture historically and at present advances the family and the extended family unit as the basic economic unit of exchange and responsibility. While capitalism accords prestige to the individual who accumulates wealth in the form of capital and commodities, Micmac society places sanctions on individual achievement primarily for individual gain,

according more prestige to the individual who shares his resources through a system of redistribution to family and friends. While the Protestant work ethic which laid the cornerstone for the Canadian capitalist system bestows virtue and strong moral character to the individual who toils daily to better his lot in life, Micmac culture places emphasis on a balance of work and leisure time in which to pursue other spiritual or social interests. Childrearing practices, both in traditional and in contemporary society, emphasize the child's ability to act in a totally autonomous fashion and think independently. While capital provides the economic motivation for the workforce in industrial society, the concept of capital acquisition and savings is in total anti-thesis to traditional Micmac cultural beliefs and values and serves in the present as a sporadic and generally ineffective way to entice the majority of Micmacs into the workforce for any period of time.

This serves to paint a very bleak future for development projects based solely on a capitalist model of economic development with no thought to any culturally defined difference in the needs, interests and values of the people the economic system is intended to serve. Indeed the failure rate of past programs initiated by the Department of Indian Affairs, which are based solely on the capitalist notion of individual profit and gain, only stand to reinforce this hypothesis. With this in mind, I will proceed to discuss some alternative approaches to development on Micmac reserves based on knowledge of their aboriginal culture and designed to better adapt to the contemporary Micmac culture and lifestyle on reserves.

I wish to emphasize here that not all Micmac reserves are at a similar stage of cultural integrity, nor do all the populations involved share similar needs and interests. In particular, the division between the mainland of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island also signifies a division in terms of cultural values and interests. The viability of the Micmac language and feelings of cultural identity as a Micmac nation are much more prevalent among the Cape Breton Micmacs. As with the rest of the population of Cape Breton Island, their relative isolation has restricted the impact of industrial change and modernity and strengthened the people's ties to a land-based economy, their culture and language. Most of the mainland reserves are losing their Micmac language and the influence of urban proximity and the migration of their young people to Boston to find employment is serving to disrupt their cultural integrity as Micmac people. Most of their politicians perceive development for their people in terms of increased access to the industrial labour market and government funding, with less thought to how these approaches to development will erode what remains of their Micmac culture. Cape Breton Micmac politicians, on the other hand, are more inclined to perceive development in terms of a community-centred approach, utilizing existing funding only when they are sure that use of these funds will not jeopardize their rights (i.e. responsibility of the federal versus provincial governments, tax exemption, etc.). Within Bands, populations also differ in their perceptions of what comprises development for their people; greater access to outside jobs and necessary compromises and adaptations on the part of the Micmac people or adaptations on the part of government to ensure development on Micmac reserves strengthens the cultural integrity of their communities.

For these reasons, I do not assume that any new approach to development will answer the needs and interests of all Micmacs, but devolution of control over programs and funding from Indian Affairs to Band government at the community level where the values and aspirations with regard to development are most consistent will reduce the level of disunity both between Bands and between Bands and Indian Affairs with regard to these issues. Community-based control will allow for Band Councils to act on the mandate of the people they represent in a creative and positive manner.



#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

Federal policy towards native community development from Confederation to present has been directed towards the acculturation and assimilation of Indian people into the dominant economy, primarily through the implementation of government controlled assistance programs geared towards promoting the role of wage earners and consumers, dependent almost totally on the external economy to satisfy their needs. Southern based Indian reserves bear some signs of relative affluence in a material sense; moderate housing, schools, cars and adequate community health and sanitation provisions. However, it is a veneer of well-being and security, totally contingent upon the influx and outflux of government dollars in their various forms.

Indian reserves can more clearly be seen as distribution centres in the process of transferring funds from the public sector to the private sector, with almost no retention of monies at the community level to support the reserve's development and growth. Local towns and businesses surrounding reserves greatly benefit from this captive clientele, with Indian purchasing power providing the greatest source of income to the majority of these businesses. For example, the local Royal Bank in St. Peter's receives its largest account through handling monies for the Chapel Island Band as does the local building supply dealer and the liquor store. The NISED Report (1979) estimates through studies conducted that an excess of 95% of all funds disbursed to Indians immediately find their way into the provincial or regional economy.

Indian reserve administrators and their constituents have little or no control over the source, amount and restraints placed on government dollars injected into their communities. As the NISED Report (1979:48) states:

An even more serious result of the present relationship is that Indians have become increasingly dependent on Government. They have had their confidence and sense of competence undermined because the largely absentee management has denied them the opportunity of exercising full powers in prescribing for themselves. Even today, despite the marginal and nominal relaxation of some powers, the Government still retains for itself almost complete control of authority, responsibility and resources.

The ultimate result of this has been that the structures, planning and other processes of Indian communities all have been forced into the mold of the governmental system of programming, and bands have had essentially no real power to generate policies and programs for themselves. On the contrary, they have been obliged to participate in, and administer, programs that they can clearly see are not working.

Band management operates on a restraint budget received from the Department of Indian Affairs on a quarterly basis which effectively denies any leeway in terms of pooling resources to accomplish major development projects. Budgets are open to close scrutiny by Indian Affairs accountants and private auditors and Bands must account for all expenditures before monies are released from the DIA. While Band management has been given increasing authority to administer these programs for the Department of Indian Affairs, there is little or no room for input at the Band level and certainly no allowance for radical change to existing programs.

After four years of soliciting government assistance for the Chapel Island Band Council, the two features which are paramount to the approval of projects are the extent to which the project will provide wage labour to

a percentage of the reserve's unemployed workforce and the extent to which the project will be required to spend capital dollars on externally available goods and services. For example, all government programs such as L.E.A.P., Community Development Program, Summer Student Employment Program, etc. demand that wages be paid to participants on a weekly basis, despite the fact that contracts or piecework wages increase the efficiency of the projects and productivity levels of workers. As an alternative example, the Rural Rehabilitation Assistance Program (R.R.H.A.P.) which provides assistance for housing repairs on reserves, does not qualify the use of labour dollars in this manner. The Chapel Island Band Council utilizes funds to hire work teams on a contract basis which results in projects always completed on schedule or earlier than projected and with mandatory inspections the quality of work must meet standards if participants are to be paid. The result is a better project with participants realizing the value of their wages and their time.

While Micmac reserves may benefit in the short term from government funding to support improved housing, a training program or community beautification project, this is not development as an ongoing process but patchwork government assistance which only furthers the dependency of Micmac people on government and its support programs. Development, in order to succeed as an ongoing mechanism through which to improve the people's perceived standard of living, must foster individual initiative within the society. Joseph Schumpeter (1949:127) described this focus on development, not as outward manifestations of material wealth but as a process that originates and continues due to processes within the community itself. He states:

By development, therefore, we shall understand only such changes in economic life that are not forced on it from without but arise by its own initiative, from within... economic development is not a phenomenon to be explained economically, but that the economy, in itself without development, is dragged along by the changes in the surrounding world, that the causes and hence the explanation of development must be sought outside the group of facts which are ascribed by economic theory.

Following Schumpeter's economic paradigm, innovation provides the basis for economic growth in society; thus the more the development process encourages entrepreneurship, the sooner economic stability will be regained in an underdeveloped society. When the direction of the development strategy is based on values which are in conflict with those of the population it is seeking to assist, little stimulus exists to motivate people to participate in a system they regard as unsatisfying or structured to deny them any meaningful input into the decision-making process. What has resulted through these programs can more accurately be regarded as perpetuation of underdevelopment and dependency of the native population on the injection of assistance from the external white society. As elucidated in a statement of the Tanzania African National Union (TANU):

Any action which does not increase the people's say in determining their own affairs or running their own lives is not development and retards them, even if the action brings them a little better health and a little more bread.

The situation of Canada's native peoples vis-à-vis the economic imperialism of the industrial economy is very similar in many ways to that of other hinterland populations in Canada and those of the developing third world countries. All are faced with the ultimate homogenization of their culturally defined values, needs and aspirations in the wake of metropolitan

dominance over the world's economy. The majority of the Micmac people of Nova Scotia are committed to combating this process through community control over the development process. Creation of alternative strategies for development designed to integrate Micmac communities into the dominant economic structures, rather than assimilation or forcing them into dependency relationships, can provide a viable, realistic solution to economic underdevelopment. This situation is succinctly discussed in the Union of Nova Scotia Indian's Community Centred Development Plan (S. Henderson and R. Barsh, 1979:15):

In the past, Indians have never been permitted to enhance their well-being by creating either a free market system or economic order based on their cultural values and workstyle. An economic bureaucracy, the Department of Indian Affairs has obstructed and distorted the fundamental tenets of an economic order based on subjective values of the Indian society, e.g. assimilation policy. They have squandered millions of dollars trying to coerce value upon the Indians. They have acted as surrogates for Indian's values and imposed western values not understood or appreciated by the Indians on all economic development projects. This value oppression has created one economic failure after another and have arrested economic motivation and development on Indian reserves. Not only has it immobilized economic development, it has discouraged the evolution of new possibilities, fresh objects of economic desire, it has also imposed foreign values to prevent Indians from wanting those products or industries which might enhance economic choice and development.

The result is poverty which is all encompassing. To resolve the lack of economic life, the Department has created a welfare state controlled by grants. The grant-welfare economy controls not only supply, but the pattern of demands on Indian reserves, and through that control denies the condition of human fulfillment and economic development. This coercive process of the bureaucratic economy must be reversed. The psychological effects on Indian personality is as devastating as poverty.

In order to understand the government's success in perpetuating the underdevelopment and dependency of reserve economies through a welfare/grant

method of assistance, two main impediments to development must be recognized:

1. Control over the definition, implementation, management, operation and funding for economic development lies not within the reserve communities or political organizations, but within the hands of the DIA bureaucracy and its representatives.
2. Nowhere is the culture of Micmac people - their values, aspirations, skills and lifestyle - considered in the relative definition of development or in the structuring of programs and policies designed to provide Micmacs with a better way of life. Rather than focusing on development as a subjective process that must be defined by the society being assisted, the Department of Indian Affairs perceives that maximization of material goods and services it provides in itself constitutes progress. This strategy of development follows the basic theory of the marketplace: that non-economic values like beauty, health, and leisure only have importance in an economic sense, which denies many qualitative distinctions which are important in determining the quality of life in society.

A Flow of Funds study completed by the National Indian Socio-Economic Development Committee in 1979 indicates that 63% of Indian Affairs programs could be classified as remedial in nature (such as alcohol programs, child care and social assistance), 12% of programs could be considered preventative, while only 12% of programs could be termed developmental in approach. A comprehensive plan for socio-economic development on

Micmac reserves entails that increased efforts must be focused on creation of developmental programs that will demand the participation and contribution of community members. For example, rather than providing housing assistance on a per unit basis of \$18,000, housing programs should be developed that maximize the participant's contribution in terms of labour and/or capital contribution and utilize these dollars to train members of the workforce in proper construction methods. The Social Assistance budget could be utilized to provide front-end subsidy to support the creation of job development programs. Less emphasis must be paid on paying Micmac people for activities which should normally be voluntary and family-based in lieu of viable economic development (for example, paying people to take friends and relatives to the doctor or hospital, or for looking after an invalid friend or relative, in many cases, a mother or father). This practice only serves to reduce the level of community caring and cooperation and instills a mentality that one must be paid to do anything for anyone, including oneself! No program for comprehensive socio-economic development will succeed if the welfare program continues to provide a disincentive for individuals to obtain employment. Thus any program for community development must focus on reduction of the place of welfare within the community's economy, with a corresponding emphasis on skill development and job creation and placement.

The Union of Nova Scotia Indians is recommending a devolution in the authority of the role of the Department of Indian Affairs from administration and control over Indian programs and dollars to that of a resource

agency directed at providing the technical and management expertise required by Band and provincial government bodies. Finances to support the increased responsibility and change required of Band government and provincial associations should be received from capital funds held in trust for Indian people by the government and from the per capita equivalent of all federal funds provided to the provinces in the form of equalization grants (while various provincial government bodies within Nova Scotia receive monies on a province-wide per capita basis which includes the Micmac population, the provincial government has traditionally taken a hands-off position with regard to provisions of financial assistance to Indian people).

It is essential that the Union of Nova Scotia Indians concentrate its political efforts on the establishment of community-based planning and government and the corresponding transfer of responsibility from Indian Affairs to Band government if the Micmacs of Nova Scotia are to implement socio-economic remedies which are consistent with their aspirations. The present situation has resulted in Indian Affairs making what are, for the most part, unilateral policy and program decisions, to which bands and provincial/territorial associations are forced to constantly react, rather than directing their energies into more creative and constructive activities.

With the introduction of Band self-government, bands would have the authority and responsibility to design, administer and implement programs for social and economic development. Placing responsibility for development



of policy with regard to advancement of social, cultural, political and economic aspirations at the band level would serve to reduce the current situation of political factionalism which exists between bands and within the Union of Nova Scotia Indians with regard to the direction which development policy and action should take. As previously indicated, major differences exist between Mainland and Cape Breton bands concerning the relevance of Micmac culture and community life in shaping development aspirations at the community and political level. As Mainland bands have been relatively more exposed to the spread of industrialization and exist in closer proximity to urban and industrial centres, transportation and market links, their goals, interests and viable opportunities with regard to economic development differ from the Cape Breton bands, which are more geographically isolated from industrial and urban centres and possess greater cultural integrity. The Cape Breton reserve populace possess a different range of indigenous skills and opportunities based on renewable resources such as fishing, hunting, trapping and woodcutting. These differing economic situations and aspirations create conflict at the provincial level of organization (Union of Nova Scotia Indians) when bands endeavour to form political positions regarding development concerns to articulate to various government agencies with which Micmacs interact on development issues (i.e. Department of Regional Economic Expansion, Department of Development, Manpower and Indian Affairs). These internal conflicts are currently restricting the organization and establishment of policies and programs which would assist in resolving the serious socio-economic plight of Nova Scotia reserves. Placing responsibility for development of policies at the level of Band government would assist

to resolve this political factionalism as it would focus planning and action at the Band level rather than the provincial level. The role of the Indian provincial/territorial organizations as with that of Indian Affairs would change from that of policy maker to that of a resource of advisory agency, assisting Band governments in adjusting to their increased responsibility and technical and administrative requirements. The Band government model has been presented as a political alternative to the present role of Indian Affairs and the provincial organization to make policy, and in the case of DIA to control and administer funds and programs to support on-reserve development.

I am recommending that the family provide the basic economic unit for the development and control of economic ventures in lieu of the present emphasis on Band Council control or cooperative management. This is presented as an alternative to the Department of Indian Affairs policy of provision of wage labour employment to individuals either through short term work projects or economic development projects based on production schedules and work weeks. As the basic economic unit in their hunting, fishing and gathering economy, the extended family unit continues to be the basic unit of economic exchange and responsibility. Thus, rather than capitalizing solely on the individual's desire for capital acquisition through provision of wage labour employment, economic development which exploits the individual's feeling of belonging, responsibility and allegiance to the family are far more likely to produce high levels of motivation and dedication. This fact is illustrated by the number of already established Micmac businesses which are family owned and operated and enjoy the

highest levels of success (this type of management structure comprises the majority of on-reserve businesses in both the Mainland and Cape Breton Bands including restaurants, gas stations, grocery stores, snack bars, woodworking shops, pulp and trucking operations, and craft shops). It is also illustrated in the fact that families, not individuals, survive on the present welfare economy of the reserve.

Family-based economic development ventures often achieve viability for a number of reasons:

1. As previously discussed, Micmac aboriginal and contemporary society places primacy on the nuclear and extended family unit as the basis of economic exchange and responsibility. Micmac people usually prioritize closeness to their family over participation in wage labour employment which often necessitates that the employee leave his family for extended periods. Thus, economic development which is based upon the family as the unit of economic responsibility and allows family members to work together towards the success of the business appears destined to enjoy greater chances for success.

2. The shortage of capital available to support economic development projects on reserves is best accommodated through prioritizing capital costs and minimizing labour costs. In family-owned and operated businesses, one family member employing another and working together as a unit allows the wage system and timetable to be relaxed in a way that

would be totally unacceptable to employees of a Band or privately managed venture. This is particularly true in a reserve community where even privately or cooperatively owned businesses are so heavily subsidized by government that all employees consider it a government owned project which jeopardizes from the start the employees' level of commitment and motivation. Employees' demands for wages in these relatively small, non-productive reserve businesses more often than not spell the demise of a number of otherwise potentially viable businesses. With the family cooperatively pooling their labour there is greater potential for the enterprise to survive the crucial first five years of business and achieve long-term stability.

3. Family-based projects can easily accommodate themselves to being small in nature, answer a locally-based need, and minimize the business management skills required. Too often reserve-based businesses sponsored by the DIA fail because of the heavy emphasis placed on management and bookkeeping which the business can either not afford to pay for or the Micmac businessman endeavours to perform with a lack of appropriate skills. Perhaps more importantly, once the operation reaches this stage of sophistication, it is no longer under the total control of the businessman as he must recruit outsiders to perform this aspect of the business. Micmac people also profess a preference for having knowledge and experience in

all aspects of their business. Small scale, family-based operations allow for maximum job mobility and also allow each member of the family to be a part of management decisions, such as production schedules, markets and amount of time to be devoted to the business by each family member. The male head of the household also provides a traditional authority figure for the business as in the family and thus provides management that will be recognized and respected.

4. Micmac people are not inclined to make clear-cut distinctions between economic activities, social and educational activities; an institutionalization of one's daily activities that comes easily to the average Canadian socialized into an industrial society. It would be true, to coin a phrase from E. F. Schumacher (1973:53), that in the Micmac world

"...work and leisure are complementary parts of the same living process and cannot be separated without destroying the joy of work and the bliss of leisure". Family-based economic development will provide Micmacs with a more culturally-based strategy for economic development as it would allow individuals to pursue economic, social and cultural interests simultaneously.

In contemporary Micmac society, families make a living through pursuing a variety of occupations during the yearly cycle which serves to subsidize their welfare budget. These activities include cutting and selling pulp, picking blueberries and potatoes in August and September in Maine, fishing and gathering shellfish, hunting and trapping, and making baskets and other

craft items. The close interdependence between the Micmac and the land and its resources (particularly in the Cape Breton area) necessitates that this sector of their economic life be preserved and strengthened. This entails that harvesting rights in the areas of fishing, wood-harvesting, hunting and trapping be guaranteed through a land claims settlement and strengthened through application of government assistance and an increased land base. In the majority of Cape Breton reserves and some mainland bands their location, culture, skill base and the competition they receive from better located and supported urban businesses means that successful labour or technologically-based industrial economic activity is generally not a viable alternative to natural resource based economic activity. A comprehensive plan for economic development which would combine seasonally-based activities such as fishing (gaspereaux, herring, smelts in spring), shellfishing (oysters and mussels in summer), pulp cutting and harvesting (fall) and trapping, icefishing and eeling (winter) would provide a sound economic base for a sector of the community which could be supplemented by manufacturing, tourist, craft and service industries.

This type of economic development is consistent with the aspirations of the Cape Breton bands to develop economically while also preserving and reinforcing cultural differences and the Micmac way of life. A focus on land-based activities is also grounded in the indigenous skills and experiences of the Micmac populace of this area who continue to hunt, trap, fish, produce crafts and cut and harvest pulpwood in order to either earn their livelihood or supplement ~~social~~ assistance.

In reserves which exist in closer proximity to urban and industrial centres greater opportunity exists to compete in the manufacturing industry, to integrate into the off-reserve economy or to provide materials and services required in off-reserve businesses or by the general public. In these bands, greater emphasis must be placed on acquisition of skills necessary to obtain employment in neighbouring businesses off the reserve, provision of service industries such as hotels, restaurants, craft and retail operations to cater to the local or travelling public, or establishment of manufacturing enterprises that may compete with off-reserve businesses due to federal and provincial tax exemptions, lower wage rates and government subsidies. The aspirations of these bands tend to be consistent with their opportunities as they espouse less desire to reinforce culture through community development strategies and are more concerned with advancing what are for the most part material interests. As these bands do not possess the larger land base, access to marine and natural resources and geographic isolation of the Cape Breton bands (note: while Membertou Reserve is located within the city of Sydney, Cape Breton, its rural land holdings provide the band with economic opportunities in both the renewable resource and manufacturing and service sector), their aspirations are consistent with their economic reality.

Education must strengthen the process of Indian self-government and community-based development by focusing on Micmac history, language, culture and socio-economic conditions in order to increase its relevancy for Micmac children and to provide them with a stronger sense of personal

identity, self-confidence and a more positive self image. With the establishment of community-based schools in four Micmac reserves, the classroom can potentially become a vehicle for providing students with a better understanding of the untapped human and physical resources within their reserve and focus on how these can be creatively utilized to support community development. Thus education would encourage children to focus their learning, knowledge and creative talents on understanding and bettering their community, rather than drawing them away from the reserve and focusing the content and direction of learning outside the community.

The Micmac knowledge of the environment and how to utilize natural resources may be supported by community participation in the classroom and applied lessons in hunting, trapping, ecology, farming and handcraft skills. Micmac language instruction would not only preserve and strengthen the linguistic autonomy of the Micmac people but also provide children with a more coherent framework upon which to develop their proficiency in English and other languages (Micmac is the first language in all Cape Breton and some Mainland reserves and is understood by the majority of the populace. It is regarded as a stable language with over 2500 speakers in Nova Scotia alone, not including Micmac populations in Quebec, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland). Establishment of on-reserve schooling provides for increased parental and community involvement in the education process and for skilled employment on the reserve for Micmac people in the areas of teaching, administration and para-professional occupations. Increasing the relevance of curriculum to the Micmac exper-



ience and making education a more pleasurable process will hopefully reduce the present recidivism rate of Micmac students of 84% and higher by grade 12. Indian Affairs policy with regard to education is extremely supportive of the process of community-based education which has resulted in band takeover of the education process in three of twelve Nova Scotia reserves, with other bands waiting in line for capital and operational dollars to support on-reserve schooling. Hopefully this trend will result in more positive attitudes toward education by the community and students alike and develop a sense of personal and cultural integrity in children that will make them less likely to tolerate a lifetime of dependency on welfare and subjection to government manipulation which characterizes their parents' generation.

The failure of development programs instituted by the Department of Indian Affairs is witnessed by a 92% welfare dependency rate and conditions of dependency, apathy, demoralization and alcohol and drug problems on reserves. The main emphasis of development strategies must be on reduction of this state of total dependency on externally supplied funds, goods and services through the development of local self-government and an economy based on community-defined needs and interests with regard to socio-economic progress. Only then will the reserve economy stimulate entrepreneurship and thus dynamic growth. As an alternative to the current preoccupation with provision of wage labour and capital as central economic tenets, I am recommending the family provide the institution for economic growth and that development be based on a range of strategies from natural resource activities to provision of community goods and

services to satisfy internal markets, to competition with or integration into the external economy. The major concern of development strategies should be the accommodation of the needs and interests of the Micmac people through devolution of control over policies and programs from the Department of Indian Affairs to band governments so that development will be a process internal to the communities, based on the skills, shared experience and aspirations of the people involved.

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